Rural-Rural Seasonal Migration as Livelihood Adaptation Strategy Among Rural Households in Northern Ghana

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all materials from other sources have been properly and fully acknowledged.

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Bismarck Yelfogle Guba

Dedication

To my parents: Augustine and Francisca Guba

Acknowledgements

First, I thank God for His mercies for this far He has brought me. Glory be to God.

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List of Abbreviation

CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DA	District Assembly
DCD	District Coordinating Director
DCE	District Chief Executive
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GHC	Ghana Cedis
GHp	Ghana Perwas
GMet	Ghana Meteorological Agency
HHI	Household Interview
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
LAP	Land Administration Project
LGP	Length of the growing period
MLNR	Ministry of Land and Natural Resources
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agricultural
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
PHC	Population and Housing Census
PO	Participant Observation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFT	Structural-Functional Theory
SNT	Social Network theory
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation

SPSS   Statistical Package for Social Sciences

Abstract

Dryland rural livelihoods in many parts of Africa are increasingly under stress as a result of dependency on seasonal unreliable weather for their labour-dependent agricultural production, and changes in the social-economic landscape. Seasonal migration is a well-established strategy used by these households to cope with shortfalls in food and income. Research to date has focused on rural-urban seasonal migration, despite rural-rural seasonal migration also being an important activity. This study addresses this gap in knowledge to better understand the role of rural-rural seasonal migration in northern rural Ghana in supporting and transforming rural livelihoods. The research examines (1) the factors influencing changing rural livelihood dynamics in northern Ghana (2) the role of social networks in mediating the process and who benefits and (3) the impact of sociocultural factors on gendered migration opportunities. The study uses an ethnographic-led approach, using in-depth interview, guided questions and participatory focus group activities to collect data with 200 respondents from two communities, Korro and Naawie in the Lambussie District of the Upper West region. While there are multiple drivers on migration, this study found cultural identity and social status to be an important driver of seasonal rural-rural migration because retaining traditional social identity remains a reflection of a household's ability to establish annual food security and perform locally important cultural functions within the community. This aspect has been undervalued in other migration studies. Both bonding and bridging social networks are used in the migration process, however, they

both yield different outcomes. This finding challenge existing understanding that assumes one form of social network will be more significant in facilitating migration. Differentiated outcomes can be explained by the adoption of particular approaches, and in this example three distinct migration activities of cash labour, and charcoal production were characterised for different groups. One group excluded from the opportunities were found to be married women, due to local patriarchal and social norms. Yet a few had successfully navigated this challenge and the study explored this gendered and intra-household aspect. The insights from the study highlight the vital role that rural-rural seasonal migration plays for rural livelihood diversification, shifting livelihoods beyond simply coping to being able to adapt and reframing their livelihood trajectories, and how the mechanisms of migration reinforce social identity. Greater attention and support should be given to the contribution of rural-rural seasonal migration to transformation in rural societies, and particular consideration still needs to be given to generating equality in gender participation as a mechanism for women's empowerment.

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Chapter One

General Background

1.1 Introduction

Globally, migration of people is a phenomenon that has attracted attention in both the international development policy and practice community and across different academic disciplines. Global migration is reported to be 244 million of migrants as at 2015 which accounts for around 3.3 per cent of the world's population (IOM, 2017). Migration is critical to the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) since it is a cross cutting phenomenon which affects all aspects of development. This is conveyed in Foresti et al. (2018) that migration as a poverty reduction tool is significant to the economic and social development in the 21st century contributing to the delivery of the SDGs.

Internationally, migration patterns tend to be from countries in the Global South to countries in the Global North. Primarily people are moving for economic reasons or to improve their living conditions (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Indeed, economic theories, such as neo-classical or new economic ideas, seek to explain why people migrate as a result of economic imbalances between different locations (Delgado Wise and Veltmeyer, 2016, Schrieder and Knerr, 2000, Van Der Geest, 2010b). An alternative and

contemporary development perspective argues that there are a multiplicity of interdependent factors that motivate people to migrate and these can be categorised into economic, social, political, demographic and environmental (Black et al., 2011, Foresight, 2011, Renaud et al., 2011). The interaction and degree of influence of these factors to facilitate migration vary depending on the type of migration. There is international migration and internal migration, but the focus of this study is national and local level movements. Whatever the reason that individuals migrate, there are both benefits and costs. However, increasing proposition of migration calls for worry since this affects the global demographics which affects all aspects of human life.

Migration is significant at the local/national scale as it is used as a coping strategy for improvement of livelihoods and wellbeing to reduce poverty in most communities (Boyd, 1989, De Haas, 2006, Ishtiaque and Ullah, 2013, Karamba et al., 2011, Van Der Geest, 2011). Remittances from migration activities are an important part of poorer household income in developing countries, and that they ameliorate household livelihood risks (McLeman and Smit, 2006). Despite the positive influences of migration on lives of poor households, there have been increasing concerns to regulate the migration. One tool employed is the use of investments to improve the living conditions of local communities as a means of reducing the incentives to migrate. Studies on aid investments produces different outcomes in its attempts to minimise migration. Aid investments in agricultural related activities have been found to reduce migration from developing countries (Gamso and Yuldashev, 2018). However, other research suggests that aid to developing

countries results in what is termed 'the attraction effect of poor migrants' since improvement in their income conditions enable migrants to be able to afford migration costs and thus migrate (Berthélemy et al., 2009). This does apply to agriculture which is the mainstay of rural households.

Agriculture is the backbone of Africa and most developing countries. The sector is the main source of employment and livelihood for most of the people. Agriculture in these countries is heavily rain-fed and dependent on the weather. Gamso and Yuldashev (2018) argue that increasing change in the climatic conditions in Africa has resulted in increasing vulnerability in subsistence agriculture leading to food insecurity and economic hardship with many households resorting to migration as a means out. These poor households are, however, still rudimentary in their production systems and the technological capacity leading to low production outputs. With climate variability and change, agricultural productivity may decline further which will impact on food security and livelihoods. This has implication for poverty in most households in rural Africa and is reported to intensify the migration of people from Africa which is of concern to countries of the global north and international agencies on migration. The World Migration report noted that there have been equal increases in migration within and outside Africa (IOM, 2017), these have been attributed to deteriorating environmental conditions, conflict and proximity.

In the context of Ghana, national migration movements tend to be from deprived rural communities to urban areas. Largely, these patterns are well-

defined from deprived rural communities in northern Ghana to the south. Several factors explain this skewed form of migration in the country, among these are colonial policies, uneven development investment between these geographical locations, and agro-climatic conditions (Abdul-Korah, 2007, Lentz, 2006, Van Der Geest, 2010b, Yaro, 2006). In northern Ghana and the Savannah ecological region, there are concerns about desertification and climate change impacts (Nsiah Gyabaah, 1994). The northern part of Ghana experiences a single annual rainfall season from May to September but there is evidence of a drying trend leading to a shorter cropping season, and within season, rainfall is unpredictable (Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014). Crop production in this region is therefore constrained and with existing poverty and low investment, the impacts of climate variability and change have exacerbated the problems of food security and securing livelihood growth and transformation. Migration away from the rural home by household members to look for alternative livelihoods to agriculture has become a common strategy for poor households that have limited adaptive capacity.

1.2 Problem Statement and Justification

Rural livelihoods in most developing countries, particularly Ghana, are largely agrarian with limited opportunities. In northern Ghana, agriculture activity is seasonal since this part of the country experience one cropping season due to the unimodal rainfall pattern. As noted by Van der Geest (2004), unreliable rainfall poses production risk to farmers as well as other occupations dependent on such activity. This does not only lead to food insecurity but poverty among households in the area. Households adopt

diverse strategies including rural seasonal out-migration to mitigate the effect of food insecurity. Many studies have been done on rural-urban migration and their determinants in Ghana (see Beals et al., 1967, Caldwell, 1968, Chant, 1998), however, few empirical studies have been done in the area of rural-rural seasonal dynamics. This study departs from the norm by deepening the conceptual understanding rural-rural seasonal migration from the north to the south as a copying strategy to livelihood stresses.

Variety of factors influence migration intentions of individuals and households which invariably define the kind of migration. Black et al. (2011) and Foresight (2011) content that migration is driven by the interaction of economic, social, political, demographic and environmental factors. These factors do not drive migration alone but are interdependent in their effect on migration. This perspective suggests that no one factor can be discounted in influencing migration, although the degree of impact of these factors may vary depending on the challenges and peculiarity of households of a particular area. Contrary to this view, climatic conditions in the form of erratic rainfall compel rural people to migrate (Caldwell, 1968, Rademacher-Schulz, 2012, Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014). Also, Barrios et al. (2006) in their study of rural-urban migration also attributed rural-urban migration to poor agricultural output because of declining seasonal rainfall. This suggests that environmental and climate related factors are significant in migration in regions dependent on rain-fed agriculture.

Seasonal unemployment is a common phenomenon in Africa which invariably contribute to seasonal migration. Adverse seasonality comes some impacts on human well-being since it affects livelihoods, most especially on communities that rely on the weather (Devereux et al., 2013). In an analysis of migration and rural livelihoods, Dorlöchter-Sulser (2015) identify seasonal effect of rainfall on agricultural production as a cause for seasonal migration in the Sahel region. This results from the fact that most people idle during the off-farm season and are compelled to migrate as means of earning income to sustain their livelihood and to invest in the next cropping season. Demographic-economic challenges affecting livelihoods, food insecurity and contributing to poverty in northern Ghana propel many households to migrate to advert livelihood failure (Adaawen, 2015). This suggests that seasonal unemployment in rural communities where rainfall is seasonal contribute to seasonal migration.

Institutional and market failures have contributed to increasing seasonal migration in developing countries. A longstanding challenge in rural community development in most developing countries is low investment in agriculture to increase productivity and food security (Wiggins and Keats, 2013). Meanwhile smallholder farmers provide prospects for stimulating livelihood stability among rural households in sub-Saharan Africa (Peacock et al., 2004).

Poor investment in agriculture has led to increasing food insecurity among rural households. Meanwhile irrigation development has the potential of

solving seasonality in agricultural production and the consequences of climate variability confronting rural farmers (Xie et al., 2017). For example, in Kenya, analysis showed that investment in small scale irrigation has the potential of increasing returns from 17% to 32%. Also, irrigation has been considered a poverty reduction tool in most sub-Saharan Africa (Burney and Naylor, 2012), but much investments have not been carried in this area. Lack of commitment in investment and infrastructural development in agriculture in developing countries poses as a challenge to the attainment of food security and sustainable livelihoods.

Also, rural market engagement has been limited and problematic in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, Wiggins and Keats (2013) noted that between 25-30% of smallholder farmers in Africa are unable to access markets for their produce. They attributed this challenge to poor road networks and inadequate transport facilities particularly in rural communities (Wiggins and Keats, 2013). Implication is that poor road networks account for high costs of transportation which could lead to poor market penetration. Smallholder farmers in rural areas are also confronted with access to market information on commodity prices partly due to lack of research data, and partly to the costs of accessing such information (Barrett, 2008, Gyau et al., 2014).

Uneven development in a country comes with uneven access to opportunities by people, and this fuel the migration from one place to the other. Flahaux and De Haas (2016) noted that migrants move from poorest places to wealthier places, since these destinations offer them opportunities to better

their condition. In Ghana, many people of northern parts migrated for educational and economic benefits in the south (Lentz, 2006). With changing climatic conditions and declining farm productivity in the north; and fertile land as well as good rainfall regimes in the south serve as push-pull factors respectively that drive north-south migration in Ghana (Van Der Geest, 2011). The Ghana Statistical Service highlights the increased permanent migration in the country due to differences in average income levels between origin and destination communities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). Yet others are engaged in seasonal migration, it is therefore important to gain insights to the perspective of those involved in seasonal migration.

Migration as an adaptation strategy upholds the role of indigenous networks in adaptation strategies since every society has values and norms which govern behaviour. These indigenous institutions are significant in the development, maintenance and dissemination of adaptation strategies (Inderberg et al., 2014). Indigenous institutions in the form of social networks in rural communities facilitate the embracing of migration as an adaptation by rural households. However, De Haas noted that migration which is an outcome of social networks can lead to a breakdown in traditional institutions that support societal cohesion, and can increase the agricultural workload of women since men turn to migrate (De Haas, 2006). Thus, it is imperative to better understand the utility of these local institutions in the form of social networks in facilitating of rural-rural seasonal migration and its impact on agricultural transformation at the origin communities, since agriculture is their main livelihood occupation.

Women contribute to household livelihood through their participation in agriculture activities (FAO, 2016). Migration which is also a livelihood strategy is largely associated with men. However, studies revealed the migration of women from northern to the urban southern Ghana for menial activities to earn income to meet their basic needs and ensure their livelihoods (Awumbila, 2015, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Tacoli and Mabala (2010) equally noted that increasing difficult socioeconomic and sociocultural demands compel more females to migrate. Independent migration of women from Ghana has been on the increased since the 1990s (Anarfi et al., 2003). An earlier study however found that educated women were more associated with independent migration of women in Ghana (Brydon, 1992b). Yet women are not one group and understanding this is important in the context of some being excluded in the migration process. Investigating this does not only offer an insight, but elucidates the nuaces surrounding gendered migration in developing countries.

The Ghana Statistical Service reported an increase in rural-rural migration, particularly from the northern part of the country to the rural south (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). Unfortunately, much of the research on this subject focuses on rural-urban migration and its determinants (Beals et al., 1967, Caldwell, 1968, Chant, 1998). Few of such empirical studies have been conducted in the north-western part of Ghana to understand the dynamics of rural-rural seasonal north-south migration. As such, it is not clear how rural-

rural migration is used as a coping strategy for rural farming households to earn income for household consumption and livelihood investments as a long-term investment in agriculture and/or as an adaptation strategy for the overall transformation of their main livelihood activity.

Internal migration is a common phenomenon in Ghana compared to international migration (Brydon, 1992a, Castaldo et al., 2012). The Ghana Statistical Service indicated that there is increasing internal migration from about 30% in 2000 to about 34% in the 2010 census (GSS, 2014). Internal migration is expressed in different forms namely; rural-urban, urban-urban, urban-rural, and rural-rural migration. However, in Ghana, much attention is paid to rural-urban migration than the other forms of migration because of population pressure that comes along with it in urban areas. Rural-rural migration even though not popular, has increased over time, particularly north-south migration. Increasing livelihood stressors in northern Ghana has propelled north-south migration.

It is estimated that 32% of migrants from rural households in the north migrate to rural areas in Southern Ghana to enhance their living conditions (Karamba et al., 2011). There is increasing migration of poor rural northern farmers to rural south looking economic opportunities. For instance, Van Der Geest (2011) in a study of north-south migration in Ghana indicated that about one third of the population of the Upper West region is found in Brong-Ahafo region in the south. Migration flows into rural areas is not only common among rural-rural communities; there is increasing patterns of

urban dwellers migrating into rural areas (Castaldo et al., 2012). This implies for the natural environment in rural communities since there will be pressure for agricultural and other activities that dependent on the natural environment.

This study therefore addresses these gaps to provide a better understanding of the nature of rural-rural seasonal migration as livelihood adaptation strategy in rural areas in the context of a developing country. This will be done by collecting empirical data through an ethnography led qualitative approach. Evidence from this study will contribute to the understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration in Ghana, and scholarly debates in migration. The aims and objectives that will guide the study are stated in the next section.

The study of rural-rural seasonal migration is important because these migrants are farmers who migrate to the south part of the country to practice their trade temporary. Activities of the migrants have implications for the environment. Farm labour migrants involve themselves by helping farm owners on their farms. However, some migrants engage in charcoal production as an economic activity. This affects the environment since desertification is fast encroaching into the country from the north (Nsiah Gyabaah, 1994). Knowledge of the activities of these migrants' aid in the regulation of their activity to save fast degrading environment.

Also, there are increasing conflicts between the indigenous people and migrants on the exploitation of their natural resources. Migrants who engage in charcoal production and small-scale mining activities easily come into conflict with the local people because of the destructions of the environment and the pollution of water bodies. It is therefore imperative to understanding the patterns of migration and their activities in order to regulate them since this phenomenon does support the livelihoods of sending communities and as well benefit the receiving communities.

1.3 Aims, Objectives and Questions

The aim of this study is to explore the livelihood dynamics and the role of rural migration as an adaptation strategy in mitigating livelihood failure in the midst of climate change among rural households in Northern Ghana. To achieve this, the following objectives and questions will be used to guide the study:

Objective 1: To assess rural livelihood dynamics in Northern Ghana and the factors influencing these changes

Based on this objective, the following questions were formulated:

1. What are the livelihood dynamics at the place of origin?

2. How are these livelihood changes shaped?

3. How are they adapting to these changes?

Objective 2: To explore the role of social networks in mediating access to migration resources at the destination

The following questions addressed this objective:

1. Who are those migrating, and why?

2. Where are they migrating, and why?

3. How are they migrating?

4. What are the benefits of these movements?

Objective 3: To identify sociocultural factors affecting gender rural migration in patriarchal community

The following questions addressed this objective:

1. What factors are involved in gendered rural-rural migration?

2. What are the barriers to women's migration?

3. How do women negotiate these cultural barriers and why?

1.4 Organisation of the Study

This study is organised into seven chapters. This chapter has provided a background and rationale for the study, as well as the research objectives and questions. Chapter two outlines the main academic debate and synthesizes the relevant literature to articulate the conceptual gaps that this study aims to address and ideas that are helpful to guide the research design. These literature themes focus on understandings of rural livelihoods and migration, especially in the context of climate change, and with a gendered dimension. Chapter three presents the research approach, sampling and methods used in the study. It also presents a more detailed context of the research in Ghana.

The next three chapters present themed analysis and discussion. Chapter four first analyses the dynamics of livelihood strategies in the rural study communities, the drivers of rural-rural seasonal migration. Second, Chapter five explores the process of rural-rural seasonal migration and the role of social networks, and how these manifests in changes to livelihood, from coping approaches, to livelihood diversification and even more permanent adaptation strategies. Third, Chapter six examines the gendered and patriarchal constraints on migration as one part of process. Finally, Chapter seven concludes with insights from the thematic analysis chapters, the implications for conceptualising rural-rural migration, as well as policy and practice and possible future directions.

Chapter Two

The Role of Migration in Rural Livelihoods

2.1 Introduction

This study explores rural livelihood changes and the significance of migration as an adaptation to livelihood stress. It seeks to reveal the role of migration in rural livelihoods, the process by which this is achieved and the implications in terms of social differentiation. There remain questions about the role of rural-rural migration in underpinning coping strategies, livelihood diversification or potential for more significant livelihood transformation in locations under pressure. This chapter, therefore, examines understanding of rural livelihoods and changing livelihood adaptations with an emphasis on migration as a strategy employed by rural households. In doing so, the review in this chapter identifies important gaps in the literature that can inform study design and methodology. There are three sections to this chapter. The first section begins by examining the concept of livelihood and different perspectives within the literature that suggest migration as a diversification strategy in order to adapt to livelihood stresses. The second section examines the migration process and the use of social networks to facilitate this process among rural households. Finally, the third section reviews the role of gender dynamics in the migration process and in particular the influence of social norms and values in household migration decisions.

2.2 Understanding Rural-Rural Seasonal Migration

Households that experience livelihood vulnerability use multiple forms of migration. Rural livelihoods, which are mostly agrarian, which depend on their local natural resources can be particularly vulnerable to both environmental and weather conditions. The seasonality of appropriate weather for farming does not only additionally leads to periods of intensive activity for household but also periods of inactivity in farming. While rural-urban opportunities provide livelihood diversification, seasonality and increased vulnerability to climate change and entrenched poverty (Dorlöchter-Sulser, 2015) has led to internal migration of households from rural areas to other rural areas to maintain their livelihoods back at their origin. This section, therefore, explores the characteristics of migration for rural households, performed as a way of mitigating livelihood difficulties at the place of origin. The first section explores food security and livelihood diversification of rural households while the second examines migration as an adaptation strategy.

2.2.1 Food Security and Livelihood Diversification

Food production remains a particular challenge in areas of sub-Saharan Africa due to limited technology and investment, a dependence on rain-fed agriculture and climate change and variability, including excessive rainfall or drought (Musuya et al., 2018). Cooper et al. (2008) acknowledged the efforts made in agricultural research, the technological innovations made to promote productivity, and attempts to mitigate climate-induced uncertainty has affect production since the agricultural sector is the main employer.

Despite these efforts, there remains increasing livelihood vulnerability resulting in diversification into non-farming enterprises which could have negative consequences for food security, particularly for developing countries where rain-fed agriculture is common. Accordingly, adverse climatic conditions, such as excessive rainfall and drought, threaten food security and, in response, households strategically diversify into non-farming and other livelihood activities (Eakin, 2005, Rickards and Howden, 2012). For example, empirical evidence from India indicates that farming families are diversifying their livelihood strategies by increased participation in off-farm activities, such as caste occupations and seasonal job migration, helping to secure household incomes (Cooper et al., 2008). While in Ghana, Rademacher-Schulz et al. (2014) find that the livelihood diversification into non-farm activities, taking place through migration, affects availability of family labour for agriculture and is threatening ability of households to be food secure in the longer-term. This is the result of competing demands on family labour, especially with a reliance on labour-intensive traditional farming methods and limited technology.

2.2.2 Migration as a Diversification Strategy

There are different views on how to support rural households and enhance food security, and by implication the role of migration. Some studies (see, for example, Foresight, 2011, Morrissey, 2013) argue that governmental and non-governmental organisations must reinforce their developmental policies for rural areas to make households more resilient by supporting those unable to migrate. Others emphasise the need to limit rural out-migration to maintain

farm labour in rural areas and ensure food production. For example, Tacoli (2009) argues that to make out-migration unattractive, rural communities should be supported through the provision of social services, such as schools, clinics, roads, access to credit, reliable markets, and an equity in land distribution systems.

While these arguments focus on food security implications of livelihood diversification into non-farm activities, seasonal migration by household members for non-farm activities does generate important cash income during certain times of the year, allowing households to purchase shortfalls of foodstuffs. To this end, there remain a need for both governmental and non-governmental organisations to focus on effective pro-rural policies, whilst also ensuring effective opportunities for seasonal migration process as a diversification strategy to cope with short term seasonal challenges.

However, the role of migration as a more fundamental adaptation strategy has also been debated (Renaud et al., 2011, Tacoli, 2009). Global institutions, such as the World Bank argue that migration can be a mechanism to combat rural and global poverty (Veltmeyer and Delgado Wise, 2018). This involves structural changes that bring about economic growth, which can improve the well-being of rural dwellers. De Janvry and Sadoulet (2000) in their prescription identify three pathways to integrative rural development initiatives for poverty reduction as: 1) the exit strategy; 2) the agricultural strategy; and 3) the pluriactive strategy. Many challenges remain with this type of approach because it relies on enhanced adoption of technology,

access to credit and markets, which is currently difficult for many rural people (Delgado Wise and Veltmeyer, 2016).

Despite these difficulties, the role of livelihood adaptation into rural non-farm economy, which includes migration as a pathway out of poverty persists as an argument (Haggblade et al., 2010). Deagrarianisation through migration in northern Ghana, contribute significantly to rural livelihoods (Yaro, 2006). Yet rural-urban migration can be held accountable for evidence of displacement of poverty from rural areas to the urban sector (De Janvry and Sadoulet, 2000, Tacoli, 2009). The question therefore is that how seasonal migration as a livelihood strategy can deliver rural transformation. To explore this possibility first requires examination of how migration is conceptualised in the literature, and this is reviewed in the following section.

2.3 Conceptualising Migration

There are different theories as to what are the main drivers of migration by households in rural areas. These can be generally categorised into an interactive combination of multiple factors; push-pull factors; and slow and sudden environmental onsets. This section examines these main frameworks and conceptualisations of drivers of migration within the literature. It then explores the debate about the role of migration as an adaptation strategy.

2.3.1 Drivers as in Interaction of Multiple Factors

Economic, political, social, demographic, and environmental factors are identified as the main drivers of migration (Black et al., 2011, Foresight, 2011). These factors do not drive migration alone, but rather interaction

between two or more of them lead to increased vulnerability and poverty which then cause people to migrate (Black et al., 2011, Flahaux and De Haas, 2016, Foresight, 2011). For example, empirical studies in Ghana revealed that seasonal unemployment, soil infertility, and land scarcity are important driving factors resulting in North-South migration (Van Der Geest, 2010b, Van Der Geest, 2011). In Nigeria, Orji and Agu (2018) found that family and personal characteristics, such as number of dependants, marital status, age, education, and employment conditions, influence migration decisions. Fielmua et al. (2017) also noted that there are forward and backward linkages between climate change, on the one hand, and the key drivers of migration, on the other, in the sense that individual social, economic, and environmental actions lead to climate change which, in turn, also affect these same factors. This intertwined relationship propels people to migrate. However, despite the combined effect of these interactions, the dominant factor is always associated with the migration, and thus is considered the driver of migration. As such, terms such as 'environmental migrants', environmental refugees (Black et al., 2011) and associated terms have been used.

Even though these drivers interact to compel some people to migrate, other people will stay put despite being confronted with similar challenges and conditions. This conceptualisation of drivers of migration Black et al. (2011) (see Figure 2.1) show that interactions do not result in migration but influence the decision to migrate, or not, at the micro level. Renaud et al. (2011) emphasise that the ability of people to cope (to be resilient) is as important as the impact of any environmental and livelihood stress. Thus, people may

either have the capacity to migrate or stay put and cope. Adams (2016) found that people stay put despite challenging livelihood conditions due to local resource barriers, higher satisfaction of their existing location and a low motivation for movement. This conceptualisation of drivers of migration suggests that even though people may be affected by the interaction of these factors, they need to have the capacity and the interest to migrate. This conceptualisation of the drivers of migration is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.
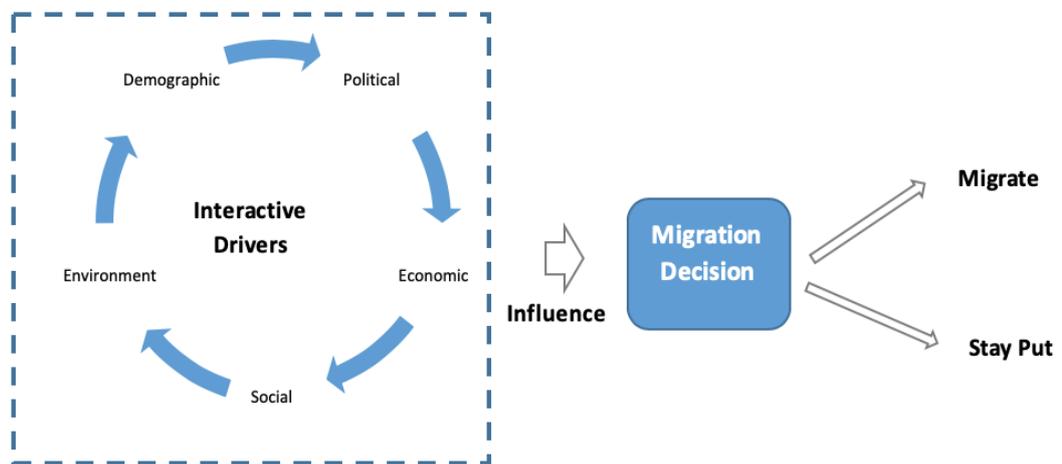
Figure 2. 1: Interactive Influence of Migration Drivers on Household Decision (Adapted from Black et al., 2011)

2.3.2 Push-Pull factors

The push-pull framework of the cause of migration is commonly used to explain what motivates people to migrate from their place of origin. Push factors represent a set of origin causes which affect the livelihoods of the people. These serve as a disincentive to remain, and thus pushes people to migrate from their places of origin. Pull factors on the other hand, are

associated with the destinations of migrants which provide opportunities for livelihood improvement and encourage people to these locations.

On an international scale, the economic opportunities and improved livelihoods which result in high social well-being in the Global North are considered pull factors, while landlessness, conflict or poverty in part of the Global South may be push factors that drive international migration (Delgado Wise and Veltmeyer, 2016, Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Delgado, Wise and Veltmeyer (2016) attribute this to Marxist politically economic capitalist system. Flahaux and De Haas (2016) suggest international migration to be a result of people's aspirations and capabilities, while Tacoli (2009) argued that environmental changes are partly responsible.

At the national scale, push-pull factors of migration are attributed to processes of modernisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation (Delgado Wise and Veltmeyer, 2016). The environment also plays a significant role, and reflects rural challenges (Hillmann et al., 2015). For exmple, Piguet (2013) identified the environment as the main pull factor and poverty as the main push factor to influence internal migration. This supports the reason for most internal rural out-migration. Van Der Geest (2011) further sub-grouped environmental factors into pull and push factors for his study of Dagara farmers in Ghana and concluded that environmental pull factors include abundant and fertile lands, and favourable rainfall at the destinations, while environmental push factors influencing migration were land scarcity, infertile lands, and unfavourable rainfall at the places of origin. Similar

findings from Niger were identified by Afifi (2011) who established deteriorating environmental conditions such as drought, soil degradation, deforestation, drying of rivers, and sand weaning as key environmental push factors of migration.

The weakness of the push-pull framework is that it does not account for movements of the poor from the wealthiest countries or communities to the poorest communities or countries as destinations (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Flahaux and De Haas (2016) argue that the push-pull model focuses on the poor, largely African, migrants, while ignoring the fact that migrants need resources to facilitate their migration. Even though this neglected view is legitimate in terms of absolute figures of migration, this category of migrants does not raise development issues when compared to those who are pushed out of their places of origin. The framework also sees migrants as rational people who will explore better opportunities that will sustain their livelihoods. The push-pull framework however is helpful in that it considers wellbeing as a significant explanation for people migrating from one location to another.

2.3.3 Slow-onset (Voluntary) and Sudden-onset (Forced)

Tacoli (2009) and Van Der Geest (2011) both distinguished between slow-onset and sudden-onset of environmentally motivated migration. They describe sudden-onset following extreme environmental conditions that threaten the safety of affected people, when they might be highly vulnerable or even displaced them from their places of origin. This reflects those who

are forced to relocate for the protection of life and property. Environmental conditions that precipitate sudden-onsets migration include floods, hurricanes, and landslides for example (Tacoli, 2009). In the case of slow-onsets, Van Der Geest (2011) describes this as voluntary migration due to deteriorating environmental conditions that gradually affect the livelihoods of the people. These environmental events have been identified as land degradation, deforestation, sea level rise, and land degradation for example (Tacoli, 2009, Van Der Geest, 2011) and lead to seasonal migration.

Of course, migration in reality is a complicated process and operates within multiple spaces, with different patterns of motives concerning both the origin and the destination of migrants. While there have been extensive studies examining these issues of origins or destinations, it is possible to organise them into typologies as illustrated in Table 2.1 (Hugo, 2011, Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014, Van Der Geest, 2010a).

From Table 2.1, Sward (2016) classified migration into micro, meso and macro levels, based on the scale of decision-making and operation. Macro represents higher decisions and management at international and national level which formulate policies that regulate migration; meso level represents middle level decision-making, implementation and management at the regional and district levels while micro characterises migration decisions and management at the household and individual levels (Black et al., 2011). Based on the length of stay, migration is organised into temporal and permanent (Perch-Nielsen et al., 2008). This involves short term

displacement of less than three months and long-term movements longer than a year. These categorisations and the driving factors of migration suggest that migration could be voluntary or forced. Forced migration reflects unplanned responsive action while voluntary migration on the other hand is normally planned.

Besides the duration, migration is also classified into internal (within country) and international (outside country) (Hugo, 2011, Perch-Nielsen et al., 2008, Tacoli, 2009). Spatial categorization within the national level could be rural-urban, urban-rural and rural-rural migration. According to Morrissey (2013), driving factors influencing migration decisions are classified into: (i) additive effect which accounts for the direct or indirect influence of non-environmental factors on migration decisions; (ii) enabling effect, these are factors facilitating the decision to migrate but not informing the decision to migrate; (iii) vulnerability effect, these are those non-environmental factors that intensify the negative impact of environmental stresses on livelihoods; and (iv) barrier effect, this refer to non-environmental factors that interact with environmental stresses to hinder the desire to migrate. These categorizations define the levels at migration can be investigated. Different levels espouse different dynamics and nuances in the understanding of the of migration within the broader migration literature.

Table 2. 1: Summary of Typologies of Migration (Constructed by Author).

Categorisation	Basis/Rationale	Author(s)
Micro	Scale	Black et al. (2011); Sward (2016);
Meso		Foresight (2011)
Macro		
Rural-Rural	Spatial	Rademacher-Schulz et al. (2014);
Rural-Urban		Van der Geest et al. (2010); Tacoli
Urban-Urban		(2009); Hugo (2011)
Temporal	Time	Piguet et al. (2011); Sward (2016);
Permanent		Hugo (2011)
International	Borders	Tacoli (2009); Piguet et al. (2011);
Internal		Hugo (2011)
Additive	Drivers	Morrissey (2013)
Enabling		
Vulnerability		
Barrier effect		
Forced		Piguet et al. (2011)
Voluntary		

2.3.4 Migration as an Adaptation Strategy

Migration as an adaptation strategy has received an ambivalent reaction from both proposing and opposing sides of the debate. On the political front, in order to discourage migration, alarmist opponents have expounded increasing numbers of migrants as having security implications for the receiving destinations (White, 2011). According to White (ibid), this position has led to the denial of climate change and the acceptance of the term climate

refugees. It has also led to the tightening of border restrictions in many developed countries. Although there are legitimate concerns related to security on the international front, the importance of migration in mitigating livelihood challenges confronted by many poor nations and communities as a result of environmental change cannot be disregarded.

Internal migration has been pivotal in ameliorating the plight of poor households confronted with livelihood security by minimising risk and providing opportunities for exchange of resources between locations. The conundrum, therefore, is to what extent is migration being utilized to bring transformation to deprived rural communities. Adams and Neil Adger (2013) viewed migration as a window of opportunity for interdependence and integration between areas of different endowments. This allows the transfer and exchange of both economic and technological resources across all scales to minimise the impact of environmental and livelihood challenges, most especially at the international level. To examine this debate, the following sections review how migration is characterised within ideas of short versus long term coping, incremental versus transformation change and climate change adaptation.

Short-term versus Long-term Coping Strategies

There are several mechanisms by which household's respond to environmental and livelihood stresses. These responses can be categorized into short-term coping strategies and long-term adaptation strategies; long-term strategies tend to reduce vulnerability, while short-term coping

strategies do not (Vincent et al., 2013). Coping strategies vary with respect to time and space as different localities adopt different strategies that fit their specific environment. As a result, there are many categorizations of coping strategies, Cooper et al. (2008) categorised them as a choice of three options:

first, the ex-ante risk management option which refers to proactive measures, such as the use of resistant varieties, water management, and diversification of farming and livelihood systems before the start of the season;

second, the in-season adjustment and management option which involves responsive approaches to situations such as responding to specific climatic shocks as they appear; and

third, the ex-post management option that seeks to minimise livelihood impacts from adverse climatic or environmental shocks.

Households cope differently depending on their adaptive capacity. Adaptive capacity is can be described as *"the characteristics of individuals, households, groups and population that facilitate structural adjustment to circumstances which threaten the survival; and also build resilience to future risk"* (Eakin, 2005:1924). Households with lower adaptive capacity may resort to coping strategies such as reducing the quantity of their meals, postponing festivals, harvesting immature food crops, foraging for wild fruits, accepting food aid, selling livestock, taking loans, temporarily migrating, and/or engaging in the charcoal and fuel wood trade (see, for example, Berlie, 2015, Eakin, 2005, Morrissey, 2013, Shuaibu et al., 2014, Vincent et al., 2013).

Adaptation strategies, unlike coping strategies, are long-term. They influence changes in behaviour and practices that reduce vulnerability to future exposure (Vincent et al., 2013). Similarly, Zorom et al. (2013) described an adaptation strategy as the ability of a person or system to respond to new and improved systems of production to satisfy their food and monetary aspirations amidst livelihood challenges. Similarly, Adams and Neil Adger (2013) explained migration as an adaptation in two ways, firstly, as an action of last resort when other employed strategies have failed, and secondly, as one coping strategy engaged in to minimise risks of uncertainty through income diversification. These adaptation strategies differ from one location to another and within locations due to the different dynamics of different societies. For instance, Vincent et al. (2013) identified agricultural adaptation strategies in southern Africa as diversifying crops, changing varieties and planting dates, using irrigation, planting trees, engaging in soil conservation, and supplementing livestock feed. Emphasising the role of technological innovation in adaptation in their study of smallholder farmers in northern Ghana, Laube et al. (2012) established that shallow groundwater irrigation as an adaptation strategy sustained many farmers during the year.

In some communities, permanent migration is used as an adaptation strategy to diversify sources of household income and is a way of reducing livelihood vulnerability but also over time develops into a long-term transformation against environmental change (Foresight, 2011, Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014). Short distance circular migration, in some instances, is also considered an adaptation strategy in response to climate change and

livelihood stressors in developing countries as a means of diversifying income sources instead of being overly dependent on rain-fed agriculture (Tacoli, 2009). While there are a number of adaptation strategies, one could argue that they are often insufficient to address the challenges faced by poor households who engage in rain-fed agriculture. As such, permanent and circular migration may tends to be the most effective livelihood strategy for households to earn additional income to support at-origin household activities.

For the purpose of this research in Northern Ghana, understanding seasonal or temporal migration as a key coping strategy is vital for many farmers who depend on just one cropping season in the year. During the dry season, male farmers migrate to the south to engage in different activities to earn income to support household income and also to invest in the next cropping activity (Rademacher-Schulz et al., 2014). Those migrants who have other non-farm skills migrate to smaller urban areas, while those who lack these skills migrate to other rural areas to continue with farming since the southern part of Ghana has two cropping seasons in a year. This is concurred with by Shuaibu et al. (2014) who also finds this pattern where food insecure households in sub-Saharan Africa rely on waged labour on other farms, off-farm employment activities, and diversification to cope with climate variability and livelihood challenges. This situation fits into the conceptualisation of migration as an adaptation of last resort (Adams and Neil Adger, 2013) since in northern Ghana in the dry season, there are few alternative livelihood opportunities other than migration.

Incremental versus transformational

Incremental and transformational frameworks used in the adaptation literature aim to highlight the adaptive capacity of individuals or households to respond to changes in their environment. Many of these frameworks focus on pro-active or re-active responses to the impact of climate and other livelihood stresses (Park et al., 2012). They view incremental adaptation as a short-term tactical decision that aims to respond to climatic and other livelihood changes within the objectives and governance system of an organisation or household. Meanwhile, they defined transformational adaptation as a:

"*discrete process that fundamentally results in change in the biophysical, social, or economic components of a system from one form, function or location to another, thereby enhancing the capacity for desired values to be achieved given perceived or real change in the present or future environment*" *(Park et al., 2012:119).*

In addition to this definition, Kates et al. (2012) have categorised transformational adaptation into three types:

1. those that are much larger in scale or intensity;

2. those that are entirely new to a particular region or resource system; and

3. those that transform places by shifts in locations

These classes of transformational adaptation could be responsive or anticipatory. Rickards and Howden (2012) suggest that transformational adaptation involves planning in advance to avoid future, unforeseen

circumstances in order to take advantage of opportunities that come with improvements in the goals of the system, and that incremental adaptation maintains the essence and integrity of the existing system at a given scale. Transformational adaptation, however, comes with increasing risk and commitment of resources (Kates et al., 2012, Park et al., 2012, Rickards and Howden, 2012). Park et al. (2012) and Rickards and Howden (2012) argued that transformative actions are required more to address sustainable livelihood issues because they allow for planned and informed decisions. These decisions are taken at national and district levels. By contrast, Heazle et al. (2013) contended that incremental actions are more suitable for addressing livelihood issues since this draws on the existing social knowledge and experiences of society to build consensus on the strategies that avoid future risk of large unknown changes and investments.

Seasonal migration presents an opportunity for households to diversify their income sources to mitigate the effects of livelihood stresses; this helps poor farmers to continue their production system by either maintaining the status quo or intensifying through increased production. Vogt et al. (2016) argues that the ability of local populations to engage in innovations that intensify their production system increases their process of adaptation to shocks. Thus, income from diversification of household activities through migration can be viewed as an innovation that allows for the accumulation of resources that enable these households to expand their existing farming activities. As Park et al. (2012) established, transformational adaptation requires a significant

change of activity and investment which demands sufficient information for effective decision-making.

Typologies of Climate Change Adaptation

There are different categorisations of adaptation in the literature that consider the intention, time to do adaptation, the spatial scope within which the adaptation takes place, the form and degree of necessary change required for adaptation (Smit et al., 2000). A summary of climate change adaptation classifications is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2. 2: Typology of Climate Change Adaptations (Author's Construction)

Categorisation	Components	Author(s)
Intent	Autonomous Planned	Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004)
Timing	Anticipatory Concurrent Reactive	Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004)
Spatial scope	Local Regional National	Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004), Berrang-Ford et al. (2011), Fidelman et al. (2013)
Form	Technological Behavioural Financial Institutional	Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004), Lesnikowski et al. (2011), Lesnikowski et al. (2013), Tompkins et al. (2010), Eisenack et al. (2012), Smit and Skinner (2002), Ayers and Huq (2009)

Degree of necessary change	Incremental Transformational	Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004), Cutter et al. (2008), Travis (2010)

Livelihood stresses resulting from environmental change events can be either rapid-onset or slow-onset. This defines the degree and urgency of these events which determine the adaptation strategy that should be taken. As result, Smit et al. (2000) and Huq et al. (2004) grouped adaptation strategies into those which are autonomous and those which are planned. This defines the intention for which an adaptation strategy is appropriate, and autonomous strategy requires rapid-onset while planned strategy is appropriate for slow-onset of change. Smit et al. (2000) and Huq et al. (2004) classified adaptation into anticipatory, concurrent, and reactive, based on the timing of the action which reflects the relevance and effectiveness of the strategy. Anticipatory strategies require proactive measures while reactive strategies are responsive and immediate in nature. Concurrent strategies are evaluated and modified during the implementation process.

Adaptation strategies can be distinguished based on scope and institutional operation levels. As a result, Smit et al. (2000), Huq et al. (2004) and Berrang-Ford et al. (2011) categorised adaptation strategies into local, national, and regional levels of action (see, Fidelman et al., 2013). The levels define the institutional and management emphasis of these adaptations. The level of resources available determines the form of adaptation that can be adopted at what level. As such, based on their form, adaptations are grouped

into technological, behavioural, financial, and institutional (Huq et al., 2004, Lesnikowski et al., 2011, Lesnikowski et al., 2013, Smit et al., 2000, Smit and Skinner, 2002, Tompkins et al., 2010). In turn, the form of adaptation is influenced by the scope and the intention. Adaptation could either be incremental or transformational for either the short-term or the long-term and based on the degree of change necessary (Cutter et al., 2008, Huq et al., 2004, Smit et al., 2000, Travis, 2010).

Based on these different typologies, it can be argued that for adaptation to be effective, different localities as well as levels require unique adaptation strategies based on their peculiar characteristics. Migration as an adaptation strategy at the micro level is however less understood and it is unclear whether migration results in incremental or transformational adaptation for livelihood improvement. This study provides an opportunity to examine adaptation strategies at the micro level and the effectiveness of these strategies with respect to the categorisations presented above.

2.3.5 Translocal Approach to Migration as an Adaptation Strategy

Translocality as a concept in migration literature that refers to the processes that describe the socio-spatial dynamics of simultaneity and identity formation across locations (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). It expresses the interconnectedness of migration within socio-spatiality through translocal networks. The concept of translocality emerged to address the limitations of migration as an adaptation strategy and to enhance the understanding of

migration from an integrative perspective of people's vulnerability in the context of environment-migration nexus.

Sakdapolrak et al. (2016) enumerated these limitations in the literature as 1) the thesis of migration as a rational decision strategically taken by households as posited by Kaag (2004), emphasizes the household as the unit of analysis which neglects the social , the relations and structural constraints of migration as a strategy; 2) the use of assets to stress the capacity to adapt and a measure of the quality of adaptions reduces societal actors to be homogenous with the same interests and aspirations but only different in their asset portfolio; 3) financial and social remittances are considered the main motivation which downplays the significance of interconnectedness which explains the patterns of change over time; 4) limiting destination and origin flow of remittances to international and rural-urban migration neglects the influence of mobile actors in remittances; and 5) the conceptualization of the relationship between society and environment stressing the environment as threat needs to be analyzed to show both sides since the environment could equally be a resource.

Translocatity demonstrates the dynamic interconnectedness of people's vulnerability within space through translocal networks that facilitates the exchange of resources to build social resilience among social actors with different endowments through their daily experiences (Sakdapolrak et al., 2016). People with different adaptive capacity therefore can operate within their different translocal networks to build resilience. Chung also suggested

that translocality underscores multi-positionality which ensures mobility of both physical and social positions which allows for the exchange of resources to build resilience through social relations (Chung, 2018). Translocality embeds people daily activities within mobility to ensure the building of resilience to vulnerability through translocal networks. This allows the building of livelihood systems through mutual relationships between different localities (Islam and Herbeck, 2013).

Translocality provides the framework to embed culture within the environment by explaining how cultural dimensions interact with the environment (Parsons, 2018). Culture influences the behaviours and actions of people, and it is therefore intriguing to understand the cultural exchanges within space, position and place through translocal networks which facilitates the building of social resilience to environmental vulnerability within a particular sociocultural context. Greiner (2010) indicated that translocality does not only facilitates transfer of remittances to build resilient livelihoods but connects places through translocal networks which results in identity formation of the social actors in the process.

Translocality allows exchanges between social actors through mobility to build resilience to livelihood risky through migrants' daily experiences within the context of their adaptive capacity. Translocal social actors are rational beings and operate within what is sociocultural and environmentally acceptable to their locations. This allows for the creation and maintenance of social identity. Even though translocality has been explored within the

literature, it has been limited to international and rural-urban migration; little has been done for rural-rural migration. Yet fosters an understanding of seasonal migration and livelihood exchanges between destinations and sending communities.

2.4 Understanding the Process of Migration through Social Networks

Social networks are significant mechanisms in facilitating the migration process; they provide the contacts from which migrants obtain both emotional and physical support to enable them to migrate and access migration resources. This support, in the form of social capital helps migrants to determine where to migrate, how to migrate, and what to do at their destination. This section explores the types of social networks and the extent to which they influence migration. Examining the debates about the importance of social networks and social capital in facilitating seasonal migration among rural households is important because it provides the basis in understanding why households resort to seasonal rural to rural migration other than other form of migration.

2.4.1 Theoretical Concepts of Social Networks

There are two dominant conceptualisations in the understanding of social networks: social network theory and social capital theory. These are interrelated, such that social capital is an outcome of social networks. The two concepts are explained in this section and their value for this research explained.

Social Network Theory

Social network theory (SNT) was borne out of the weaknesses of Structural-Functional Theory (SFT) in the study of complex societies (Noble, 1973). These weaknesses are identified by Noble (ibid) as social networks being studied within well-defined boundaries, thus making society enclosed. Also, SFT suggests that a phenomenon could not be studied as a function of a prerequisite phenomenon, which is a fallacy of functional teleology. Furthermore, SFT is static and does not reflect reality because society is dynamic. Lastly, the value of individuals as elements in the approach is not considered. These limitations make it difficult to understand exogenous relationships among individuals and the world around them, which is the basis for which networks facilitate migration of individuals and households.

SNT operates on the assumption that humans are possessive and interested in establishing relations between and among individuals and family within a society which is dynamic and lends itself to change (Noble, 1973). This provides people the opportunity to make personal choices and possibly manipulate relations to their benefit. Social networks are the means by which individuals interact among themselves and their environment. This interaction facilitates familiarity and the exchange of ideas, and the formation of relationships among them. As such, social networks in migration are described by De Haas (2010) as the set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in both origin and destination communities. De Haas (2010) explains that these ties are expressed through

bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared interests, such as, inter alia, community of origin and language.

Social networks are conceptualised as the interactive processes that lead to the formation and dissemination of norms and values within a social system. This form of interaction transcends family interactions, such as marriage, sustenance of the home, or family, as conceived by Noble's earlier hypothesis. This explanation provides the foundation for a broader sociological analysis of human behaviours and motivations which influence migration decisions. It assumes that humans are rational economic agents who will explore newer livelihood and economic systems when existing ones are failing. This is facilitated through interactions with other social and economic systems. For instance, Williams and Durrance (2008) describe social phenomena as an activity across a network of actors with various ties between them and that the relationship between two actors is the foundation of the network. However, this perspective of social networks does not recognise single relationships as a form of network. According to Krause et al. (2007), social networks as understood within the social science literature provide a framework for the study of complex social structures of human social organisation from individual interactions that solve societal problems.

De Haas (2010) posited that social networks, as a framework, operate at both meso and macro levels, each with a different emphasis. Macro level networks deal with national and global processes, such as economic, political, social and cultural change. Meanwhile, meso level networks emphasise regular

social and community interactions and provide a channel for the transmission of information across the space between migrants' origin and destination which could take the form of rural-rural, rural-urban, or urban-urban migration.

Haug (2008) empirical study on migration networks and migration decisions concluded that social networks play a major role in migration and could offer explanations for chain migration processes. For instance, Haug (ibid) established that fifty-one per cent (51%) of short-term migrants to Bulgaria had social links to the place of destination. This is consistent with De Haas' (2010) position that the circular migration process is facilitated by a feedback mechanism through networks. This feedback mechanism is grouped into two: endogenous, consisting of networks and remittances; and contextual, relating to the impact of migration on inequality, entrepreneurship, economic growth, social stratification, and cultural change.

Contextual factors operate at both destination and origin, however, studies focus on endogenous feedback of networks and remittances (De Haas, 2010). This suggests that social networks play a significant role in household migration decision-making. Additionally, Hoang (2011) highlighted the important influence of social networks on internal national scale migration decisions (See also Boyd, 1989) as networks provide information, assurance of a means to acclimatise to a new environment, and a reduction in the costs and risks of migration. As such, Hoang (2011) identified three functions of social networks in migration as:

i) a source of social control to check the behaviour of those who migrate out of the household;

ii) a means of family support through the creation of opportunities for other family members to migrate outside their immediate environment; and

iii) the provision of some benefits to the family in the form of remittances.

Indeed, social networks can either promote or suppress migration through remittances or information. Remittances could encourage potential households' members with the intentions to migrate to do so by providing resources to meet the expenses of migration. By contrast, remittances or information could equally suppress migration by empowering households to adapt to changing climatic conditions through investment in technologies that build resilience at home, or by hearing reports of negative migratory experiences which subsequently reduce the propensity to migrate (Nawrotzki et al., 2015). Similarly, Michaelides (2011) argued that although both wage differentials between locations and social networks can motivate households and individuals to migrate, and strong social networks at the place of origin could be inimical to decisions about migration since people are so attached to their kinsmen that they are reluctant to migrate. There are, however, some limitations to this theory. Noble (1973) highlights ambiguity in the term 'network' which can be interpreted differently by different people. There is also an issue of discrepancies in the focus of the network which many view to mean 'the family' while others see it as 'the individual'. There is also the

question of density of the network in terms of closely knit and loosely knit and their importance in the migration process. Understanding the use of networks in migration is limited in the literature and this study explores how these networks are utilized.

Social Capital Theory

Social capital is considered a product of a social network (De Haas, 2010), and the processes of social networks lead to the acquisition of social capital. Social capital, an upshot of capital theory, highlights the importance of the sense of community in the well-being of individuals. Social capital is considered a form of capital like other forms of capital, i.e., it is a long-term asset which can be invested through social networks. Like other forms of capital, social capital is appropriable and convertible in the sense that it can be transformed into other forms of capital, making it substitutable and complementary. Furthermore, it can be treated, and maintained, as a collective good like other forms of capital. However, unlike other forms of capital, social capital is difficult to quantify (Adler and Kwon, 2002).

Conceptualisation of social capital emerged in the 1900s through the work of Hanifan (1916) who described it as an intangible substance that counts in the daily lives of people, e.g., good will, fellowship, mutual sympathy, and social intercourse of individuals and families who form a social unit. Hanifan (ibid) argued that, in the establishment of an organisation, accumulation of social capital in the form of human beings is vital to the mobilisation of other forms of capital, such as finance and expertise, to produce societal good. This conceptualisation of social capital is explicit in business establishments

where entrepreneurship is pivotal to the organisation of the other forms of capital.

With respect to migration, the individual is socially non-functional without interaction with his neighbour; through interactions individuals accumulate social capital for the benefit of society. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) defined social capital as "norms and networks that enable people to act collectively". They argued that social capital plays a significant role in poverty reduction among poor and vulnerable households through the development of institutions in communities. Halpern (2005) defined social capital as, "social networks, norms and sanctions that facilitate cooperative actions among individuals and communities". He views networks as the relationships between actors in a network, norms as the rules, values and codes that harmonise the operations of networks, and sanctions as rewards and punishments which help to maintain the norms and networks. In addition to networks and norms Winkels and Adger (2002) emphasised trust to be that which drives cooperation and coordination among relationships. From these definitions, social capital can be considered to be embedded in the participation of individual actors in society and to yield resources.

The main substance of social capital theory is the ability to utilise both formal and informal social networks to leverage resources for the benefit of individuals and communities. Tracing social capital theory to the work of Glenn Loury in the late 1970s, Liu (2013) viewed social capital in two dimensions: i) social relationships that provide access to resources; and ii)

the quantity and quality of the resources available which can be transformed into other forms of resources, such as human, cultural, social, and economic.

Lin (2002) posited that social capital operates on the basis of four components of ties, identified as:

1. the flow of information between social locations useful for reducing transactional cost and risk, as well as taking advantage of opportunities;

2. the exertion of influence on actors in decision-making which formulates decisions at various levels;

3. the award of credentials to individuals which make it easier for them to access resources for their benefit; and

4. the reinforcement of identity and recognition which provides emotional support.

These theoretical approaches to social capital suggest that there are valued resources in the form of information and support embedded in social relations which are accessed by individuals to shape their decision to either migrate or not. However, these resources are contingent on the degree of ties established by the various actors through social networks.

Conceptually, social capital operates within social structures where the location of an actor in the structure determines access to the benefits of social capital (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Social structure is categorised into three relations:

1) market relations, which involve the exchange of goods and services through a medium;

2) hierarchical relations, which operate in the form of the exchange of material and spiritual security with obedience to authority; and

3) social relations, where exchange is made through interaction in social networks (Adler and Kwon, 2002, Lin, 2002).

With social relations in social structure, exchanges in the form of favour and gifts, such as information, support, or remittances, are made through social networks where terms of reference are tacit and diffused, unlike the other structures (Adler and Kwon, 2002). According to Liu (2013), the basic assumption of social capital in migration is based on the ties migrants establish with non-migrants that then enable them to migrate through the provision of resources in the form of information and support.

These resources lead migrants to new opportunities and, at the same time, minimise the costs and risks of migration. In agreement, Scheffran et al. (2012) agree that communities' build resilience to adapt to climatic stresses through social capital accumulated from social networks. Winkels and Adger (2002) add that social capital assumes an adaptive function by facilitating the movement and integration of migrants at the place of destination. This is possible through the extension of information and support through migration networks. For example, a study of farmers' adaptation to new ecological environments found that farmers gained knowledge and skills of their new environment through networks of friends and family already settled at the

destination (Winkels and Adger, 2002). Halpern (2005) claims that social capital through migration networks contributes to the improvement of rural livelihoods in many respects as a result of the accumulation of either bonding or bridging social capital (these are elaborated upon below). Halpern (ibid) demonstrates that having a wider class of networks yields bonding, bridging, and normative capital which reduces the possibility of unemployment. This affords individuals and households the opportunity to earn additional income for further investments in the places of origin in the form of remittances, improved technology, or improved lifestyle, as shown in Figure 2.2.
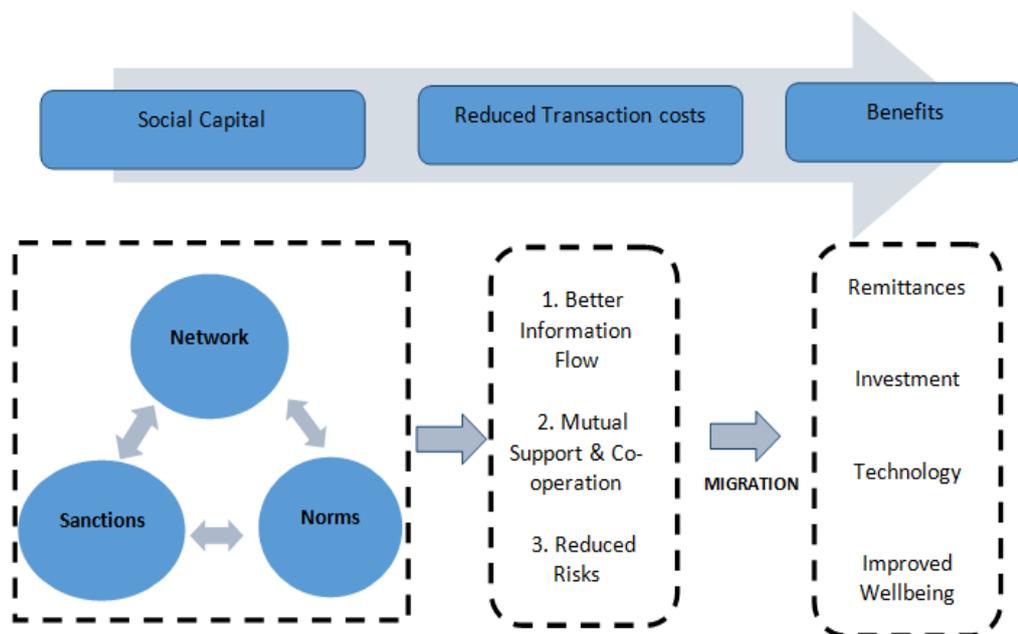
Figure 2. 2: Relationship between Social Capital and Household Livelihood Improvement (Adapted from Halpern, 2005)

There are, however, controversial issues regarding social capital which relate to its measurement. According to Lin (2002) and Adler and Kwon (2002), it is difficult to measure and quantify social capital in the manner of other capital of economic value because of its diffuse nature. There is the issue of closure, which attempts to exclude other social relations on the basis of trust

and solidarity. This limits the flow of resources to other actors and equally limits the flow of new ideas into the closure, thus ending innovation (Lin, 2002). Lin also argues that the collective or individualistic nature of social capital as an asset confounds norms and trust. These contentions impact on the accumulation of social capital for migration purposes that transform rural livelihoods.

To summarise, social capital plays a significant role for migration through the accumulation of valued resources via social networks. As such, a working definition for the purposes of this research sees social capital as any valued resource in the form of information, emotional support, or remittances accrued to an actor (household) as a result of their investment in informal social networks. The effectiveness of the resource lies in its ability to influence migration that improves the livelihood of an actor (household). There are, however, two different dimensions of social capital: bonding and bridging capitals acquired through strong and weak social networks, respectively. In the next section, the level influence of these dimensions of social capital in facilitating migration is examined.

2.4.2 Types of Social Networks

Within migration studies research, social networks appear significant in the processes of migration. They serve as a conduit through which potential migrants assess opportunities at various destinations, and thus influence migration decisions. This section reflects on the relevance of the two

different types of social networks and the social capital outcomes associated with them in the facilitation of migration.

Weak Ties (Bridging Capital) and Strong Ties (Bonding Capital)

SNT operates within the principle of ties which represent relationships between individuals or actors. Ties are differentiated based on duration, intensity, reciprocity, structure, intimacy, and social distance (Krämer et al., 2014). There are, however, two major categories of ties: strong ties, which are relationships between close family or household members; and weak ties, which constitute non-personal village relationships or acquaintances (Liu, 2013). According to Krämer et al. (2014), these ties within social networks aid the accumulation of all forms of social capital, including emotional, structural, and economic support. They also suggest that different types of network ties yield different kinds of social capital; strong ties accrue bonding social capital in the form of emotional support, while weak ties result in bridging social capital which is a good source of information. Krämer et al. (2014) established a strong correlation between bridging and bonding social capital such that either type of network is able to provide either kind of capital, with the exception that one is dominant in the provision of a particular capital. However, the quality and reliability of the ties determine the accompanying benefits. For example, De Haas (2010) asserted that the effectiveness of social capital depends on the size of network relationships and the volume of capital possessed by each network.

From a gender perspective, Creighton and Riosmena (2013) categorised migrant networks into patrilineal and matrilineal. The former is associated with men and the latter with women. These forms of networks tend to influence migration decision-making along gender lines. Hoang (2011) observed these different gender groups by showing how social networks differ with men having generally wider social networks than women. This is attributed to the same-sex networks by women compared to the cross-sex networks engaged by men (Creighton and Riosmena, 2013). Liu (2013) argued that men and women therefore experience migration differently due to their differentiated social networks. Accordingly, men require weak ties in the form of information and resources, while females need strong, dependable ties to migrate. As such, men dominate in migration activity because weak ties appear to be more effective in their impact on migration compared to strong ties.

Debates on the degree of influence of these two categories of ties continue and may depend on the scale of study. Liu (2013) study of migrants' networks and international migration concluded that weak ties, in the form of friendships and acquaintances, shape migration decisions more than strong ties. De Haas (2010) also found seasonal migration to depend on information flow via weak ties. By contrast, Görlich and Trebesch (2008) argue that stronger ties in social networks are more relevant than weak ties for international migration. They stressed that families and relations provide information regarding destination, modes of transport to destinations, as well as how to mitigate potential hazards. Similar findings by Krämer et al. (2014)

pointed out that strong ties provide more valuable information and emotional support compared to weak ties.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) suggested that outcomes which result from strong and weak ties of networks, in the form of bonding and bridging capital respectively, are relevant regardless of the kind of outcome each presents. Accordingly, different actors in social networks require varying proportions of the two dimensions of social capital. Therefore, better examination of this process through empirical study is required. Combinations of these dimensions may yield different outcomes as shown in Figure 2.3.
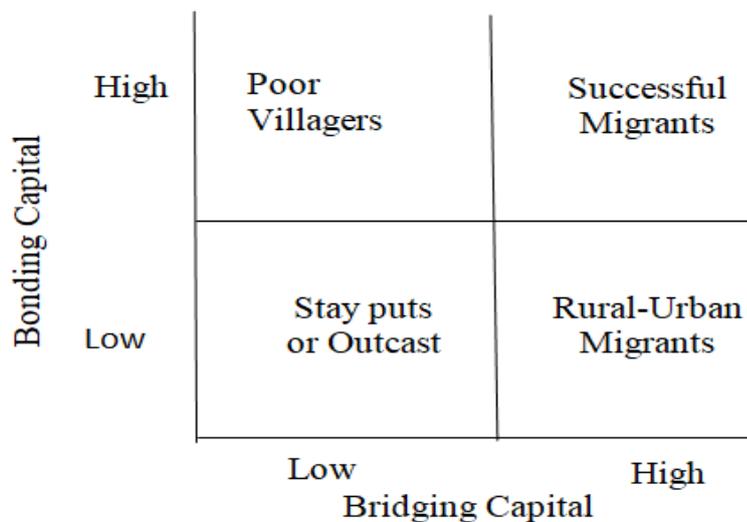
(Author's construction)
Figure 2. 3: Different Combinations of the Dimensions of Social Capital

In terms of migration, actors with low levels of bonding and bridging capital are most likely to remain in their homes or stay put since they have limited access to information and emotional support, thus they are not motivated to migrate. Actors with high bonding and low bridging capital are mostly poor

village households where societal cohesion is strong and social relations dense (De Haas, 2010, Massey, 2015). These actors have more emotional support through their bonding capital, but fewer opportunities as a result of less informational support, in turn due to limited weak ties, and are most likely to engage in rural-rural migration. Also, actors with high bridging social capital and low bonding capital are those who engage in rural-urban migration since they have greater adaptive capacity (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). They have more informational support, which provides them with many opportunities, compared to emotional support. Lastly, those actors who are successful are those with both high bonding and bridging capital since they have sufficient emotional and informational support as a result of their accumulation of social capital.

De Haas (2010) suggested that social networks are relevant to poor unskilled households challenged by the high costs of migration as this impacts their ability to mobilise social capital in the form of resources and support for any migration. From the theoretical perspective, it is unclear which type of social network is more relevant in facilitating migration, that with strong or with weak ties. The focus of this study, therefore, is to examine the relevance of these informal social networks, in the form of weak and strong ties, as the means of access to social capital which facilitates seasonal rural-rural migration as an adaptation strategy for rural households in times of livelihood stress. The objective is to foster better conceptual understanding of the role of relations in seasonal migration which improves the livelihoods of those rural people who use migration as an adaptation strategy. To fully reveal this

narrative, recognition of the gender nature of migration is required and a short summary of these gendered debates are examined below.

2.5 Gender and Migration in Patriarchal Societies

Gender dynamics in the migration process are significant since migration decisions are gendered and determines the pattern of migration. it shows the beneficiaries and those that are constrained in this phenomenon. This section therefore examines the role of gender in rural migration in patriarchal societies. Section 2.5.1 examines the social norms the influences rural migration while section 2.5.2 elaborates on the gendered trapped population in the migration process. It expresses why some people are constrained in the migration process even though confronted with livelihood challenges.

2.5.1 Social Norms and Gender Migration

While gender roles are socio-culturally constructed, they play a significant role in society in determining the adaptive capacity of men and women. Tacoli and Mabala (2010) argue that there are gender inequalities in both decision-making and access to household resources across macro and meso decision-making levels. These inequalities add to other aspects of socially constructed differentiation and powerlessness such as class, caste or ethnicity. Decisions about access to household productive resources, such as land, are determined based on a person's gender (Verner, 2012). These sociocultural constructions are geographically shaped and therefore there may be gender inequalities specific to context, which influence local decision-making and the ability of an individual to migrate or not. For

instance, in some Arab societies, women are responsible for agricultural production activities and household chores while men are engaged in trade. Meanwhile, women have less access and control over the land and limited capacity to adapt to livelihood challenges resulting from climate change. Even though migration is considered an adaptation strategy in response to livelihood failure by households, migration decisions remain gendered and are skewed in favour of men, a result of sociocultural norms coupled with the vulnerability of women. Hoang (2011) contends that, unlike men, migration by women is determined based on the surety that there is a kinsman or close relation at the destination who will guarantee to host them (Hoang, 2011). Also, Debnath (2015) found gender roles and inequalities within households, as well as societal perceptions of female migration to limit women from exploring migration as a livelihood alternative.

Although migration has long been male dominated and females are restricted by sociocultural reasons (Tacoli, 2009), it has also limited the potential of women to contribute to household livelihoods. This exacerbates the vulnerability not only of women particularly but of the household in developing countries where employment opportunities are decreasing and unemployment is increasing. Tacoli and Mabala (2010) contend that difficult economic conditions, as well as changing sociocultural perceptions of female migration, have resulted in increasing independent female migration into urban areas. They further argue that female migration is now socially acceptable as result of the women's higher levels of remittances to

households than males. This supports Debnath (2015) claim that female migrants remit more than their male counterparts.

The decisions by women to migrate are facilitated by cultural discrimination in terms of their access to land, and other productive resources, in the midst of hard economic conditions (Pedraza, 1991). Boyd (1989) posited that because males are generally considered as the breadwinners in most households, females are assumed to play a subordinate role. This has influenced some gendered labour policies to the detriment of females. For example, migration decisions are skewed towards males such that female migration is only relevant where:

1) males' control and own agricultural production;

2) there is reorganisation in favour of large farms compared to small land holdings which are dominated by females; and

3) domestic non-agricultural activities, which are mostly operated by females, collapse as a result of the influx of foreign goods.

Hitherto, females have migrated based on marital grounds, i.e. so they can join their partners or find suitable partners in other locations (Pedraza, 1991).

These gender-based sociocultural differences in migration, particularly in patriarchal communities, tend to undermine women's empowerment efforts and make them subservient to men's authority. Gender-based efforts to empower women consider all women to be the same, however, there are unique differences among women which are often overlooked; this skews women's efforts at emancipation. These differences among women equally

determine which category of women have the opportunity to migrate within the household setting. Gender-based differences are, however, highly contextual. This study, therefore, seeks to better understand how sociocultural and gender-based household differences influence seasonal rural to rural migration and the implications of this migration on changing gendered experience and opportunity.

2.5.2 Trapped Population and Gendered Migration

Trapped population is a concept that emerged from the climate and environmental change migration literature. The Foresight (2011) report described trapped population as vulnerable groups or households that are unable to move out from a vulnerable situation. Accordingly, these population are constrained by some circumstances to move even though challenged by adverse conditions. Lack of adaptive capacity turn to be the major constraining factor in the inability to move out. Wesselbaum and Aburn (2019) identified among others lack of liquidity and the inability of affected populations to internalize the risk and shock associated with environmental and climate change.

However, Adams (2016) considers immobility to be part of a continuum of migration decision making. According to Adams, some populations are not able to move not because of resource barriers but reasons such as positive place attachment, fear of or lack of interest in destinations, and negative place attachment in the for of obligations (Adams, 2016). This position diverges the homogeneous assumption that populations fail to move due to lack of

adaptive capacity by these population. Also, Black et al. (2011) suggest that decisions of trap populations to stay put amidst vulnerability are influenced by personal and family characteristics on one and societal barriers

Population may not only be trapped by vulnerable situations in the decision-making process, some section of the population could be trapped by the imposition of sociocultural norms by society. Vulnerability according Cannon (2002) causes poverty and the most affected by poverty in developing countries are women. Cannon further illustrated that though women are the most affected by poverty in developing countries, they are trapped by sociocultural factors to explore migration as an emancipating strategy (Cannon, 2002). These sociocultural patriarchal norms discriminate against women migration in rural areas though both men and women face the same livelihood challenges. For example, in most developing countries, culture places the responsibility of caring for the children as the duty of the woman (Cannon, 2002, Nowak, 2009, Brydon, 1992a). This responsibility restricts the mobility of women to migrate if they so desire. Gender norms assign financial responsibility of the household to men (Nowak, 2009), this cultural responsibility affords men the opportunity to migrate at the expense of women even if the woman has a better potential of bringing more remittances than the man.

Society and cultural perception of female migration turn to demoralise women migration. Patriarchal communities perceive women who migrate to be promiscuous (Brydon, 1992a). In the study of Georgian women, Hofmann

and Buckley (2012) indicated that there are negative societal perception of women migration. They found that women migration is incompatible with traditional gender roles that seek to tie women to their homes and families (Hofmann and Buckley, 2012). Gender selectivity of migration show that patriarchal and gender norms are emphasised in households with stronger patriarchal believes compared to households with weaker believe systems (Hofmann, 2014). It is considered that women migrants suffer stigma expressing their migration intentions as well as on their return from migration due to sociocultural norms that abhor migration in rural areas (Bélanger and Rahman, 2013). These discussions suggest that rural women generally are confronted with societal perception of migration due to traditional believes and practices compared to urban educated social class.

For women, most especially married women, sociocultural responsibilities and perceptions among rural communities remain a barrier that trap them, preventing them involving in migration. Sociocultural gender constraints confine the potential of women exploring seasonal migration to their benefits and that of the household. Women therefor depend on their spouses for their basic needs which leaves them at the directives of men. Sociocultural entrapment makes women subservient to men, who thereby exercise dominance and control in the household.

2.6 Drawing together these themes as a Conceptual Framing

There are three main survival factors that interact to ensure the wellbeing of every society and these are environmental, social, and economic (Halpern,

2005). The mutual interaction of these creates a sustainable livelihood mechanism for human survival. There are, however, livelihood stresses that interfere with this interaction which leading to instability, thereby creating unsustainable livelihoods system (Black et al., 2011). This is common with systems that are less resilient due to weaker adaptive capacity, most commonly rural settings. As a result, households have to adapt to these livelihood stresses within their environment by employing different strategies within their adaptive capacity. Diversification from their traditional means of livelihood is one of the means by which households respond to secure their livelihoods (Berlie, 2015). Diversification could take the form of on-farm or off-farm activities for agrarian environments (Niehof, 2004). On-farm activities are those that relate to agricultural forms of production, such as diversification from producing crops to animal rearing, or changing to a different crop variety. Off-farm diversification, on the other hand, relates to economic activities that are not agriculturally based. These include diversifying from agricultural production into non-farm businesses, such as petty trading, or other forms of value change that do not relate to direct agricultural production.

Migration has remained one means of off-farm diversification employed by rural households when confronted with livelihoods stresses (Karamba et al., 2011). Migration may either be a last resort or one of a mix of strategies (Adams and Neil Adger, 2013). However, migration can be operationalized either temporarily or permanently, depending on the household level of adaptive capacity and their attachment to their place of origin. Either form of operationalization is based on three forms of spatial category of migration:

rural-urban; urban-urban; and rural-rural (Hugo, 2011). However, adoption of any of these forms of migration depends on the adaptive capacity of migrant households, this includes the levels of both the skills and the social networks that exist (Berlie, 2015). Social capital, accumulated from social networks, facilitates and determines the direction of migration. It provides social infrastructure in the form information and emotional support which minimises both the costs and risks of migration.

In summary, when there is instability in the interaction among the three factors of wellbeing, livelihood stresses are created which put pressure on the existing livelihood system. Households respond to these pressures by diversifying through the different pathways of which seasonal rural migration is one. Those with the capacity adapt to these changes, and thus reduce their livelihood stresses, either by simply coping or becoming more resilient. Those households with less capacity fail to adapt and this further deepens their livelihood stresses and makes them more vulnerable in their communities. This worsens their problems of hunger, nutrition, and disease, and leads to poverty and loss of their social identity in the community. This is summarized in Figure 2.4 below.
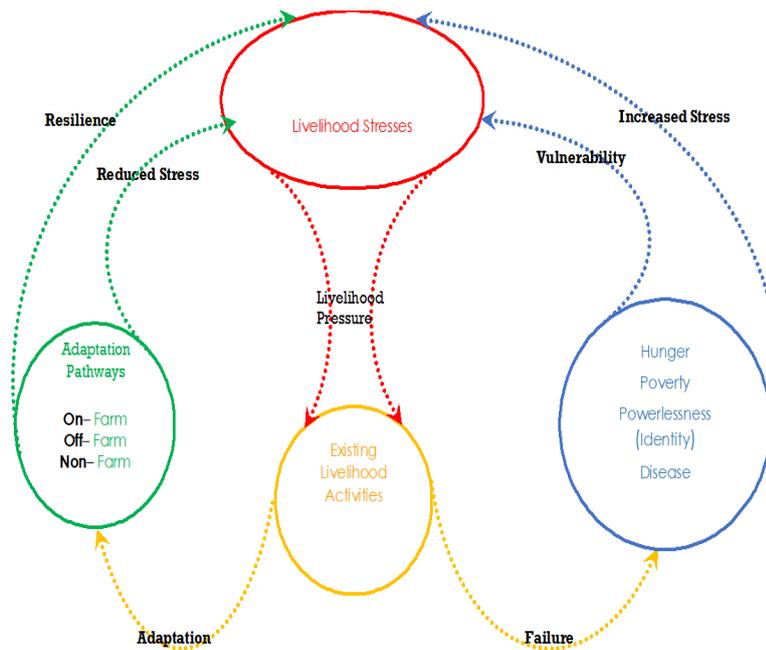
Figure 2. 4: Conceptual Framework

2.7 Summary

The section reviewed key debates on livelihoods and migration that underpin this research, identifying the conceptual and empirical gaps in knowledge and theoretical ideas that helped to guide the research design. The review revealed that rural households are confronted with livelihood stresses as a result of their dependence on rainfed agriculture as a main livelihood activity resulting in seasonal food insecurity. To address this livelihood challenge, rural seasonal migration is considered a diversification option by rural households to earn income to supplement household needs. Even though seasonal migration is well documented in literature, rural-rural seasonal migration remained under researched as an important livelihood strategy of rural households. While migration is significant in rural livelihoods, there exist gendered disparities in rural household migration decisions. These

gender differences affect household relations and power dynamics. These are influenced by sociocultural and patriarchal norms that seem to entrench the differences. However, there are limited studies on gender analysis of migration particularly within rural context. The processes of migration are facilitated by social networks, however, which types of social networks are effective in rural migration are not well documented. These gaps guide the design of this research. The next chapter presents the study design and methods used.

Chapter Three

Study Area and Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

An understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration is shaped by a range discourses in disciplines across the social sciences. Research can, therefore, draw on quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method methodologies to investigate different aspects of migration. In section 3.2, this chapter presents the rationale for the research approach adopted for this study. It contextualises the study area, highlighting the main geographical, socio-cultural, and economic characteristics in section 3.3. The chapter then presents details of the research design, sampling and tools used for empirical data collection in section 3.4 and includes discussion of issues relating to ethics and positionality. Section 3.5 reflects on the scope, limitations, and challenges encountered in the course of the data collection and finally, section 3.6 provides a summary of the chapter.

3.2 Theoretical Positioning of the Study

Theoretical and philosophical assumptions are the framework based on which reality is constructed. Guba (1990) contends that philosophical assumptions are paradigms of "basic sets of beliefs that guide actions" of inquiry. He noted four paradigms guiding social inquiry: first, positivism which is based on the realist ontology that reality is out there and can be

established by fixed natural laws; second, postpositivism which takes the ontological view of a critical realism belief system that the real world can be established by natural laws inaccurately through human intellective mechanisms; third, critical theory of which the ontological construction of reality is based on human value; and four, constructivism whereby the ontology of reality is that it exists in the form of several mental constructions influenced contextually by the social experiences of those who hold them. Similarly, Creswell and Clark (2011) categorised these paradigms into four worldviews of postpositivism, constructivism, participatory, and pragmatism.

Research paradigms and ontological views inform the interrelationship between epistemological, theoretical, and methodological perspectives with the methods, or tools, used in any social inquiry (Crotty, 1998). Thus, epistemology establishes the relationship between the observer and the observed and the degree of interaction between them (Creswell and Clark, 2011, Crotty, 1998, Gray, 2013, Guba, 1990). The adoption of one viewpoint defines the methodological approach and the appropriate methods to be operationalised through an established theoretical lens. Carter and Little (2007) described methodology as the logical construction and justification of the research methods. It serves as a plan of action for the researcher. Thus, methodology plays a dual function of defining the objectives, questions, and the design of the research, while at the same time being shaped by these features (objectives, questions, and design).

An appraisal of the methodological approaches employed in the study of migration in general showed that research has employed largely quantitative approaches (Caldwell, 1968, De Haas, 2006) and limited qualitative investigations (e.g. Bélanger and Rahman, 2013). In a methodological review of approaches to climate change-migration research, Piguet (2010) categorised six different research methods of inquiry used in this area: ecological inferences based on area characteristics; individual sample surveys; time series analysis; multilevel analysis; agent-based modelling; qualitative analysis; or ethnographic studies. Most of these identified approaches focus on the use of quantitative techniques, as acknowledged by Piguet (ibid). However, these methods have both strengths and weaknesses in their application. This study takes a constructivist position on the construction of social reality. This stance emphasises that reality is constructed from the individual viewpoint of the participant (Crotty, 1998). Constructivism is closely related to interpretivism as each differentiates natural reality from social reality in the form of inquiry (Gray, 2013). This informs the ethnographically led methodology used in this research. This epistemological and methodological position is appropriate for the socioeconomic and cultural understanding of migration as an adaptation strategy to mitigate livelihood vulnerability within the contextual settings of the migrant. Despite the criticism of ethnography as a subjective involvement of the researcher (Gray, 2013), ethnography emphasises the documentation of details, and the use of mixed methods in the gathering of evidence provides a balanced approached to the study. This minimises the limitations of purely

qualitative or quantitative approaches through complementarity of the strengths and weaknesses of both methods.

Further, this research utilizes a case study research strategy. This approach provides the opportunity for the researcher to investigate the particular phenomenon uniquely within its geographical context (Yin, 2003). The uniqueness of this strategy rests on the variations in geographical features, such as the physical, cultural, political, and socioeconomic elements which construct the livelihoods of the people. Also, this approach helps the researcher to narrow the focus of the study. Yin maintains that this approach allows the use of multiple sources of data for the purpose of accuracy in the findings and the conclusions drawn (Yin, 2003).

Moreover, such a strategy represents a good fit to the context of this study as the aim is to investigate the seasonal migration which is a contemporary development issue that impacts the livelihood survival of a particular group of people. Since livelihoods depend on the natural and cultural characteristics of a particular location, a case study approach is appropriate to examine the phenomenon based on the merits of the location.

3.3 Research Area

This section concerns itself with the physical, socioeconomic, and cultural features of the study area based on which data is collected for the analysis and discussion. This provides the context for the examination of seasonal migration and livelihoods systems. The study was conducted in two

communities, Korro and Naawie, in the Lambussie District of the Upper West region of Ghana (see Figure 3.1). Lambussie district is located in the north-west of the region. It is bounded to the west by Lawra and Nandom districts, to the east by Sissala-West district, to the south by Jirapa district, and to the north by Burkina Faso. The 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) estimated the population of the district at 51,654, constituting 7.1% of the regional population. This population is dichotomised into 48% males and 52% females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b).

In most of cases communities in the district are connected by feeder roads, even though the road network is limited in terms of access. This may be challenging to some agricultural communities with regard to their access to markets. Korro is about 30 kilometres from the District capital Lambussie, while Naawie is about 25 kilometres distant. This district is located in the Guinea Savanna land area of Northern Ghana. There are two main reasons for the selection of these two communities. First, seasonal migration is significant in the district (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014) and therefore, in the two communities. Also, Korro and Naawie are rural communities and constitute a multicultural setting as they host the two major ethnic groups in the region. This provides the opportunity for a balanced understanding of the rural-rural seasonal migration and rural livelihoods from the perspective of both ethnic groups.
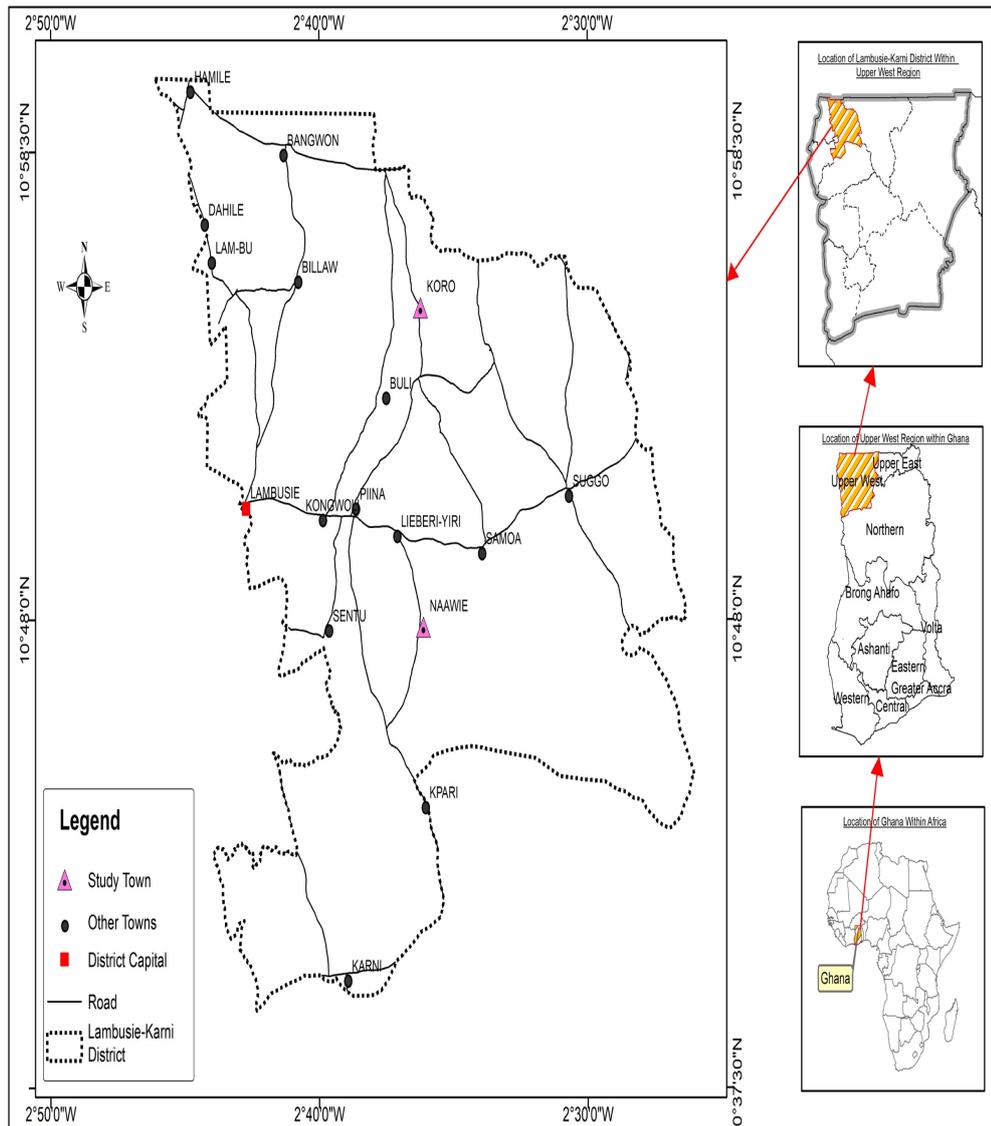
Figure 3. 1: Map Indicating the Geographical Location of the Study Area

3.3.1 Ethno-Cultural Composition of the Area

Korro and Naawie are composed of two main ethno-cultural groups, the Dagara and the Sissalas, who live in mutual coexistence. There are, however, minor ethnic group settlers such as the Fulani nomadic group. The people in the region originally practiced the Traditional African Religion until the introduction of Western religion. Field observations and informal interviews revealed ethnic differences to be reflected in affiliations with their Western

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religions. The Dagara are mostly associated with Christianity, while the Sissalas are more likely to follow Islam. These religious affiliations have a significant impact on the determination of the types of crops cultivated and animals reared.

3.3.2 Topography and Vegetation of the Area

Lambussie District is fairly flat and low lying with a granite rock base situated 300m above sea level. The soil is generally sandy loam, which supports crop production, however, there are some locations in the district that have clayey soil, especially around Billaw and Hamile (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014). The vegetation is Guinea Savanna woodland (see Plate 3.1) which supports economic tree crops such as dawdaw[1], shea[2], and baobab[3]. There is a limited number of rivers in the district which makes drainage poor, particularly in the rainy season. Settlements in the district are disperse in nature, particularly in Korro and Naawie which are some distance away from the district capital. This settlement pattern allows households to farm around their settlements.

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[1] *Parkia biglobosa*
[2] *Vitellaria paradoxa*
[3] *Adansonia digitata*

Plate 3. 1: Landscape of Naawie Community

3.3.3 Climate and Rainfall Pattern of the Area

Northern Ghana experiences longer dry seasons and shorter rainy seasons compared to the south. The northern sector of the country is characterised by a unimodal rainfall which is erratic and unpredictable. Thus, the study communities located in this part of the country are confronted by associated challenges. In an interview with a member of the Ghana Meteorological Agency (GMet) in the Upper West region in early July 2017, it was revealed that in recent times the rainy season has become shorter with uncertain onsets. This claim was corroborated in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) undertaken in the communities. Communities observed that rains usually start in late June and end in November. This means that the farmers now experience a longer dry season than in the past. The mean annual rainfall and temperature figures are 900-1100mm and 28-31°C, respectively

((Lambussue-Karni District, 2014). These climatic figures have negative implications for agricultural productivity and food security and add to the danger of bushfires.

3.3.4 Economic Activities in the Area

Subsistence agriculture is the main economic activity of the people in these communities. Agriculture in the district employs 72.5% of the population with gender participation estimated at 77.7% for males and 68.2% for females (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014). Even though a significant percentage of women are engaged in agriculture in the district, the right to land is customarily the preserve of males and vested in the family head as well as the Tendana[4]. Land tenure systems tend to limit and regulate the utilization of land in this part of the country. Unfortunately, women rely on the males for land for whatever purpose. Other non-farming economic activities in the area include wholesale and retail, and the manufacture and vulcanisation of rubber. The most common farming system practiced is the intensive system of cultivation of a piece of land which is a result of an increasing population.

Livelihood diversification is limited in the study areas due to limited opportunities and high levels of poverty. The incidence of poverty in in the

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[4] *Tendana is the custodian of lands in most communities in the north. He has the responsibility of performing spiritual sacrifices with regards to land on behalf of the entire community. There are various dialectical names given to this "landhead", but his role remains the same with regard to land in the north. It is worth mentioning that this does not apply to lands in southern Ghana since there is a different land arrangement system.*

region is 70.7%, while in the Lambussie district it is 72.6% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015). Households in this area find access to resources too challenging to enable them to engage in any meaningful diversification. Non-farming diversification opportunities are dependent on the natural resource base of the communities, such as charcoal production, however, this non-farming form of diversification has implications for the environment.

Seasonal migration in the district as a whole and the selected communities is on the increase (Ministry of Food and Agriculture-Ghana, 2016). This is attributed to the lack of employment opportunities in the dry season in the district (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014). Largely, it is the men who migrate in the area, however, there is increasing significance of women migration into urban areas in search of menial jobs to support themselves and their families. Even though this is not popular, there are reported cases and some security issues associated with it (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014).

3.4 Research Design

This section presents the rationale for the choice of the research communities and their location. It explains the methods and tools employed in the process of data collection and analysis and includes ethical considerations and the limitations associated with the research. It also explains the researcher's positionality and the fieldwork process.

3.4.1 Choice of Communities

Northern Ghana experiences a unimodal rainfall pattern compared to other parts of the country (Bekye, 1998, Ministry of Food and Agriculture-Ghana, 2016), which favours one cropping season in a year. With agriculture as the main livelihood activity in the area, its people are left idle during the off-cropping season. They are compelled to migrate to other locations that offer livelihood opportunities. Also, the northern sector is located within the Guinea Savanna belt where desertification is fast encroaching and impacting negatively on agricultural productivity.

The Upper West region has been identified in the PHC report as the poorest in the country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). With increasing climate variability and change, agricultural productivity is declining and this acts as a push factor for households to migrate (Van Der Geest, 2011). The above-mentioned reasons serve as the rationale for the selection of the region for this study. Korro and Naawie communities were identified for the data collection due to the increasing seasonal migration from the area (Lambussue-Karni District, 2014), as well as the ethno-cultural mix of the two communities which provides a fair and balanced view of the activities undertaken by the two main groups in the region.

3.4.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis defines the subject for analysis based on which generalization is made to a larger group (Babbie, 2005). Sarantakos (2013) maintains that different levels of research require different units of analysis.

Thus, there is the need to define the context of the study from the onset. The unit of analysis for this research is the household. There are different constructions of a household within space and time based on different criteria adhered to by different users and actors (Gödecke and Waibel, 2016, Schiff, 2008). The Ghana Statistical Service (2013) described a household as a person or group of persons living in the same house or space sharing the same house-keeping arrangements and recognising one person as head of household. This study focuses on the household as a spatial unit where members share common basic domestic and reproductive activities. During FGDs in the field it was observed that participants define a household to include all members present or temporarily absent from the housing unit who contribute to the economic and social well-being of the home and who are affected by household decisions.

Participants considered the headship of the household to be the most senior male in the household who is of sound mind. Decisions in the household are taken by the household head who may not necessarily be the breadwinner, but who is the custodian of the household's assets and liabilities. Most of these observed households were headed by males based on the patrilineal system of inheritance practiced in northern Ghana, even though females may contribute significantly to the economic substance of the household. There are, however, a few isolated cases of female headed households, generally as a result of the death of their spouse. In such arrangements, the female is responsible for the economic and sustenance decisions for her immediate

dependants (children), but not for productive (or otherwise) assets for the larger family.

Schiff (2008) acknowledges that household characteristics are significantly influenced by migration, and thus impact on both household income and poverty. As such, this study considers a household to include all persons currently living there, or who are temporarily elsewhere, who contribute to the economic and social welfare of the household and are affected by the decisions of the household.

3.4.3 Sampling of Participants

Snowball sampling was used to identify migrants since they are by definition transient and require fore-knowledge to locate them. This sampling procedure was appropriate as it was difficult to identify migrant farmers from non-migrant farmers. According to Watts and Halliwell (1996), snowball sampling requires confidentiality to allow people to own up and speak freely. As such, the trust of the participants was built through several interactions and the community durbars organized by the chiefs of the various communities. Some, however, looked apprehensive at the beginning because of the new government policy which aims to deter illegal mining in the country. This was expected because some migrants were involved in this practice and feared being reported. For the household survey, sampling was done based on an existing list of households in the areas captured by their various CHPS compounds. These institutions exist in these communities to provide health serves to their respective communities and as part of their

routine immunization exercise, the facility has a comprehensive list of households in their jurisdiction.

Table 3.1 and Figure 3.2 provides a summary of the sampling demographics of participants and the characteristics of the in-depth interviews and the data collection process.

Table 3. 1: Details of the Sample and the Population

Community	Naawie	Korro
Population(approximated)	838	1095
Number of households(approximated)	308	240
Number of households surveyed	120	80
Number of in-depth interviews	23	22
Number of females interviewed	9	10
Number of migrants Interviewed	14	11
Number of female migrants interviewed	4	2
Number of focus group discussions held	7	5
Number of female focus group discussions held	3	2
Number of institutional interviews	4	
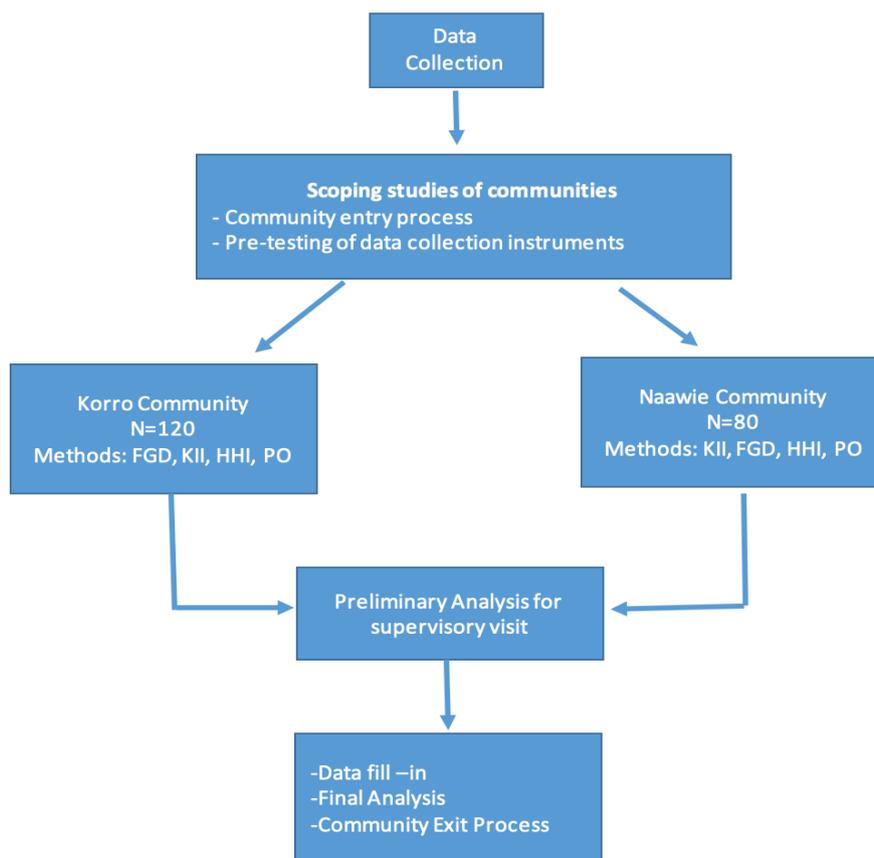
Figure 3. 2: Diagrammatic Illustration of the Data Collection Process

3.4.4 Data Collection Methods

This section describes the various methods used in the gathering of evidence for the study. Different data collection approaches were employed in this exercise: quantitative (household survey); qualitative (observation, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews); and participatory methods (seasonal calendar, wealth ranking). Secondary data in the form documentation from the governmental organisations, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA), the District Assembly, and the GMet. were consulted. The methods of the various approaches are explained below.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was used, essentially, to validate claims made by research participants during interviews and administration of the questionnaire (Carr, 2014). Living in the research communities and interacting with them daily provided the opportunity to participate in their activities and to closely observe participants as they went about their daily lives. Although this method comes with a level of subjectivity in what is observed (Bell, 2005), it provided the opportunity to observe detailed events in the field which could have been concealed if other methods had been used. Participant observation provided the opportunity to study agricultural practices and other livelihood activities engaged in by households in the communities. The as part of the observations, migrants were followed to a few of their destinations in the Brong Ahafo and Northern regions.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussion allows for consensus building on conflicting issues that arise either in the course of the discussions or through individual interviews (Bell, 2005, Carr, 2014, Gray, 2013). Due to household differences and sensitivity, care was taken in the moderation of discussions in order to avoid hurting the feelings of individuals. Therefore, emotions and passions of individuals were taken into consideration in the moderation of sessions. Emotional issues that emerged mostly concerned women whose husbands had migrated leaving them behind to look after the rest of the household without any support. Overall, eleven (11) focus group discussions were moderated involving migrant farmers, spouses of migrant farmers, non-

migrant farmers, spouses of non-migrant farmers, and female migrants. Participants determined locations and times convenient to them for these interactions. An interview guide was designed and used to moderate discussions such that everyone understood the context of the research. An average of six to eight individuals constituted a focus group for discussions.

Plate 3. 2: Focus Group Discussion with Women Group in Naawie

Plate 3. 3: Focus Group Discussion with Male Migrants in Korro Community

In-depth Interviews

Interviews are the main source of data collection in a case study approach to research. Ethnographic interviews focus on what is said and how it is said, and this provides an interrelationship between the how and the why (Gray, 2013). The mood and body expressions of participants in responding to questions were taken into considerations and further probing done where necessary. In-depth interviews were conducted with various community members, including seasonal migrants, non-migrants, the Assembly persons, chiefs, as well as male and female community members. These interviews were formal, and consent was sought from the individual participants. The interviews were done on an individual basis as Carr (2014) suggests that one-on-one interviews are most effective in eliciting information as they provide the opportunity for triangulation with other forms of information. These interviews were guided by interview protocols that were designed for the purposes of this study.

Household Survey

Questionnaires were designed to elicit information about household migration activities and how they have transformed livelihoods. Questions covered livelihood challenges at the origin, factors that motivate individuals to migrate, and household expenditures, among others. The survey processed by an interview with a member of the household in the presence of other members who were mostly consulted for agreement on a particular response to a question. Household heads either acted as the main respondent to the interview questionnaire or nominated someone to respond. Notes were taken

as the process of interviewing to capture issues that emerged in the course of the interview. In all, 200 questionnaires were administered to 200 households in the two communities (120 for Korro and 80 for Naawie).

Seasonal Calendar

The use of a Seasonal Calendar was a participatory technique used in some group discussions to determine activities and particular roles played at certain times of the year. Participants explained their actions with regard to agricultural and livelihood activities in each of the twelve calendar months of the year. This interactive process enabled participants to interact, discuss, and agree on what is usually done by most households at certain times of the year. The technique helped to understand timelines for farming, periods of food shortages, and when most people migrate and return from their journeys. The technique took into consideration various gender roles performed in agricultural and some livelihood functions at certain times of the year.

Wealth Ranking

Wealth ranking is a participatory technique employed to better understand households' definition of wealth and how the households are categorised. Participants categorisation of wealth identified three categories: above average, average; and below average, as shown in Table 3.1. Several wealth indicators were identified and associated with the various wealth categories. Emphasis was placed on the discussions that led to the distribution of the indicators among the various categories. Local items, such as pots, broom

sticks, and ashes, were used to symbolise wealth categories and as indicators.

This method provided the opportunity to better understand the dynamics and

reasons for the decisions made in the households.

Table 3. 2: Wealth Categorization from Focus Group Discussion

Wealth Category	Definition	Indicators
Below Average	This category represents those who are landless and cannot support themselves, even how to get food is a problem but these people have to rely on others.	• No assets such as land, cattle, very poor shelter • Beg to eat • Cannot afford basic services
Average	Here household can afford, at least, to feed themselves and afford basic services, such as healthcare.	• Have land • Have a decent place to sleep • Have up to 3-5 cattle, sheep, goats up to 5 • Have a pair of bullocks or a donkey • Have a bicycle • Possess NHIS card
Above Average	This constitutes those households who have decent income sources and can afford what they want	• Have zinc and block house • Have cattle up to 8 and above • Can afford electricity • Have a motorbike • Can afford education • Have a herd of sheep and goats • Have a shop • Can afford tractor services

Documents

Documents constitute an important component of data collection. However, Yin (2003) points out that even though documents are useful sources of data, the issues of bias and inaccuracies should be of concern in their usage. These forms of evidence were used to corroborate evidence from other primary sources. This form of triangulation firmed up the findings of the results obtained. In this study documents consulted included those of organisations such as the District Assembly (DA), the Ghana Statistical Service, the Ghana Meteorological Agency, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and NGOs.

3.4.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues in social science research are critical since participants dignity and integrity are involved and researchers try, as much as possible, to avoid harm to participants in whatever form (Bell, 2005, Gray, 2013). Bryman stressed that not only are ethical issues important in the field of data collection, they are equally important throughout the entire research process (Bryman, 2016). In this study, ethical clearance was granted by University's Ethics and Research Committee to undertake the research - this is an assurance that the study conforms with ethical procedures and is unlikely to cause harm to participants. This notwithstanding, precautions were taken in the field to ensure that local protocols which entrench the dignity and respect for cultural and social rights of individuals and the community as a whole were upheld. As Bell (2005) succinctly expressed, ethical considerations do not only guarantee participants rights, but also emphasise the researcher's position in the report and dissemination of findings.

A great proportion of Ghanaians in rural areas are illiterate. With reference to literacy levels, in their 2010 PHC report the Ghana Statistical Service stated that 62.8 per cent of rural populations aged 11 years and older in Ghana are literate. In the Upper West region, literacy figures for the entire region and its rural populations were estimated at 46 per cent and 41.3 per cent, respectively (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a). The implication is that the majority of the population in the region are illiterate. Thus, seeking written ethical consent was a difficult task for this research. A considerable amount of time and precautions were taken to reach ethical consent. An interpreter from each of the communities was employed to explain to participants the purpose of the research and the implications of taking part. To ensure their understanding and to gain their acceptance to take part, participants were addressed verbally in their local language. Such explanations were made at community durbars, at individual and at group levels, before any engagement took place. It was made clear that participants had the right to withdraw or decline to respond to any question, some did so and provided their reasons.

Confidentiality and anonymity are key in the conduct of every research study. Sapsford and Abbott (1996 as cited in Bell, 2005) defined confidentiality as the assurance not to be identified or presented in any identifiable form, while they defined anonymity as the promise that the researcher will not be able to identify responses of individual participants. Although these definitions ensure the protection of the rights of participants, in this study anonymity implies that, apart from the researcher, no other person will have access to participants' responses in any identifiable form unless it becomes necessary

at which point special consent from any participant(s) involved will be sought. All records relating to participants, in any form in which it was collected and/or used, will be destroyed on the completion of the PhD programme.

3.4.6 Recruitment of the Research Assistant and Pre-testing of Instruments

A graduate research assistant was recruited to assist in the data collection exercise. The research assistant was made cognisant with the questionnaire and the ethical requirements of the survey and the issue of confidentiality of participants' responses was highlighted as paramount to the success of the study.

A pilot study was conducted in Piina-Kokoligu, a nearby community in the district that has similar characteristics to the study communities. According to Bryman, pilot studies ensure that study instruments function well by revealing any weakness of the instruments prior to the main study taking place (Bryman, 2016). For the current study this exercise achieved two objectives: first, it helped to identify some of the challenges in the administration of the questionnaire, e.g., the length of time required, and the ambiguity associated with some questionnaire items; second, it provided the opportunity for the research assistant to gain hands on practice and understanding of the process.

3.4.7 Fieldwork Process

The fieldwork took place from February to August 2017 in Ghana. It was initiated with a visit to the District Assembly where a personal introduction was made to the District Chief Executive (DCE)[5] of Lambussie by presentation of an introductory letter from my supervisor at the university. Although at this time there was a change of government, which raised transitional issues, any resultant delays had little effect on the research process. The DCE gave a brief on activities of the district and I was introduced to some principal officers of the assembly by the District Coordinating Director (DCD). The district police command was notified of the research activities which would be taking place in the communities in the district and which communities would be involved.

To access the communities, the first point of contact was the respective Assemblymen[6] of the communities. They later introduced me to the chiefs and elders of their respective communities. At the community level, chiefs organised community durbars for introduction to the community members and explanation of the mission of the research. These durbars were valuable in gaining access to research participants and, equally, increased their trust in the study. However, it also increased their expectations as many thought it was a panacea for their poverty. Similarly, durbars were held at the end of the data collection period to thank the chiefs and the community members

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[5] *The government representative at the district level supervising the day-to-day business of the district.*
[6] *The area council representative to the District Assembly to which the study communities belonged.*

for their hospitality and the opportunity to interact with them. It is anticipated that findings of the study will be shared with the community and the district assembly.

Appointments for interviews and FGDs were made through contact persons recruited in the communities. These meetings were conducted either at the homes of participants or at their work places in the fields, whichever was most convenient for them. These contact persons also doubled as my interpreters since I did not understand the language of the people very well. Participation was voluntary and consented to by participants. The data collection became challenging during the peak of the cropping season since returned migrants concentrated on their farming activities. Interviews with institutions were made possible via the formal introductory letter from the university and the earlier introduction by the DCE. In spite of these arrangements, some institutions were difficult to access for reasons best known to them.

During the data collection process, continued reflection of the research problem and the question led to some revision of the research focus on climate change to greater emphasis on livelihoods. This occurred because it emerged that seasonal migration was based on livelihood failures due partly to climate variability, but also to other factors. This challenged gender groups in the community to the extent that lesser known gender groups in migration were increasingly being involved in the process. Livelihood changes were

significant, particularly at the destinations of migrants. A summary of the research process is illustrated in Figure 3.3.
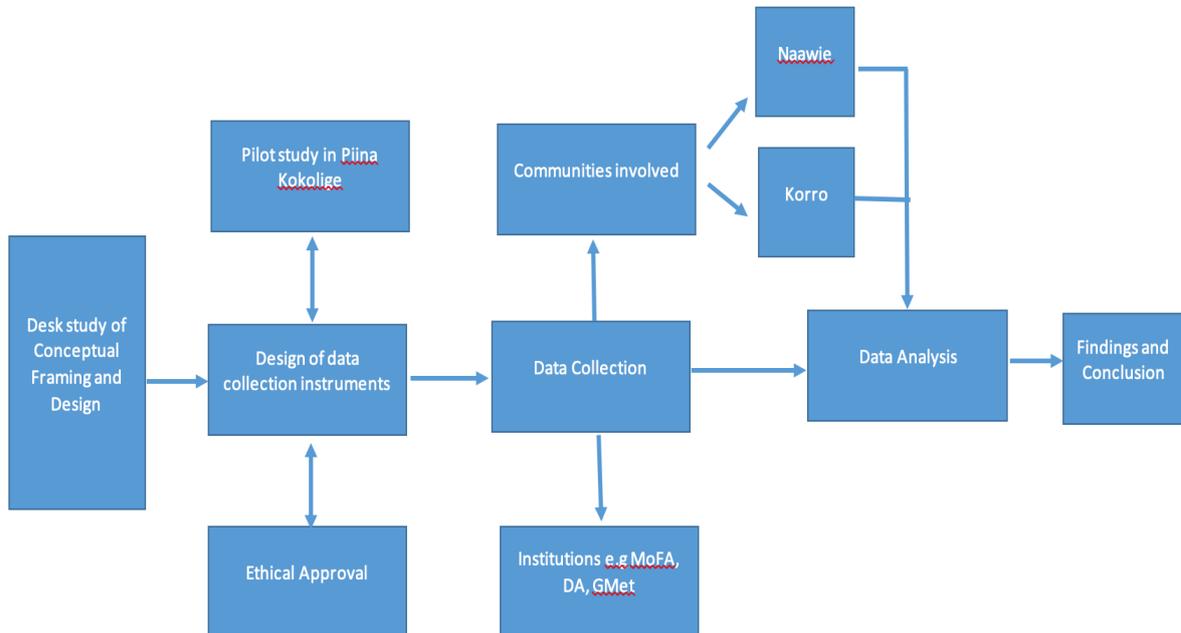
Figure 3. 3: Summary of the Research Process

3.4.8 Researcher's Positionality

Positionality and reflexivity are extremely important in gaining access and trust in ethnographic research of this kind (Sultana, 2007). Coming from the region and having a reasonable understanding of one of the languages helped my acceptance by the study communities and made it easier for me to interact freely with them. However, as an educated person studying in a Western country, at times I was perceived as a privileged elite who could never understand the many challenges faced by these communities. Yet, others perceived me to be the messenger who would communicate their issues to government authorities and be listened to by them.

These perceptions placed some pressure on me since some come with personal financial issues for redress. To navigate around this, I and my assistant deliberately adopted a dress code that did not portray us as wealthy, rather we dressed as students carrying out an educational assignment. Foreknowledge of the customs and traditions of the people helped enormously in my approach to the local authorities in these communities. FGDs and in-depth interviews, especially with female participants, were held at places of public gatherings or at market squares. This reduced any suspicion on the part of the males whose religious affiliations prohibit males from mingling with females.

Participants in the research activities were compensated for their time and interest through the sharing of pito after meeting sessions. This was done to show appreciation for their participation which is a common way of showing respect in the communities around the area. It was made clear their acceptance of such compensation could not influence their participation or contaminate their responses. This was done to ensure that the objective of the study was met with the accuracy that it deserved. Also, considering the differences in dialectal meanings, an interpreter was engaged as part of the team.

3.5 Data Management, Processing, and Analysis

The handling and management of data is as important as the findings since these are interdependent. This section discusses how the data were handled,

managed, and processed. The approaches used in the data analysis are thus highlighted in this section.

3.5.1 Data Processing

Quantitative data from questionnaire responses were manually coded and inputted into SPSS version 24 (see sample demonstration in Appendix 4A). Questionnaires were numbered before inputting answers to ensure that errors and omissions were easily traceable. The data was cleaned by manually going through it to determine omissions and irregularities. Also, qualitative data from interviews and FGDs were recorded and later transcribed and coded in NVivo version 10 for the determination of themes resulting from the discussions. These recordings were made with the consent of the respondents.

3.5.2 Analysis of Qualitative Data: Interviews and FGDs

There are diverse opinions on the methods of qualitative data analysis, just as there are varied ways of conducting qualitative research. There is no ambiguity, however, to what constitutes qualitative data. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe qualitative data as any form of text or words, still or moving images collected through observation, interviews, and documents that represent the expressions of people, objects or situation within a particular setting for a given period of time (cf Sarantakos, 2013). Sarantakos (2013) adds that qualitative data may contain some minimum quantitative measurements, standardization, and statistical techniques as part of data analysis.

In this study, qualitative data were collected through FGDs, interviews, field notes, and observations, and analysis was undertaken in the form of content analysis of transcribed texts from these sources, as prescribed by Miles and Huberman (1994). This model of qualitative data analysis begins with data reduction which entails sorting, coding, focusing, discarding, and organising data in a way that conclusions can be drawn and verified. The next level of analysis concerns the display of the data. Displays take the form of matrices, charts, graphs, and networks which allow conclusions to be drawn. The third component of this model concerns the drawing of conclusions and verification. Here, conclusions are drawn based on the displays made, and comparison to documentation of others provides a means of verification. These phases of data analysis are interactive and interdependent to ensure that verifiable conclusions are drawn (Miles and Huberman, 1994). NVivo is exploited to help with data analysis (see sample demonstration in Appendix 4B). Quantitative data were collected through household questionnaires used in the household survey and via documents from various organisations. Analysis of these data using SPSS version 24 generated descriptive statistics, such as those concerned with frequencies and graphs (see Appendix 4A).

3.6 Research Limitations and Challenges

This study sought to investigate the phenomenon of rural-rural seasonal migration and the resultant rural livelihood transformation, which is just one aspect of the broader phenomena of migration in northern Ghana. It dwells on two communities in the Lambussie district of the Upper West region for

evidence; this is just one section, or district, of the Upper West region, and for that matter of northern Ghana. Findings and conclusions do not attempt to make generalisations which include all aspects of migration, or all of northern Ghana, since the phenomenon occurs in other districts in the region, as well as other parts of northern Ghana, and each have their own peculiarities and implications.

A challenge to the data collection exercise concerned respondents not being able to recall some information and events, such as their date of birth, the exact amount earned during a migration trip, or climate change events. In some cases, key events were used to guide respondents to estimate their date of birth and climate events. Migrants were also challenged in their recall of the amounts they made from migration trips since most of them provided figures of their cash in hand on return to their home communities. Also, due to the redenomination of the cedi, participants mixed both the new and the old nomenclature of the currency.

The actual data collection started in March 2017. This was in the dry season in northern Ghana, most people had migrated to the south and were not available for interaction during the initial stages of the data collection. However, these migrants returned during the onset of the rainy season. Even so, it was very difficult to find them for interviews since they became busy with their farm activities to the extent that some would sleep on their distant farms. As a result, they needed to be traced to these locations for interviews and it was difficult to locate some of them.

A further challenge with the data collection concerned respondents' expectations. Most respondents wanted to know what they stood to benefit by taking part in the research. Questions were raised such as:

"What do we stand to benefit from this interview?"

"How will this interview benefit us?"

"You have seen how poor our community is, tell the government to build us a dam so that we can also stop running down south in search of jobs in the dry season".

These were some of the commonest questions raised and statements made by participants during or before interview sessions. The issue of benefits arose a result of some non-governmental organisations who in their operations either promised them or enticed them with money and gifts. Also, it was claimed by community members that people with similar objectives come around making false promises which are never fulfilled. The researcher made it known, particularly emphasised in the organised durbars, that the exercise was purely academic and may not have immediate benefits, but that it could showcase their concerns through publication of their conditions which could, in turn, attract the attention of government and the sympathy of non-governmental organisations in the area. Refreshments were provided to those who participated to compensate for their time.

Aside these technical challenges, there was the issue of the logistical challenge born out of the limited personal resources of the researcher since the research was not a sponsored project. This concerned the provision of

transport and some remuneration for interpreters who sacrificed their productive time to provide me with support.

3.7 Summary

Livelihood systems of the communities are dependent on the physical, economic, and cultural features of the local settings. This chapter provided the context within which the phenomenon of rural-rural seasonal migration and rural livelihood transformation is investigated, the methodological approaches employed, and the challenges of data collection encountered in the field. The chapter makes a case for the use of ethnographic methodology for the study of a social phenomenon, such as migration, employing mixed methods of data collection. Despite the challenges, pragmatic methods were employed to maximise the process as much as possible. As explained, the data collection process shifted the focus of the research from being climate centred to taking more interest in a livelihood approach. It is on this basis that the data are analysed, and results discussed which, in turn, lead to the conclusions drawn, as reported in subsequent chapters. The chapter has provided the setting for the discussion of changing livelihoods of seasonal migrants and how this is transforming rural livelihoods in the area.

Chapter Four

Changing Rural Livelihoods and Seasonal Rural Migration in Northern Ghana

4.1 Introduction

Rural communities in northern Ghana are exposed to increasing vulnerability, a result of changing livelihood stressors. While adaptation measures have been used by households to mitigate the effects of these stressors, there are implications for rural livelihoods in terms of what they do, why they do it, and how their actions sustain them. There are, however, different approaches to the study and understanding of livelihoods. This chapter aims to examine these livelihood dynamics of rural households in the study communities in Northern Ghana. To this end, the chapter addresses the following three questions:

1. What are the existing livelihood activities of rural households? Section 4.2 explores the existing livelihood dynamics in the study communities to establish the existing livelihood systems and how they have evolved over time.

2. What factors are shaping livelihood dynamics in rural households? This is the focus of Section 4.3.

3. How are rural households adapting to livelihood stress factors? Section 4.4 discusses the adaptation measures in which households engage to mitigate livelihood stress.

Finally, Section 4.5 summarises the chapter with a synthesis of the livelihood dynamics of households confronted by livelihood insecurity.

Answers to these questions are expected to increase understanding of the livelihood trajectories of rural households and to provide clearer appreciation of the diversified paths these households take. To investigate these questions, mixed methods were employed in the data collection; key among these were focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and a household questionnaire survey.

4.2 What are the Livelihood Dynamics at the Place of Origin?

This section identifies the existing livelihood activities of households in the study communities and which households are involved in them; it isolates the main activity in which these households engage for sustenance as well as their supplementary activities. Evidence which is based on focus group discussions and questionnaire survey conducted in the study communities is presented. This provides a basis for understanding household livelihood dynamics and their diversification and sustainability issues of these activities in these communities.

4.2.1 Subsistence Agriculture

It was gathered through survey interviews and focus group discussions that subsistence agriculture in the form of crop farming remained the main livelihood activity of households in the study communities, as is common in other developing countries. Participants revealed that rudimentary farming

methods are still employed since many households cannot afford the services of modern technology in the form of mechanisation services. To supplement subsistence crop farming, participants mentioned that they engage in animal rearing to augment the produce and income generated from crop production. They however mentioned that these animals reared served as a livelihood asset traded in times of need; and as a reserve for the performance of some emergent cultural events.

Participants in the study communities mentioned that households cultivate traditional crops for both household consumption and sale in the domestic markets. Figure 4.1. summarises the common traditional crops cultivated by most households in the study areas. From the Figure, it can be observed that groundnuts and maize are those crops most commonly cultivated and rice the least cultivated by households.
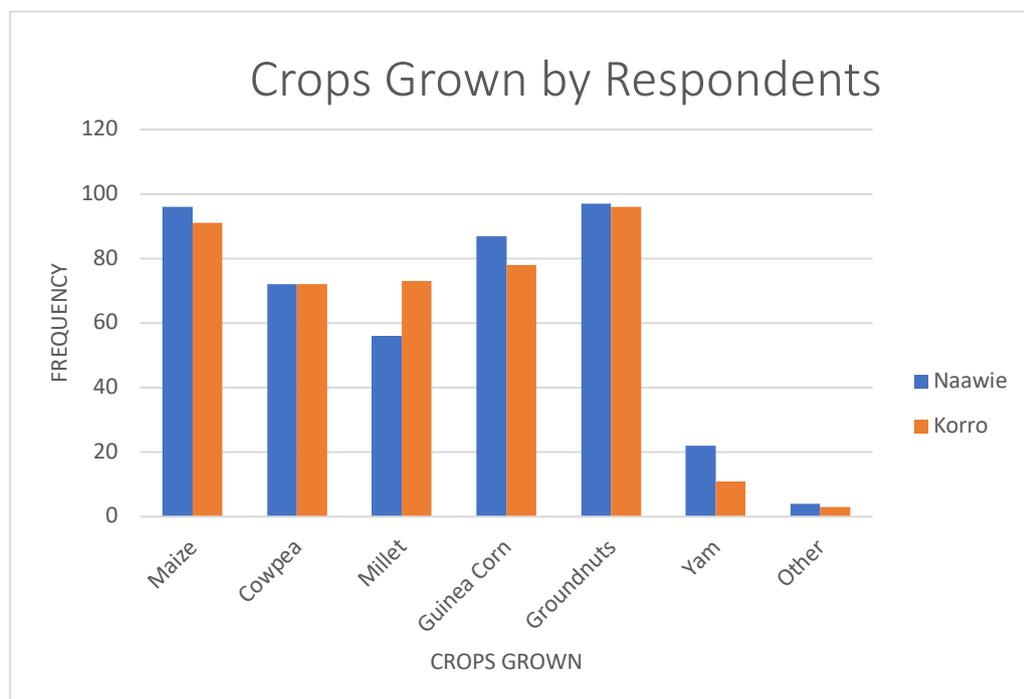
Figure 4. 1: Household Crops Cultivated by Respondents

Responses in a household survey on the reasons for the cultivation of these crops revealed that about eighty-six percent (86.1%) of households cultivate crops for both household consumption and sale, while about four percent (4.1%) and ten percent (9.7%) cultivate solely for household consumption and for sale, respectively. This suggests that even though rural households are poor and farm mainly for consumption purposes, others cultivate crops with commercial motives.

However, an in-depth interview with Kamengta[7], a farmer in Naawie community, on the increased interest in the cultivation and sale of these crops by large number of households, he stated:

> *"...Our staple crop is millet, this was what our parents cultivated and fed us on. But now, due to changes in the rainfall pattern, the millet does not yield properly because the time that the crops need the rains, that is the time the rains stop. But with maize and groundnuts new varieties within three months they are harvested, and they also have market. We cultivate more of these and later on sell during the lean season to buy food ...."* (NKII 001, 2017).

Officials at the Ministry of Agriculture corroborated such assertions, the District Director of Agriculture explained:

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[7] *Names used in the text are pseudo names and do not represent the actual names of respondents.*

"Most farmers are into the cultivation of maize and groundnuts because they are considered as cash crops for northern Ghana because of the high market value of these crops in the south. Also, because of declining soil fertility in the area and government subsidy on fertilizers and improved seeds, most people have taken to the cultivation of maize which has increased substantially" (MOFAI 001,2017).

Findings from focus group discussions showed that both Dagara and Sissala ethnic groups do not just cultivate crops and animals just for the purposes of livelihood sustenance but also for the sustenance of their cultural and ritualistic identity. This is espoused by the Tendaana (earth priest) of Naawie below:

"in the olden days, crops and animal are not just grown for only the living but also for the ancestors who are part of us. What we eat is what we use for the scarifies to the ancestral gods; ..... that is why at funerals and at the shrines, we place these traditional food crops because these are known to the ancestors. Even though times are changing, and people are bringing in unfamiliar crops to the community, these new crops cannot be substituted for the ritualistic crops. Family even though cultivate these unfamiliar crops, do well to cultivate what is required for the ancestral sacrifices in other to keep the household together in times of emergency and for cultural celebrations" (NKII 0020, 2017).

As part of subsistence agriculture, households' rear animals which they sell to supplement their livelihood and cultural needs; and also, as means of savings. Focus group and in-depth interviews revealed that climate and environmental change has made the rearing of these animals a challenging task. Households lament the lack of water, particularly in the dry season, as water bodies fall dry and constrain the rearing of animals. Dery, a household head who rears animals, expressed farmers' frustrations:

"... For animal rearing, apart from theft, the main problem is water during the dry season. Because of lack of water in the dry season, we (animal owners) have come together to always pump water from one of the boreholes in the community into a reservoir for the cattle. Each person with cattle pumps ten yellow jerry cans (these are 20 litre frytol containers) each day. Some pump in the morning while others pump in the evening. If we do not do this, the animals will trek to other communities and might be stolen. We have also come together to hire a Fulani man who stays at the outskirts of town to take care of the animals. We pay him in the form of cash and foodstuffs. This again comes from contributions of those who have cattle (NKII 002, 2017)"

Participants that issues of water scarcity particularly in the dry season take much time in drawing of water for the animals; and this discourages most households from engaging in animal rearing. They men report that it limits them from taking part in other livelihood activities since they have to take care of their animals to avoid theft, but also to provide them with feed which is often difficult to find in the dry season. Figure 4.2 provides a summary of

the type of animal reared in the study locations. It is evident that goats and poultry are the commonest animals reared, while cattle and donkeys are less common in these communities.
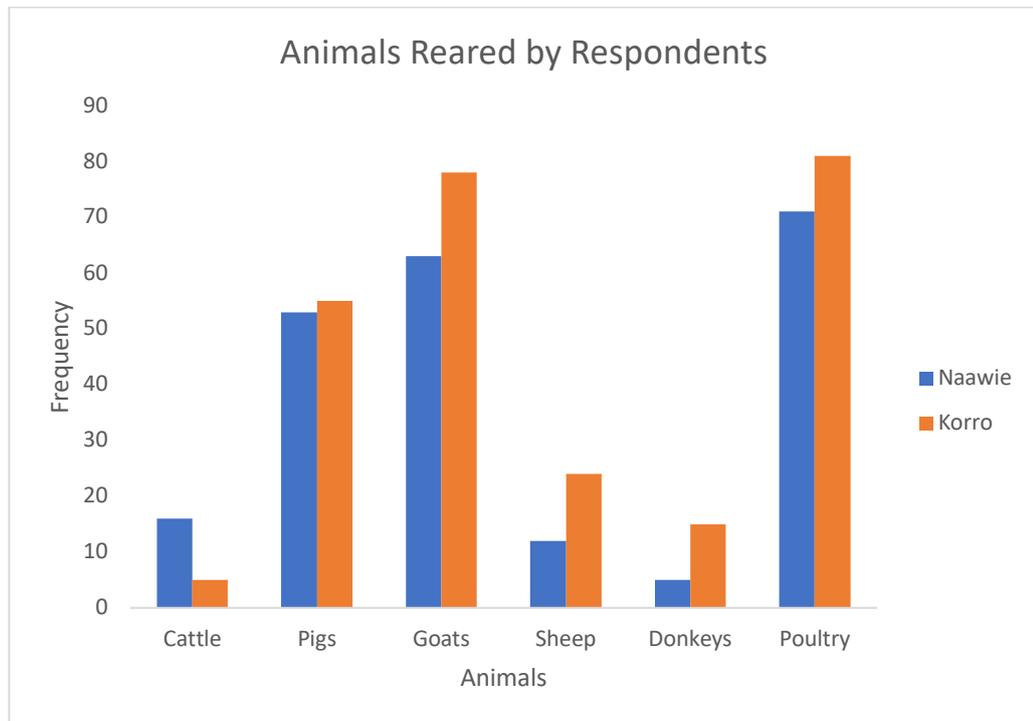
(Field Survey, 2017)
Figure 4. 2: Animals Reared by Respondent Households

Household survey on the livelihood reasons for participants rear, revealed that the majority (86.1%) of households reared animals for food and for economic reasons in times of livelihood stress and other emergencies, while about 13.9% reared animals purposely for food and other societal purposes.

Diversification into Other Income Activities

Participants in focus group interviews revealed that climatic stresses and its toll on subsistence agriculture, has made it unsustainable and unattractive to households. Survey responses of households in Table 4.1 show prioritised

household livelihood activities in the study areas. It can be observed from Table 4.1 that participants engage diversified non-farming livelihood activities alongside subsistence agriculture in order to maintain their households. It is evident that small businesses and rearing of animals are the next priority livelihood activities common in the two communities.

Table 4. 1: Main Livelihood Activities of Households

Occupation	First	Second	Third	Total
Crop Farming	196	2	0	198
Rearing	1	23	1	25
Artisanship	0	15	0	15
Petty Trading	1	27	4	32
Shea Butter Processing	0	2	0	2
Pito Brewing	0	6	2	8
Food Vendoring	0	3	0	3
Charcoal Production	0	9	0	9
Formal Employment	0	5	0	5
Non-response				1
Total	198	92	7	298

(Field Survey, 2017)

4.2.2 Small Business Activities

In Ghana, small business ventures serve as alternative livelihood activities for the households who have the financial resources necessary since entry demands some capital investment. Discussions with participants in the study communities on entry into small business ventures in their respective

communities revealed that relatively affluent households engage in these business activities in the form of small provision shops (popularly known as store), these they claim are largely owned by men while women engage in petty trading activities such as small table sale activities. In the context of rural small business activities, most participants mentioned activities such as sales from small table shops, food sales, retail related activities, and market-to-market trading. This account for evidence in Table 4.1 where small business (petty trading) is considered the next important livelihood activity after farming.

Focus group discussions with both men and women revealed that men are into provision shops more than women because of there are some items that they are able to sell in their shops that their society scorn women from engaging in those activities. Some of the women unacceptable are the sale of foreign alcoholic beverages and fuel (petrol). Women participants who engage in the sale of these items do it on behalf of their husbands or in their absence. Women participants however attributed men dominance to the fact the such business activities involve a lot money and "unnecessary" running around. Participants revealed that the sale of these items are however profitable due to the scarcity of these items in the community, and community members would have to either patronise those in the local shops or travel to nearby towns to access them if these business owners did not provide them. Women participants indicated that this has restricted them to preparation of food for sale to the public, and also in market-to-market trading activities. They further revealed that, women of the Sissala ethnic

group are more often associated with market-to-market trading activities compared to women of the Dagara ethnic group.

Majority of the in-depth interviews with both men and women revealed that two possible reasons account for the gender dichotomy in terms of business ventures. The first dominant reason mention by participants is the initial investment required to establish and maintain a provision shops is too high for most females. The second commonly mentioned reason had to do with women interest in food or catering activities because it is more of their speciality and does not need much capital and any form of training. Regarding the investment required to establish a small business shop, Karimu from Korro recounted how he established his shop:

> *"I used to trade in goats. I buy the goats from the markets around, Fielmuo, Bure, Hamile, or Piina, and transport them down south to Techiman or Kumasi to sell. It was from the savings of the trading activities that I was able to establish this shop"* When asked whether he has stopped the animal trade, his response was, *"No, just that I do not do it as regularly as I used to do it" (KKII 001, 2017).*

From the information demonstrates that raising capital to establish a shop is a daunting task with rural communities. This involves working outside one's immediate local economy to mobilised resources. Women certainly are challenged due to the movements required to mobilise these resources.

Discussions with the Sissala ethnic group women showed that market trading activities largely involved trading in agricultural produce, mainly groundnuts, maize and vegetables as well as shea nuts. According to them, they take advantage of the value chain by trading on the price differential between community markets. An in-depth interview with Sakina, a 38-year-old trader from Koro, explains how this activity is organised by rural women.

"I trade from market to market within the district and sometimes outside the district largely in the dry season. I trade in maize, groundnuts and Guinea corn, but groundnut is my main commodity, however, it depends on the season. I buy from a market where the prices are cheap, such as Suke or Fielmuo markets, and sell in Piina market. For example, I buy unshelled groundnuts from Suke market on a good day for about GHC 2.5-3, shell them and then resell in the Piina market on a good day for about GHC7.5-8. Sometimes, I buy the groundnuts during the harvest season somewhere, November/December, when the prices are low and store them and later sell them around May/June when the prices are good" (KKII 002, 2017).

The narrative above showed that participants take advantage of the seasonality of commodities which affect prices at different locations. Local products are traded here, and participants do not need to worry about getting huge capital as compared to trading in foreign products. This makes entry into such an activity easier for rural women.

According to participants, resources from these small business activities complement their farming which is their main livelihood activity. This form of diversification according to them avoids household livelihood failure. Married women participant however indicated that participation in such as activities requires the endorsement or the consent of their husbands. These women indicated that permissions are only granted in the dry season, unless a woman can demonstrate that such business activity has a higher turnover compared to what could be gained should she participate in household farming activity and for her to be granted permission to trade in the farming season. The major problems raised in focus group discussions with women groups regarding this activity are the bad road networks within the district, which makes it risky travelling, coupled with the high incident of armed robbery on the roads. Participants attribute religious affiliation being the reason for Sissala women participation since they are largely Muslim and, by the nature of their religion in Northern Ghana, trade is important to them.

4.2.3 Charcoal Production

Findings through focus discussions, in-depth interviews and field observations showed that charcoal production and felling of trees for fuelwood are common in the study communities. Field observations show that women are more involved in the sale of fuelwood than men; though for charcoal, it is the men who produce it for sale by the women. The female focus group discussions revealed that this is because charcoal production is tedious compared to the hewing of fuelwood. Charcoal production involves the felling of the entire tree and hewing it into pieces, which is more

physically demanding for women, thus female household members aid their male counterparts in the sale of the product. A 42-year-old woman from Naawie involved in this activity described operations in the community:

"Charcoal or fuelwood business is a major economic activity in this community. It is all year round and it is profitable if you get a good market from those who come from far away towns to buy. My husband and we, the wives, were into both the sale of charcoal and fuelwood until my husband fell sick, so we left the charcoal business and now I concentrate on the fuelwood. Before, my husband used to fell the trees and produce the charcoal for us to sell alongside the wood we gather from the field. But now that my husband cannot do any hard work, we harvest the wood for sale to earn some money to cater for the children school fees and food" (NKII 003, 2017).

The woman's submission above demonstrates that charcoal and fuelwood is viewed as a lucrative business that both men and women as well as the entire family engage in to earn money to support the household needs. In spite of being lucrative for rural households, such activity has implications for the sustenance of the natural forest resource in the communities. Continued depletion of the natural resources will eventually affect not only the ecosystem but will increase the desertification already taking place in the savanna zone in this part of the country. Management of tree natural resources is important for the protection and sustenance of livelihoods in

general in the communities. With reference to this issue, in an in-depth interview, one participant said:

"The chief and council of elders in the village have instituted a law on felling of trees in the community. One is only allowed to harvest trees with permission from the council of elders. It is difficult to enforce this law because there are no jobs for the people; you find household members of some elders involved in it, so how will they enforce the law?" (NKII 004, 2017).

In this way, governance and management of forest resources in the communities becomes a challenge, those who implement the laws are found to be involved in the act of indiscriminate harvesting of the resource as result of increasing poverty among most households. It was also understood from the study that no plans were in place to encourage tree planting in the communities which would ensure the sustenance of the forest resource. The Forestry Commission, who has overall responsibility for the protection of forest resources, seem not be active in these communities; interaction with community members showed that they are not even aware that such an institution exists, let alone be willing to accept the enforcement of laws.

4.2.4 Pito Brewing

Pito is a local alcoholic beverage largely brewed using Guinea corn, although maize can be used in some cases. Participants submitted that pito is used as a social drink during festive occasions, funerals, and in some traditional rites,

as well as for communal labour activities. Its production is a non-farming activity, but unlike charcoal production or the establishment of small businesses it is exclusively dominated by females. Discussions with participants in the study showed that this livelihood activity is common among women of the Dagara ethnic community, even though any ethnic group can engage in it. In fact, participants claimed it is culturally frowned upon for males to participate in such an activity. In-depth interviews show that religious reasons accounted for the less common participation of women of the Sissala ethnic groups in this activity because majority of them are Muslim and are consequently barred by religious conditions from involvement with alcohol.

According to participants the process of pito brewing takes approximately two weeks if one starts from scratch with the preparation of the malt. According to Asunta[8], a participant in an in-depth interview, the process takes approximately 28-man hours to complete, without the preparation of the malt. Considering the number of man-hours involved, this implies that this activity would be more effective in the dry season when there is no farm activity. In terms of keeping records of the proceeds and costs of such enterprise, it was revealed that most women did not keep records of the actual cost involved in this activity. There are, however, some challenges associated with this activity which were expressed by Asunta and can be seen in the box below.

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[8] *Portions of Asunta's transcript are presented in the box.*

Box 4. 1: In-depth Interview with Asunta, a Pito Brewer

Asunta is a 45-year-old married woman with five children. Her husband is a farmer, she supports her husband on his farm. She brews pito to supplement the household income. She learnt pito brewing from her mother who was a brewer. Females in the community normally learn their mother's trade as part of their training in other activities which will help them to support themselves in womanhood. So, Asunta has been brewing since adolescence. She brews regularly during the dry season, but only occasionally in the rainy season due to her involvement in farm activities. Asunta uses the proceeds from this enterprise to buy livelihood items, such as clothes, food ingredients, and soap, since these are not provided by the men. The malt for the brewing she buys from the market or, in a good year, her husband provides it from the farm harvest. She said the challenges with brewing is that it does not allow them to earn enough money, much of the product is purchased on credit since there is no money in the community. She gets good sales on market days and Sundays since these are busy days when people come together. Other challenges, she said, had to do with getting firewood for the processing of the drink. She had to buy from those who sell fuelwood or go to the bush to look for it herself when she does not have the money to buy it. A gallon of pito cost GHC 1.20 and on a good day she can earn about GHC80; also, she sells the by-product, pito mash, to those who rear pigs, or opts to take a pig at the end of the year from the owner. *"We have no other option of employment"*, she adds (NKII 005, 2017).

Although as a source of livelihood with challenges for women in the study communities, brewing pito tends to be limited to gender and to particular ethnic groups, nonetheless, it continues to supplement the livelihoods of many rural households.

4.2.5 Shea Butter Processing

This livelihood activity is common in the northern part of Ghana due to the presence of shea trees that thrive well in the climatic conditions of the area. It is a non-farm livelihood activity associated with women in this area. Shea butter is the oily product which results from processed shea nuts. It was mentioned that the people of this area, and in fact in northern Ghana generally, have been engaged in this activity for a very long time. However, increasing recognition of the product on the international market has increased its economic value and created huge interest and promotion by some NGOs. Participants disclosed that due to the activities and demand of the shea nuts, picking and processing of shea nuts has become a lucrative income activity. Focus group discussions with women's groups revealed that NGOs, such as PRUDA[9], have organised women's groups in the area where they give support in the form of training to produce high quality butter for the international market. However, not all women are part of this organisation. In an interview one producer from Korro explained her non-affiliation with the NGO:

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[9] *A local NGO partnered with a Dutch Development Organisation, SNV, to procure the product for sale on the international market.*

"...I am not part of the NGO group because there are some terms that I do not agree with. For instance, they determine the price to buy the butter which to me is not right because I struggle to pick these nuts and process them. Also, they do not pay you immediately, it takes some time. The time you need the money most, you don't get it ..." (KKII 003, 2017).

The above submission suggests that the terms of transactions with local producers are not favourable, and thus, deters most of the community members from participating, while at the same time, denying them from taking advantage of an otherwise lucrative economic activity with an international market. Most women during in-depth interviews indicated that they prefer to either sell their nuts or the finished product in the local market. An in-depth interview with Ajara from Korro explains the cumbersome nature of the process, this is seen in Box 4.2. Even though this non-farm livelihood activity is lucrative, its processes are time- and energy-consuming since women use traditional methods, as can be seen in Plate 4.1.

Plate 4. 1: Woman Processing Shea Butter

Box 4. 2: In-depth Interview with Ajara about her Shea Butter Enterprise

Ajara is a 28-year-old married woman with three children. She is the third wife of her husband who is a farmer. She engages in shea butter processing during the dry season. She picks the shea nuts at the beginning of the farming season and processes them in the dry season because the process involves a lot of time and energy and this cannot be combined with the farm work in the rainy reason. She learnt this trade from her mother. The processing takes about two weeks, depending on the quantity, since she processes it manually. The process involves boiling, drying, and sorting of the nuts to eliminate the bad nuts. The good dried nuts are pounded into gradable sizes. They are then fried and milled, those who can afford to send the nuts to the grinding mill do so, those who cannot grind the nuts themselves on a stone, which is very tiring. Most women send the nuts to the mill when they have a substantial

quantity. The milled product is then beaten by hand to extract the butter which is then boiled to separate the oil (butter) from the residue. It is then allowed to cool and condense. Ajara rolls them into sizeable balls for sale in the local market or, if she finds someone to buy in bulk, it is sold in bulk. She says because the process is tiring, physical work, she is not able to do much else because some rest time is needed before the next process begins. She adds that shea butter processing is a common activity among most households, thus, it is difficult to get patronage. She does not belong to any association, although she has heard that there is an NGO that supports women in shea butter processing, she has not bothered to find out about it. She earns GHC20, or 30 on market days. She sells butter alongside cakes and wild edible leaves harvested from the bush.

In summary, the preceding section has examined the existing livelihoods in which households are involved within the study communities. Findings revealed that most rural households are subsistence farmers who cultivate their farms to meet their household needs. Participants however disclosed that due to declining farm productivity resulting in increasing food insecurity, households have diversified into other livelihood activities, such as producing charcoal, brewing pito, processing shea butter, and establishing small-scale businesses to augment household livelihood needs. Thus, most of the households engage in two or more livelihood activities in their attempt to sustain their households. Findings show that most of these livelihood activities are gender-based in nature. Interview accounts of households suggest that there remain challenges for the sustenance of household livelihoods despite the diversification observed. This is largely because most

of the activities are dependent on the environment and changes in environmental conditions invariably affect these livelihood activities. The following section examines the challenges that face rural household livelihood activities in northern Ghana.

4.3 How are Rural Livelihoods being Shaped in these Communities?

The rural livelihoods discussed in Section 4.2 are challenged and shaped by some variables which impact rural communities differently. This section examines the factors that shape rural livelihoods in the study area and how these factors affect household productivity, and thus their livelihoods.

4.3.1 Farming Challenges

There are several factors that challenge farming in general, most especially in rural communities where it is their only source of livelihood. Any factor that affects the farm productivity of these rural households affects the whole sphere of their existence. It makes them food insecure, poorer, and more vulnerable. This section explores some of the farming challenges rural households face in the study areas, the major ones are: declining soil fertility; inadequate land; and climate variability and change in the form of delayed rainfall or drought.

Globally, climate variability and change play a significant role in the food production system through its effect on the productivity of farmers. It is more problematic in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, which depend on rain fed agriculture and rudimentary technologies for their

food production. The survey of households in the study areas identified changing climatic conditions as one of the challenges affecting farming, these included changing patterns of the rains and drought. Table 4.2 show the climatic and environmental factors affecting farming in the study areas.

Table 4. 2: Climatic and Environmental Factors Affecting Farming

		Responses	
		N^{10}	Percentage
Climatic Conditions	Drought	103	24.2%
Affecting Production	Floods	2	0.5%
	Change in Rainfall Pattern	184	43.2%
	Decline in Soil Fertility	126	29.6%
	None of the Above	11	2.6%
Total		426	100.0%

(Field Survey, 2017)

Although there are many factors affecting rural livelihoods, environmental factors are more important to their livelihoods since these dependent on the environment. Examining these environmental factors with participants through survey, two points were evident. First, changing patterns of rainfall in the communities is a major climatic condition which affects farming, the

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[10] *N presented here is the sample size from a multiple response sample size.*

main livelihood activity. From Table 4.2, about 43 percent of respondents indicated changing patterns of rainfall as the main problem affecting farm productivity; such changes in a discussion with participants were expressed in two forms, late start of the rainfall season or increased drought conditions. A late start to the rainfall, or farming season, suggests that farmers have a shorter farming time, and this could affect the growth period of the crops and may result in low productivity. Also, increasing drought, as shown in Table 4.2, means that farm productivity could further decrease since these communities do not have the resources for modernise agriculture such as irrigation facilities.

The second point evident from Table 4.2 is declining soil fertility. About 30 percent of respondents indicated that it is an environmental condition that is affecting farming in the communities. Participants highlights declining soil fertility as a concern because most of the households are not able to purchase fertilizers and other soil enhancement facilities such as fertilizers to improve the conditions of their soils because of poverty. Focus group discussions complemented survey findings that identified declining soil fertility to be a problem affecting their productivity. Participants complained of the poor nature of the soil which is unable to produce as much compared to previous years. In an interview with Bonye, he expressed this challenge and his frustration:

"The farms we[11] are farming on today were used by our grandfathers and our fathers and handed over to us, we are still cultivating them to date. We do not have extra land to shift or move to. So, we continue to farm on this land, if you are lucky to have money to buy fertilizer, then you may harvest something at the end of the day, so we are at the mercy of the soil, if the soil says we will eat, we will eat, if it says we will not eat, we will not eat" (NKII 006, 2017).

Participants lamenting the declining soil fertility is affecting farm outputs which is the main livelihood activity is a result of their inability to afford soil enhancing facilities. Poorer households, who cannot afford to buy fertilizers or any other means of soil improvement, depend largely on nature for their sustenance. According to participants, declining productivity means increased food insecurity and vulnerability, particularly for women and children.

Participants disclosed their inseparability with land since is the main factor in any farming enterprise. They however indicated that increasing population and urbanisation as well as increasing family sizes has led to increasing demand for land for cultivation and thereby making it inadequate and scarce in most rural areas. This is revealed in the small land holding sizes per household in Table 4.3 where half of respondents of household size between 1 – 4 indicated that they have access to 0.5 – 2.5 acres of land while only 9.5% of respondents of the same household size indicated owning more than

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[11] The 'we' used here refers to the household

10 acres of land. Also, from the table, 15% of respondents with household size 17 and more indicated owning 0.5 – 2.5 acres of land while 38.1% of respondents of the same household size owned more than 10 acres of land. Based on the survey results in Table 4.3, established that there is a significant relationship between household size and the size of land held by households. This is corroborated by finding of focus group discussions that household size increase is putting more demand on land and as a result, decreasing the productivity per capita since more persons are cultivating a small piece of land. It was also revealed through the discussions that land ownership and tenure arrangements in these communities limit households to the use of only family lands.

Table 4. 3: Distribution of Household Size by Total Household Farm Size

		Total Farm Size of Household (acres)					
		0.5-2.5(%)	2.6-3.6(%)	3.7-5.7(%)	5.8-7.8(%)	7.9-9.9(%)	10+ (%)
Household	1-4	50.0	20.8	15.4	12.5	18.5	9.5
Size	5-8	20.0	54.2	48.1	34.4	59.3	9.5
	9-12	15.0	16.7	11.5	28.1	14.8	28.6
	13-16	0.0	8.3	9.6	15.6	3.7	14.3
	17+	15.0	0.0	15.4	9.4	3.7	38.1
Total		20	48	52	32	27	21

(Field Survey, 2017)

There are many forms of land acquisitions and land tenure arrangements for the purposes of farming. In the study communities, survey questionnaire results as shown in Figure 4.3 revealed that in the study communities, land acquisition is largely based on allocation of family land allocation. From the figure, 68% of respondents of households indicated that they access land for farming through family allocation, 20% of respondent purchased the land for their farming purposes, 10% of respondents leased their lands while only 2% of respondents cultivate land through shared cropping as shown in Figure 4.3.
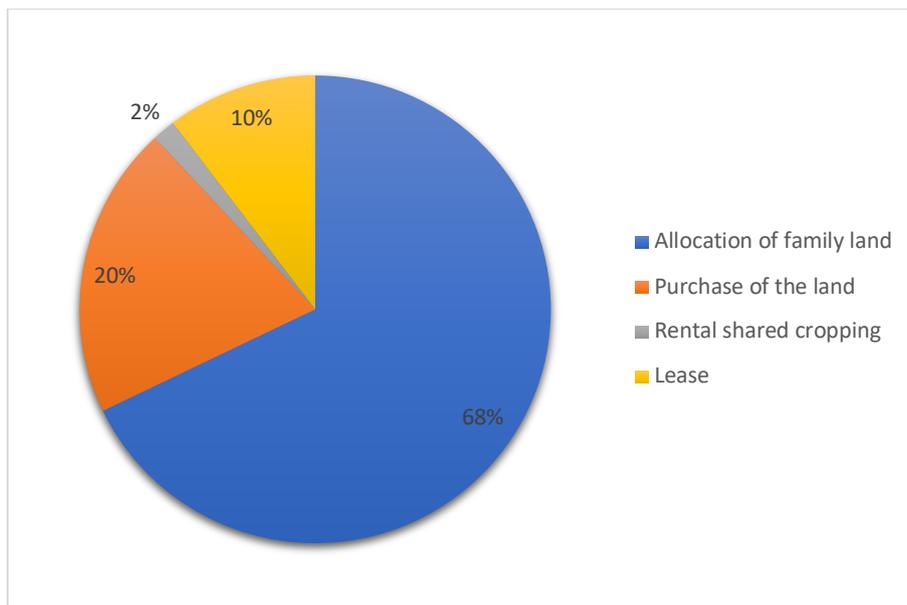
(Field Survey, 2017)

Figure 4. 3: Mode of Household Access to Land by Respondents

Agriculture as livelihood activity is fragile due to its dependence on nature. There are times when households may suffer from failure or low agricultural output which will make them more food insecure. The study examines the periods when households experience food shortages and those times time they migrate. Evidence from field survey implied that most households go

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through a period of hunger at certain times of the year. Figure 4.4 displays periods when households experience hunger and when they migrate. From Figure 4.4, it can be observed that the months of food shortage begin in May and peak in August, there is then a decline to the minimum food shortages which occur between November and April. It is also revealed from the graph that there two main period when migration peaks. Many people migrate in February and September in the year compared to other months of the year. It can be observed from the graph that periods of food shortages coincide with the peak periods of migration. Largely, households migrate more during periods of food shortages (April to October) compared to other months of the year.
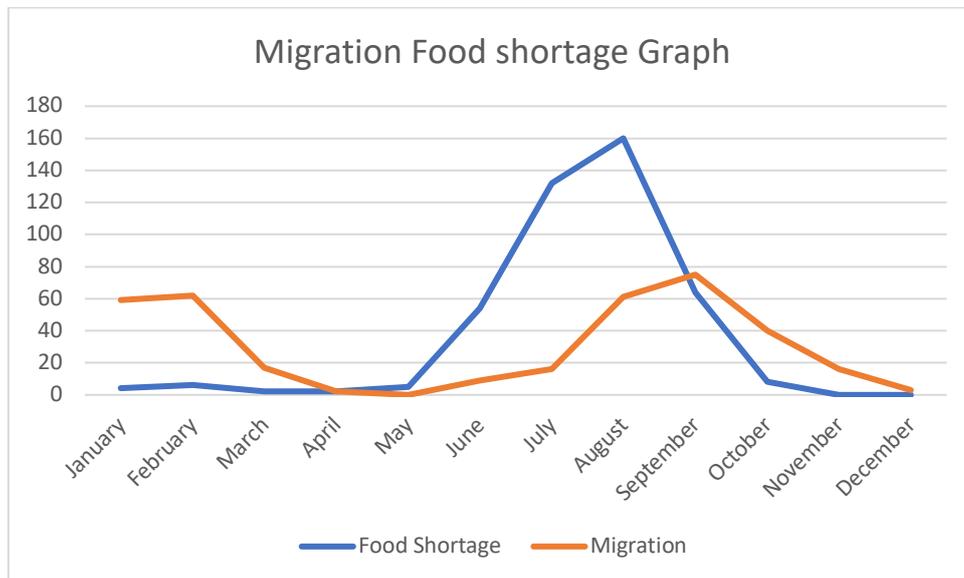
Figure 4. 4: Periods of Migration and Food Shortage

In a focus discussion, participants confirm that more males migrate during periods of food shortages. They ascribed two reasons to the migration during this period. One is to allow the little food reserve for the women and children

to manage while the males search for alternative support elsewhere. The second is that towards September, at which time migration peaks, most of the major farm activities are completed except for with harvesting. Household members take the opportunity to engage in employment opportunities in the south to purchase items for the festive season in December. Responding to a question in an in-depth interview, Kwame, a 44-year old man, explains why most of them migrate in September. He said:

"During this period, most of the farm work is done and there is not much left to be done. What is left can be done by the women and the children and his parents. If we sit back, we will have nothing doing and there will be the need to buy items for Christmas, so we have to go and search for money to buy the items to celebrate Christmas. Also, this period coincides with the harvesting time in the south as well as the preparation for their second farming, so there are jobs available during the period. So, we spend the time we would have been wasting here there" (KKII 004, 2017).

The submission of Kwame suggests households migrate strategically to take advantage of job availability in the south and at periods when there is less labour demand of them at the places of origin. Also, migration is employed not only as an avenue to search for employment but as a food management strategy of households in order to managed food shortages during the period.

4.3.2 Sociocultural Factors

Sociocultural factors play a significant role in shaping livelihood diversifications of rural households. Culturally motivated socio-cognitive values significantly influence household decisions in times of vulnerability. This emerged in focus group discussions when participants revealed the importance of social identity of the households within the cultural setting of the community as a good reason why most households migrate. According to them, families and households are recognised based on the cultural and societal responsibilities they are expected to play in their society. For instance, the performance of certain cultural rites during funerals shows the level of responsibility of a family[12], and thus that family's recognition in society. Also, a family is recognised in society if it is able to pay the bride price (dowry) when its males marry. As a result, most households or families keep cattle, sheep, and other animals which are mostly used for these purposes. In a focus group discussion with male participants, it was evident that having animals, especially cattle, is a sign of status in their society since it is assumed that the family or household is prepared for any eventuality. In a submission during a focus group discussion with males, a participant said:

> *"As a male, you are required to keep an animal and a cloth in readiness*
>
> *for any eventuality, particularly when you have elderly people in the*

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[12] *Family here is defined based on different lines. First is the immediate family, made up of households who are siblings or first and second cousins. However, there is an important definition of family which involves clan linage which could be patrilineal or matrilineal. In the study communities, particularly among the Dagabas and the Sissalas, patrilineal relationships are more recognised than matrilineal relationships.*

house. Why do I say this? Sorry, God should not permit, but if I lose my father today, it is required that I and my siblings (males) present at least two cows for the funeral rituals, particularly as he has advanced in age and is about the oldest in our family. If we are unable to satisfy this obligation, how do you think society will see me? We would be the talk of the village and, by tradition, we would not be permitted to participate in similar rites of any family since we had not been able to do it for our father. If any of us (including my brothers) dared participate, the person would die. The ancestors would come for that person. Until we take that albatross from our neck, we would be mocked at funeral grounds when they are singing dirges. ... Whatever, I have to do to get those animals, I will do (NKII, 007, 2017)"

Another participant spoke about a different perspective of the sociocultural factors which shape the cultural and social identity of households in the community, that of the bride price (dowry) households of bridegrooms are expected to pay to a bride's family:

"... Here it is required that the family pays the bride price of their males when they get married. In our ethnic group (Dagara) depending on the girl's family, you may pay up to four cows for the lady. If you fail to do so and live with the girl, it brings disgrace to the family, particularly if the girl's parents confiscate the girl from you on grounds that you have not paid the dowry. Payment of the bride price is a form of respect to your family, so, if my parents cannot pay, I will do whatever I can to get the

items to pay. You become uncomfortable when you meet your in-laws in public. Also, traditionally children from such a union belong to the lady's family. In an event a child of such union dies, the funeral rites become the responsibility of the lady's family which amounts to a disgrace to the male's family ... (NKII,007, 2017)"

The narratives above expressed the silent and salient cultural factors that determine the social status of households and families within the sociocultural context of the community. According to participants these sociocultural practices and performances are considered status symbols in rural society and these influence the people's way of life. This emphasises the importance of family identities and the forms in which they are expressed in communities. For them, society places significant importance on funeral and marriage ceremonies, such that failure to demonstrate the ability to satisfy this cultural and social obligation damages the identity of the household, and for that matter the family, in the eyes of society.

Participants in both male and female only focus group discussions expressed the importance of these sociocultural identities to them differently. While men viewed it as issues bothering on the family identity of their lineage while women viewed issues that reflect on their womanhood. Walier, a 28-year-old woman expresses this in the following statements:

"Marriage is important to us as women because it helps us preserve our mothers' lineage which comes along with respect. If you refused to marry, what will stay in your fathers' house and be doing? But to be cohabitating with a is not also respectful and leaves to ridicule by other women in society especially your rivals in the house. They turn to look down on you by passing dregatory comments about you. Here again, you do not belong officially to the man's family and you are not also with your own family, how will be people respect you in this small community? (KKII 010)"

The expression of Walier above espoused the gendered based appreciation of sociocultural and family identity. Both gender groups expressed the importance of cultural obligation to their cultural sustenance and respect to them as individuals.

These cultural understandings turn to influence their livelihoods in the sense that households are compelled to involve themselves in some livelihood activities, such as rearing cattle, simply in order to be prepared for eventualities that may arise and which demand the performance of such cultural obligations. It emerged from focus group discussions with a male group that cattle rustling is a major challenge in meeting some of these obligations. Due to the importance of cattle in the performance of traditional ceremonies and the increasing value of these animals, cattle rustling among communities in the area has increased. Poorer households engage in labour migration to acquire resources to enable them to meet these cultural commitments.

4.3.3 Dry Season Unemployment

Generally, seasonal unemployment is a common phenomenon in the northern part of the country which experiences a unimodal rainfall pattern that supports agricultural activities. However, in the dry season households are idle and have no alternative employment opportunities. Most household members in this area resort to migration to southern Ghana for various reasons. Responses from household survey on the reasons members of households migrate are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Households Reasons for Migration

		Responses	
		N	Percent
Reasons for Household Migration	To Minimize Risk of Livelihood Failure	118	32.4%
	For Migration Experience	10	2.7%
	Unemployment	148	40.7%
	For Subsistence	44	12.1%
	None of the Above	44	12.1%
Total		364	100.0%

(Field Survey, 2017)

From Table 4.4, it is evident that unemployment is the main reason most households give for migration, about 40.7% of responses pointed to this. 32.4% of responses indicated that they migrated to minimise risk of livelihood failure. This could be associated with the potential fear of livelihood failure because agriculture is the main livelihood activity in this area, households depend on outputs of this activity for their sustenance throughout the year. 12.1% of respondents migrated as a means for their subsistence and do not have any other form of sustenance. Another 12.1%

migrated for other reasons other than the above. A few responses, about 3% of respondents indicated they migrate for the experience of migration. Members of this category could be engaging in such activities for the fun of it not to be left out.

During focus group discussion on the reasons why members of households migrate, participants advanced poverty as the main cause. This can be attributed to unemployment identified in the household survey as the main reason for migration. Certainly, due to unemployment, there is poverty in the area. In this regard, Kojo, a 32-year-old farmer and seasonal migrant from Koro, confirmed that having nothing to do in the dry season compels them to migrate:

> *"In this community, the majority of us are farmers and that is what we do for a living. We grew up to meet our fathers' practice farming and we were introduced to it. Unfortunately, here we have just one rainy season which is shorter than the dry season. So, in the dry season we spend several months sitting doing nothing. There are no jobs such as construction works where we could do labour work to earn some income. We just depend solely on the harvest from the farms. But we have funerals to attend and that involves money. Poverty is our main problem here, that is why most of the young ones migrate to the south (KKII 005, 2017)."*

The narrative of Kojo suggests that unemployment and unavailability of jobs account for the north-south migration. It also points to the over reliance on

produce of agriculture; and the use of resources at funerals are the cause of their poverty.

This section has assessed the factors that challenges the existing livelihoods activities in the study communities which make them unsustainable. It established that a myriad of factors influences rural livelihood dynamics. These factors such declining soil fertility, climate variability in terms of rainfall variation, and land adequacy identified through interviews and surveys in the community; centred on farming challenges that result in low productivity and seasonal unemployment. These factors result in failure of households to meet sociocultural obligations to make them relevant and maintain their cultural identity in their communities. These sociocultural factors which border on the identity and heritage of rural households' place demands on households with respect to the performance of these cultural roles and functions. These demands invariably put stress on households' livelihoods and thereby pushing them unstainable. Households therefore engage in various management and adaptation strategies to make them relevant in their communities. Also, seasonal unemployment, particularly in the dry season, increases livelihood stress and poverty in most households. The next section explores the management and adaptation strategies households explore to maintain their households.

4.4 Household Adaptation Strategies

The factors that shape rural livelihoods presented in Section 4.3 above poses challenges to rural livelihoods, making them unsustainable. These factors

impact households to explore other livelihood options to make their households resilient. For these households to survive, they adapt various strategies within their adaptive capacity that meet their livelihood needs in both the short- and long-term. This section discusses these coping and adaptation strategies that households employ to sustain their livelihoods. The section begins with household food management strategies which are the first coping strategies employed in response to immediate challenges in the short-term.

4.4.1 Household Food Management

Households in this study are generally poor and adapt food saving management approaches to mitigate adverse livelihood conditions in the lean periods. It was important to examine how households cope with immediate food shortages in the communities. Participants through responses in a survey questionnaire indicated the strategies used in times of hardship. Figure 4.5 presents the coping strategies households adopt during the lean periods. Some of the coping strategies identified through the household survey included reduction in the quantity as well as the frequency of food eaten in a day, and hunting for wild food.

HOUSEHOLD COPING STRATEGIES
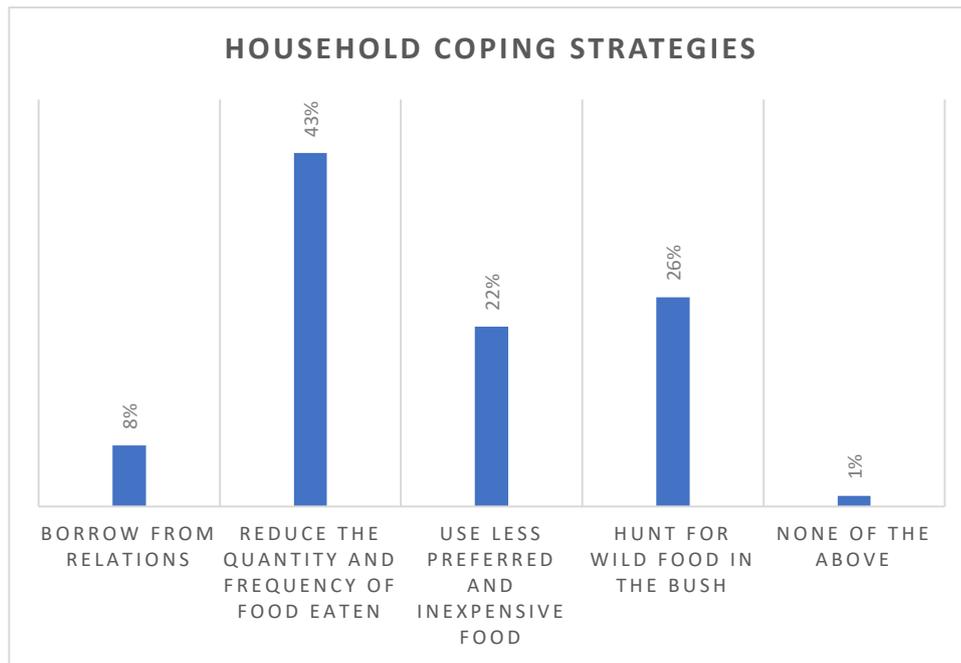
(Field Survey, 2017)
Figure 4. 5: Coping Strategies of Households

As indicated in Figure 4.5, 43% of respondents adopted food rationing as a strategy to manage food shortages, 26% constitute respondents that resort to hunting for wild food in the forest as a management strategy, 22% of respondents indicated they used of less preferred food compared to their usual food menu while 8% of responses borrowed from their relations as part of their food management coping mechanisms. These strategies ensured that households well positioned in the lean season. In an in-depth interview with 48-year-old Agnes in Naawie corroborates the responses from the survey, she had this to say on household management strategies:

"…. During the lean season, I go into the bush to harvest the wild edible leaves which we boil, add salt and shea butter to it to make it acceptable to the tongue for eating, at least it fills your stomach and that reduces the hunger. …I do this till such a time when the planted crops, especially bean

(cowpea) leaves, are at the stage for harvesting[13] *and we turn to that until we harvest the main crops. It is common with most of the households here……Also, sometimes I plant early with the first rains, with that, once I am not sure of the rains, it is always a small area, if it goes well, those ones mature early and that sustains the household till we harvest the main crops ….." (NKII 008, 2017).*

Agnes' comments imply that food management is a coping strategy employed by females in the household which suggests that women play a significant role in household food management during the lean season. The traditional role of females as custodians of food and its preparation in most rural communities could account for this function. Also, as mothers, their food management role is confirmed, i.e., women take more responsibility for feeding their children by providing for their immediate food needs. Males however employ coping strategies which differ from those of the females. This is expressed by Darius:

"The lean season comes with very difficult times, when the food stuffs run out there is nothing we can do. If you have an animal, then you will catch it and send it to the market to sell. The money is then used to buy the food stuffs or solve whatever problem the household is faced with, if not I don't see what you can do here to help yourself" (NKII 009, 2017).

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[13] The purpose of cultivating the crop is not for the leaves but at a certain stage before flowering, they harvest the leaves to allow the plant to spread out (branch) to increase the possibility of the yield.

The submission of Darius showed that as part of the coping strategy, animal rearing plays a significant role since these are sold to earn some income to purchase food stuffs to meet food needs during difficult times. Households do not only resort to sale of animals but other means that will ensure their survival for the period. The narratives above also show that coping mechanisms are gendered as women coping mechanisms focus on searching for alternative sources of food to serve the household, while men depend on the asset base of the household as their focus. All these strategies however are dependent on the natural environment and are unsustainable in terms of resilience, thus households continue in this vicious cycle each year.

4.4.2 Agricultural Strategies

Agriculture, especially farming, is the main livelihood activity of households in the study area. Farming challenges that result in low productivity have led to households adopting various farming practices to sustain their livelihood activity. These adaptation measures range from changes to farm practices to the adoption of new technologies. Evidence from focus group discussions and responses from open ended questions in the survey revealed that households are adopting new technologies in the form of new seed varieties which are conducive to the changing rainfall pattern. These new crop varieties have a shorter life cycle which better suits the changing climatic conditions of the area. Despite these adaptation strategies, study households expressed reservations about the taste of new crop varieties adopted. Household perceptions, with regard to the adoption of new varieties, were expressed in an in-depth interview with Kassim, as presented in Box 2.

Box 4. 3: In-depth Interview with Kassim

Kassim is a 53-year-old farmer from Korro, He has 7 children and a wife. The main crops cultivated by Kassim are maize, millet, guinea corn, beans (cowpea), and groundnuts. He supplements the cultivation of these crops with the rearing of animals, such as poultry (uncertain number), pigs (6), goats (9), and cattle (6). When asked to describe his farming activities and the use of new varieties, he stated:

"I grew up farming with my father until I got married and he showed me a parcel of land to farm with my wife. We have been farming on this land since then. When the children came, and the land was insufficient I begged for land from one of the landlords to farm, which he did give me. So, I have cropping on these parcels of land and the output used to be good. Some years back, about 15 or 20 years now, the weather has been changing and rains are not coming as they used to. The rainy season starts late and ends early. Sometimes the time that the crops need water, particularly the old varieties that my father used to cultivate, the rains will stop resulting in the crops not doing well. Those crop varieties, especially beans and maize, used to take 3-4 months to mature, but now we are not able to cultivate that much because of the rains. The Agric. people (MoFA) brought us some new varieties which most us are now cultivating. I will not lie, they do well if you follow what you are supposed to do. These varieties fit well with the changing climate because they mature early.

The problem with these varieties, which most of us complain about, is the fact that they are tasteless, and when served as a meal it doesn't take long before you feel hungry compared to the old varieties that we have. The variety of beans have very small 'eyes' compared to the old ones. When it's cooked you will eat it and you will feel like you haven't eaten anything. Within a short period, you become hungry again. Unlike the old varieties, when you eat it could take up to evening before you start

thinking of eating again. The new varieties are tasteless, unless you add a lot of ingredient, you will not have any taste compared to the old variety where you only need to add shea butter.

Also, with the new varieties, particularly beans (cowpea), if you do not spray close to the flowering period, you will not harvest anything. I believe it's a way to get us to buy these agrochemicals. I have been trying them, but times that I don't spray with the chemicals I don't get much, unlike the old variety which we didn't use to spray. With the new variety, it is good for the climatic conditions, just you should be prepared to use money to buy chemicals and ingredients.

As an adaptation to declining soil fertility, participants in a male focus group discussion indicated that, to improve soil fertility, there is the need to apply fertilizer to the crop. However, this possibility is limited to those households who are able to afford to purchase fertilizers, which are expensive (GHC150 subsidised). However, participants disclosed that the majority of poorer households who own animals used the droppings as manure to fertilize their fields. While others used ash as fertilizer, those households with enough animal droppings to spare used this manure to trade, a bucket of animal dropping is sold for GHp 50. Evidence from the focus group discussion collaborates this, Simon, a 34-year-old farmer, had this to say:

"As for the soil fertility, we cannot say anything about it, those who are able to buy fertilizer to apply to their crops are better off, some use animal droppings. But where can you get sufficient animal droppings to fertilize the whole far? Most of us just rely on God and pray that the crops do well.

Those days when there was enough land, we could move to another location that is fertile (shifting cultivation), but now there is no land for us to do that again. I learnt the government has asked people to register for them to supply fertilizers at a subsidized price. Even with that price, I doubt many of us can afford it. Well, we hope for an NGO to help us out." When asked whether Agricultural Extension Officers visit to show them what do he said, *"I cannot remember when they came here, maybe some years back. They do not come around, maybe they come to some people, but I would have seen them. They just do not come around"* (NKII 010, 2017).

When it comes to soil fertility, rural households do not have any alternative aside from the use of animal droppings. Households are helpless when it comes to soil fertility since most of them have no formal education to understand and use other appropriate technologies. It is also evident from interacting with participants that extension services are lacking in these rural communities even though they are urgently needed for support in the form of the best cultural practices to adopt to improve, or to retain, soil fertility.

4.4.3 Seasonal Migration

Although many of the adaptations are within the communities of participants, migration is one strategy that take participants outside of the communities. Participants through group discussions revealed that the resort to seasonal migration during the dry season to mobilize resources to invest in their farming and other activities of interest in their places of origin. According to

them, even though migration is challenging and tedious, it ameliorates their deplorable livelihood conditions, and thus, contributes to reducing their poverty. Similar focus group discussions and in-depth interviews showed that many rural households migrate due to unemployment, as indicated in Section 4.3.3. They also employ migration as a means managing food shortages as indicated in Section 4.4.1. Households, however, migrate for many reasons and these reasons inform the use of migration resources, as summed up in an interview with Tahiru in Naawie. Tahiru is a 38-year-old man, he is a seasonal migrant and had this to say with regard to his migration:

"We migrate for different reasons and every migration journey may have its own reason. For me, the past three migrations that I have undertaken were to get money to buy the items needed to dowry my wife. I am the only one, my parents died when I was small, so when I grew up, I had no one to support me. So, I had to do everything on my own. When I got married, my uncles claimed they didn't have anything to help dowry my wife. So, I had to travel (migrate) to earn money to settle that. I don't think I will stop because there is nothing to do here during the dry season. If I sit here during that period, you will one day hear that I have stolen something and that will not be good for me. So, I have to migrate each time. I have to put up a building because where I live now with my wife and kids is not in good shape. I will have to find money to put up a roof, where will I find that money if don't migrate?" (NKII 011, 2017).

Different motives drive households to migrate and therefore the different uses of migration resources. Tahiru's narration demonstrates that household members migrate to acquire resources to satisfy sociocultural obligations and to enhance their status in the community. This societal identity requires the acquisition and possession of some items that are considered as symbols of success.

This section presented evidences of the various strategies rural households adapt in the midst of challenges that confront their livelihoods. These adaptation strategies include household-based food management strategies, agricultural improvement strategies, and seasonal migration. These strategies have significant implications for the productivity of existing farm-based livelihood strategies. Household management strategies imply less food for household members who require the energy to carry out farm activities, particularly in the peak labour season. Also, seasonal migration reduces the labour requirement for households, and those who are able to return from migration to work are already too fatigued from working in their destinations to give their best to their household farms. Thus, these strategies actually have a negative impact on the overall farm productivity of households in rural communities.

4.5 Summary

This chapter sought to examine the livelihood changes and the adaptation strategies of rural households in northern Ghana. It established that agriculture is the traditional livelihood activity for most rural households in

the study areas. However, livelihood stresses peculiar to rural communities, and most especially to this part of northern Ghana, have rendered most rural livelihoods unsustainable. The livelihood stresses identified within these rural areas concerned the decline in farm productivity, seasonal unemployment, and sociocultural demands. As a response, households with the adaptive capacity to do so diversify into other local livelihood activities to cope with these stresses. Most of these livelihood adaptation strategies are on-farm and off-farm activities, with a few households adopting non-farming activities. These adaptation strategies involved household management, farm management, and seasonal migration. Seasonal migration as an adaptation strategy seems to be culturally embedded among most households since it affords them the opportunity to satisfy both socioeconomic and sociocultural demands. A remotely significant driver of seasonal migration is the ability to protect their cultural identity in society through the performance of sociocultural demands that makes a household significant and relevant in society.

Chapter Five

The Nature of Social Networks in Rural-Rural Seasonal Migration

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the role of social networks in the migration process in northern Ghana. Social networks are significant to the negotiation of access to migration and to the mitigation of its risks and costs. The central question addressed here is "how do social networks mediate access to migration resources for rural-rural seasonal migrants"? While rural-rural seasonal migration as a livelihood diversification strategy for poorer rural households against livelihoods stresses to ensure the maintenance of cultural identity of households was discussed in the preceding chapter, it highlighted gaps in understanding the process of migration. The role of social networks has been explored in the literature (see Section 2.4.2) with particular emphasis on international migration, while discussion on internal migration focuses on rural-urban migration. Meanwhile, the discussion of the role of social networks in rural-rural migration is limited. This chapter seeks the network approach to explore the significance of social networks in mediating access to migration resources in rural-rural seasonal migration process. This is particularly important in determining how poor households explore migration as an adaptation practice since social networks serve as a mechanism for migration. This contributes to the understanding of the role

and nature of social networks in the migration process among households in a typical rural setting.

The remainder of the chapter is organized into six sections. Section 5.2 examines the characteristics of rural-rural seasonal migrants and how these characteristics are associated with social networks to influence their decisions. Section 5.3 examines migrant destinations and the factors that determine the choice of destination. Destinations are significant in determining the pattern of migration and types of social networks are influenced by the relationship systems in a community, so these networks determine the migrants' destinations. Thus, Section 5.4 analyses the nature of social networks and how they facilitate access to migration resources. In Section 5.5 the pattern of exchanges between the originating and destination communities are explored. This allows evaluation of the net benefit of migration to migrants. Section 5.7 synthesises the preceding sections to offer a summary of key insights about how social networks mediate access to migration resources for rural-rural seasonal migrants and reflects on the implications.

5.2 Understanding the Characteristics of the Rural-Rural Migrant Population

This section starts with a focus on the characteristics of the migrant population to understand if there are important variables that define migrants and how these may explain the pattern of migration. Many household and individual attributes influence the migration process; however, this study

limited such attributes to migrant characteristics such as age, gender, education, and ethnicity; as these attributes are important in establishing how migrants build their social networks as well as how they utilise migration resources. It is these characteristics overall that contribute to decision making in the household.

Table 5.1 shows characteristics of migrant respondents per their education, gender, age and ethnicity in the two study communities. This provides an understanding of how these characteristics influence migrant decisions and, eventually, migration.

Table 5. 1: Characteristics of Seasonal Migrants (N= 158)

Characteristics	Naawie	Korro	Average
Age	%	%	%
15-25	12.5	31.2	21.9
26-36	25.9	41.6	33.8
37-47	42	19.5	30.8
48-58	18.5	7.8	13.2
59 and above	1.2	0	0.6
Education	%	%	%
No Formal Education	70.4	48.1	59.3
Primary level	16	23.4	19.7
JSS/Middle school	4.9	14.3	9.6
Senior High Level	6.2	11.7	9
Tertiary	2.5	2.6	2.6
Ethnicity	%	%	%
Sissala	43.9	52	48
Dagara	54.1	48	51.1
Other	2	0	1
Gender	%	%	%
Male	90.1	89.6	90
Female	9.9	10.4	10.2

(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Age of Migrants: Results, as seen in Table 5.1, demonstrate that with regards to age distribution of migrants, the young and energetic people of the communities migrate. The distribution showed in Table 5.1 indicates that majority of migrants fall within the age cohorts of 26-36 (33.8%) and 37-47 (30.8%). This leaves the old and more vulnerable groups within the age brackets of 15 – 25 (21.9%) and below as well as those in 48 – 58 (13.2%) and above. The inability of old and vulnerable groups to migrate was attributed to their inability to engage in any meaningful work at the

destinations, their lack of financial resources, or their family responsibilities. This suggests that only the weak and vulnerable are mostly available during the dry season in the sending communities.

Educational Level of Migrants: Good education is usually assumed to increase the income earning potential of individuals and this is reflected in household income. Education increases the individual's networks and their level of acceptance and adoption of new technologies, as well as access to information. However, from Table 5.1, it can be observed that there is low level of education among migrants from these communities. From Table 5.1, an average of 59.3% of participants have no formal education, 19.7% have up to primary level education, 9.6% have to JSS level, 9% have to secondary level and only 2.6% have tertiary education. Participants suggest that the low literacy rates in the communities propel rural households to adapt migration as a survival mechanism since these households are limited in terms of formal employment and other livelihood alternatives. Educational status also impacts the management of migration resources, this affect the management of migrants's resources. Drawing again on the figures in Table 5.1, on average a greater percentage (59.3%) of migrants do not have formal education. Naawie community has a higher non-literate population of migrants (70.4%) compared to Korro (48.1%).

Ethnicity of Migrants: Ethnic value in migration cannot be underestimated since the major ethnic groups in the communities patronise this phenomenon as a livelihood strategy. Ethnic influence in network formation and access to

migration resources is important to migrants and the migration process as disclosed by participants. From Table 5.1, an average of 48% and 51.1% of respondents were Sissalas and Dagara migrants respectively. This suggests an equal proportion of migration across the ethnic divide which, in turn, implies that in terms of livelihood stress both ethnic groups are impacted, and neither is resilient.

Gender of Migrants: Additionally, gender status of migrants is significant in influencing migration in rural communities. According to informal discussions with members of the community, migration is a male dominated activity, thus it is not surprising that on an average the results showed a relatively low percentage of females (10.2%) engaged in this activity compared to their male counterparts (90%), as shown in Table 5.1. It is, however, revealing that females are engaging in this practice which hitherto was the sole preserve of males. This is an issue that needs special attention and forms the focus of Chapter Six.

Section 5.2 has shown the key characteristics of the migrant which are significant in influencing seasonal migration in rural northern Ghana. These characteristics determine the establishment of social networks which are primary in facilitating migration. The next section considers the common destinations in southern Ghana that these seasonal migrants explore in order to diversify their livelihood and how these relate to their characteristics. It shows the distribution of seasonal migrants and the factors which determine their destinations.

5.3 Destinations of Rural-Rural migrants

Destination is key in the migration process as seasonal migrants locate to destinations where they can maximise opportunities within the shortest possible time. Thus, there are several factors that migrants consider in the determination of destinations, e.g., job availability, safety, and social networks, among others. This section examines the commonest destinations for seasonal migrants in the study area and the rationale behind their choice of where to go.

Common destinations for seasonal migrants from the study communities are rural communities in southern Ghana. The Brong Ahafo region serves as the main host to most migrant communities from the Upper West region. Table 5.2 identifies the commonest destinations of seasonal migrants from the study communities, the regions involved, and the major activities undertaken by them. With regards to the preferred region of migration, participants identified in a survey response the Ashanti (32.12%) and Northern (31.61%) regions are the preferred destinations for seasonal migrants from the study areas, as illustrated geographically in Figure 5.1. However, from Table 5.2, the Brong Ahafo region has more destination locations for seasonal migration although being the third preferred destination with 29.02%. The Eastern and Western regions are the least preferred destinations for seasonal migrants for seasonal migrants from the study locations. Participants attributed farming opportunities, proximity, and climatic similarity as the reasons for the many destinations in the Brong Ahafo region.

From survey responses, Damango (43) emerged as the commonest location of most seasonal migrants in the study. Focus group discussions revealed that due to stronger regulations for felling trees at other locations, migrants are relocating to Damango where there are good trees and less strict regulations on logging. In terms of livelihood activities, responses from participants suggest the Northern region provides more livelihood activities compared to the other regions of migration, as shown in the Table 5.2. The results of focus group discussions and survey suggest that migrants not only engage in farming, but in other livelihood activities that have detrimental consequences for the environment in the future. Illegal mining and charcoal production are livelihood activities are identified as the livelihood activities of migrants that destroy vegetation and water bodies that serve as livelihoods for people at the destinations. Participants indicated that sometimes their activities bring them into conflict with indigenous people of those destination communities.

Table 5. 2: Destinations of Seasonal Migrants from Naawie and Korro

Destinations	Frequency	Activity	Region
Sunyani	10	-Farming	Brong Ahafo
Sampa	5	-Charcoal production	
Wenchi	7		
Techiman	11		
Kintampo	5		
Atebubu	12		
Siekwa	2		
Kwame Danso	4		
Total	**56**		**29.02%**
Ejura	13	-Farming	Ashanti
Afram Plains	16		
Kumasi	28		
Mampong	5		
Total	**62**		**32.12%**
Maame Krobo	5	-Farming	Eastern
Nkwakwa	2		
Total	**7**		**3.63%**
Prestea	5	-Farming	Western
Mansokrom	2	-Galamsey	
Total	**7**		**3.63%**
Damango	43	-Farming	Northern
Salega	2	-Charcoal production	
Tinga	8	-Galamsey	
Buipe	8		
Total	**61**		**31.61%**
Overall Total	**193**[14]		**100%**

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[14] *N=198 which reflects multiple destinations visited by individuals.*
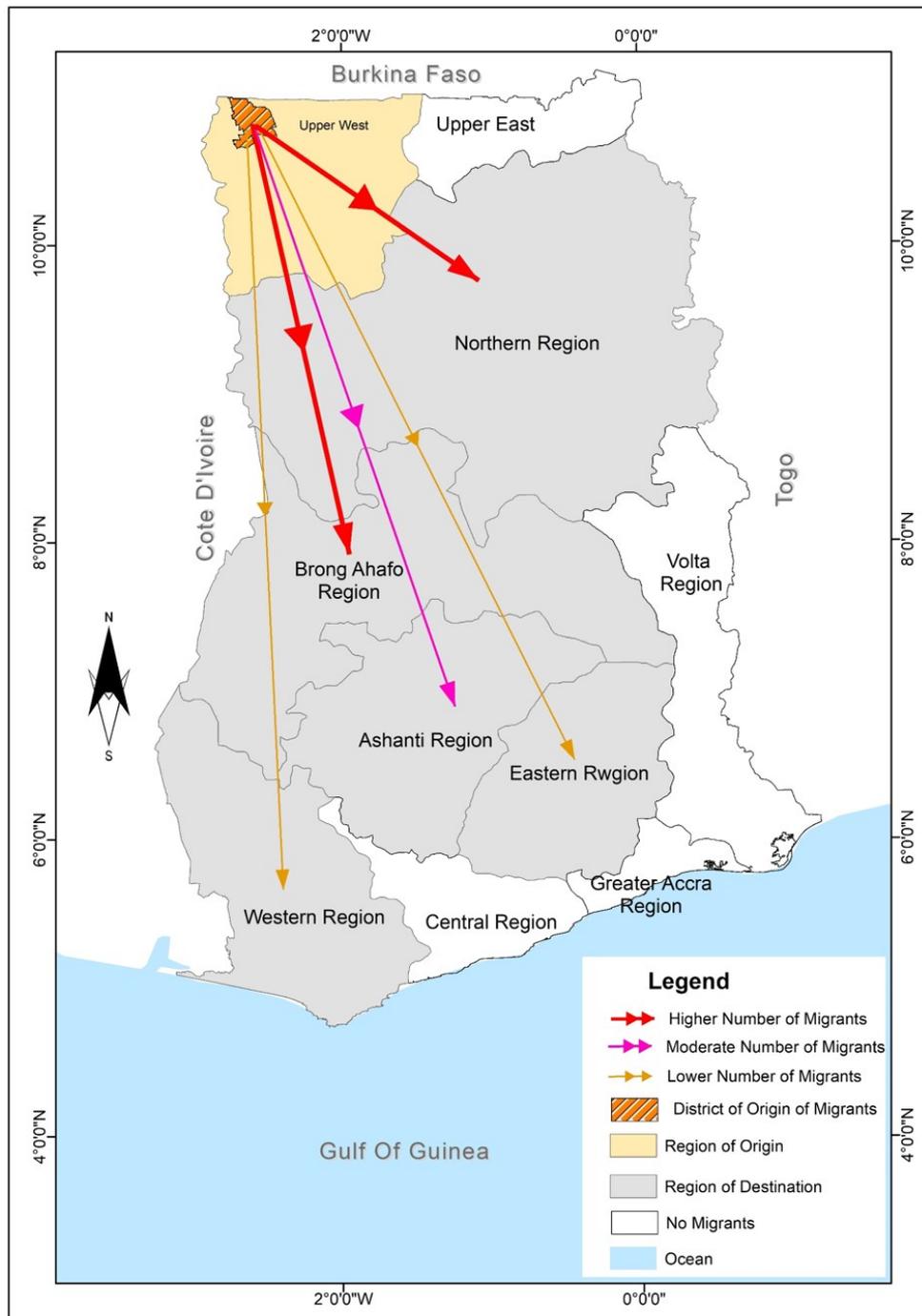
Figure 5. 1: Regional Destination Pattern of Migrants of Participants

Household migrants in a survey response assigned varied reasons for their choice of destinations for migration, as seen in Figure 5.2, below. Reasons include availability at the destination community of employment

opportunities; fertile lands; good rainfall regime; and the abundance of land. In the survey, it was revealed that the availability of employment opportunities at the destination was most important to seasonal migrants, about 84.7% of them strongly agree that this motivated their choice of destination compared to 62.4%, 55.4%, and 20.4% who strongly agree that fertile lands, good rainfall regime, and abundance of land at destinations, respectively, to be key variables considered in the choice of destination. The results suggest that abundance of land is not a great determinant since there seems to be an ambivalent response to the importance of this variable. This may be due to the temporary nature of their stay at the destination, in the long-term they are not concerned with the availability of land.

Reasons for migrating to destinations

(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

150
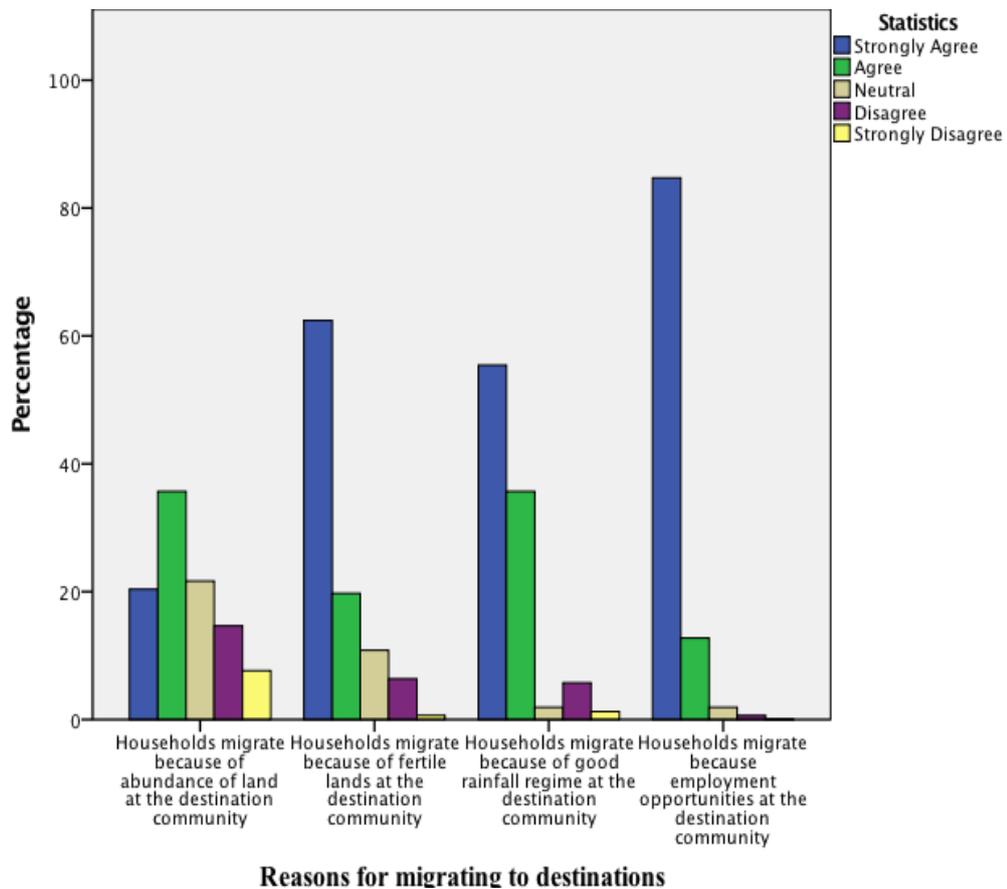
Figure 5. 2: Migrants Reasons for Choice of Destination

While these reasons enumerated by participants above are generally associated with permanent migrants, seasonal migrants also considered them as key in the determination of their destination. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that some seasonal migrants involved in labour migration engage equally in temporary food crop production at their destinations to support their households at their places of origin. Excerpts from an interview with Maalidong, a 28-year-old seasonal migrant from Korro, confirms that seasonal migrants take part in farming activities at their destination:

> *Maalidong's commonest destination is Forifori in Ashanti region. He has been migrating to this community for the past eight years and has established trust with one of his employers, Wofa, who usually gives him a small parcel of land to cultivate on his farm anytime he migrates to that community. According to Maalidong, the arrangement is such that he serves as a caretaker for Wofa's farm for the period that he is there since Wofa does not live on the farm. He is, however, paid for any labour services he renders on Wofa's farm. Sometimes he invites his wife to come over to assist him when it is time for the harvest. He said he does not sell the produce, he sends it home (place of origin) for household use. This helps him cope with food shortages in the area during the lean season (KKII 006,2017).*

The case of Maalidong demonstrates reasons for the choice of destination by seasonal migrants. Though seasonal migrants do not stay in their destinations permanently, some of them make use of their social networks to cultivate food crops at their destinations, alongside their labour services, to supplement household food needs at their places of origin.

5.3.1 Social Networks and Choice of Destination

The presence of permanent migrants in destination regions provides a safe haven for seasonal migrants exploring opportunities of livelihood diversification. Due to the fertile lands and the two-cropping seasons of most destination regions, most farmers from the Upper West have relocated permanently to these regions, although they retain contact with family and non-family at home. It is these contacts that serve as a conduit to migration for seasonal migrants who are mostly relations or acquaintances of permanent migrants. The permanent migrants send for relations back home to support them in their fields during periods of high demand for labour on their farms. Through these arrangements, contacts are extended to neighbours who need the services of farmhands. In an interview with Beyuo, a 31-year-old seasonal migrant from Korro community, he demonstrated how permanent migrants at destinations facilitated seasonal migration of relations from their places of origin (see Box 5.1).

Box 5. 1: Determination of Destination through Permanent Migrant: the case of Beyuo

Beyuo, a 31-year-old married seasonal migrant from Korro, first travelled to Kwame Danso at the request of his Uncle Cosmas for help when he needed farm hands during the second cropping season. After helping on his uncle's farm, he rendered similar services to neighbouring farmers for a fee. On his return home, Beyuo, in the company of friends in his age group, migrated to the same community during the same season to offer labour services not only to the uncle, who hosted them, but to other farmers in the community who needed their services. They returned to their place origin when it was the cropping season for them. In this way, they established social networks not only in that community, but in other communities in need of labour.

(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Similarly, Seidu migrated to Kintampo in the Brong Ahafo region from Naawie at the invitation of his older brother, Alhassan, who had permanently migrated there. Seidu, who was idle at home during the dry season, went to assist Alhassan with his charcoal production business. In return for Seidu's labour, his brother supports him financially from the proceeds of the charcoal business, and also with foodstuffs which Seidu shares with his family back home.

The in-depth interviews with Beyuo and Seidu illustrate the importance of their social networks in determining their choice of destination for migration. Participants disclosed that the presence of relations or relatives at destinations makes migrants choice of destination easier because they are assured of a support system in terms of accommodation, safety, and information about job availability at these locations. Accordingly, this is particularly important since these destinations and environments are often new to migrants and they need to maximise any benefits from their temporary stay in these destinations. Participants nonetheless revealed that, the quantity and quality of social networks of individual migrants, or their households, helps determine destination options for migrants and forms a major component in migration decision making. This emphasises the importance of social networks in the migration process, particularly in the choice of destinations.

This section identified to where migrants of the study communities migrate and the reasons they give for their choice. The section also emphasised the role of social networks in determining the destinations of seasonal migrants and how this depended on the volume and quality of those social networks. The following section presents how these social networks are initiated, how they influence the choice of livelihood activities of migrants, and how they help migrants gain access to their activities at their destinations.

5.4 Networks and Access to Migration Resources

Migration generally thrives on social networks through which social capital is gained and which facilitate the migration process. Social networks are particularly important to poorer households who engage in migration as a livelihood adaptation strategy. This section examines the types of social networks that are open to rural households, how these networks are accessed, and finally, how they negotiate access to particular livelihood activities at the destinations.

5.4.1 Types of Social Networks in Northern Ghana

Social network construction in Northern Ghana differs between ethnic groups. Participant discussions revealed that the patriarchal system is dominant among the people in Northern Ghana, thus relationships are formed along these lines. However, there are other relationships established along matriarchal lines, but these are limited to specific ethnic groups.

For the Sissala ethnic group, focus group discussions revealed that relationships are emphasized at the paternal level and, to some extent, the

immediate maternal family level. As such, one recognizes belongingness to the paternal household unit and its extensions, rather than that to the maternal level of the unit. Findings show that paternal relationship among this ethnic group can be traced to other Sissala groups within the community, as well as with other communities. According to an in-depth interview with one of the chief's elders, these extensions are traced using the totems of the family unit. Certainly, observation and interviews with the Sissala ethnic group showed that less emphasis is placed on maternal relationships than on paternal networks.

Findings among the Dagara ethnic group revealed that value is placed on both paternal and maternal relationships, although paternal relationship is regarded as superior to that of the maternal. Results indicate that these relationships, like the Sissalas, extend beyond their communities to other communities, even across Burkina Faso, a neighbouring country. This is demonstrated by Zineyel, a 63-year-old man from Naawie. The Dagara culture has two main lines of relationships which are recognised in their social constructions. These are the patri- and matri-clans. Zineyel illustrates the operations of the clans with an assumption:

> *"If I get to a community that is strange to me, I first ask of households that are Birfuole who are my paternal relations (patriclan); if there are any, they will be the first people to approach with any issue and they will accept me as one of them since it is the same clan whether they have ever seen me or not. If there are no Birfuole, then I will ask of Dikpielle, who are my maternal relations (matriclan). If there are any, they will consider me as a nephew since my mother comes from that clan, whether my*

mother is known to the household or not. This applies to funeral situations or any form of assistance needed in an environment where one is not known" (NKII 012, 2017).

Submissions above demonstrate how bonding social networks are constructed among the two ethnic groups date back several generations and continue to be maintained to date. As espoused by Zineyel, these social networks translate into relational benefits, and this explains how individuals from households gain support in times of need in strange environments. Discussions with both ethnic groups reveal that these relationships are more extensive among the Dagara than the Sissalas. This suggests that some ethnic groups have more customary networks than others and, by extension, gain more customary support compared to others.

5.4.2 The Role of Social Networks in the Migration Process

The preceding sections explained how bonding networks are established among the ethnic groups in the study area. Utility of both bonding and bridging social networks in the migration process cannot be overemphasized, therefore, this section presents how migrants utilize these social networks to gain access to migration resources through the activities they undertake at their destinations. It explains how these vary between the two ethnic groups in the communities.

It was established that with the Dagara and Sissala ethnic groups, bonding networks are significant for first time migrants. Participants indicated that they depend on these networks for accommodation, food, and information

about access to potential employers at their destinations. According to them, these support services are mostly guaranteed by bonding social networks, rather than by bridging networks. Also, households are only confident to allow young first migrants to migrate if they are assured of support from a relation in the destination community. This is evident in the narratives of Beyuo and Seidu, seen in Section 5.3.1, where bonding social networks did not only help to determine their destinations, but also had great influence on the type of livelihood activity with which they engaged once at their destinations.

Results based on focus group discussions and in-depth interviews showed that different networks determine the activities carried out at the destinations. This finding also shows some association with ethnic groups where specialisation in some livelihood activities reflects the skills and abilities of these ethnic groups common in their places of origin. Participants indicated that such activities are learnt and handed down from generation to generation. For example, findings indicate that the Sissala ethnic group are known for charcoal production not only because it is lucrative, but because they are good at it, having learnt how best to do it over generations. In relation to this Kojo, a Sissala, commented in an interview that *"charcoal production is an ancestral thing we grew up to meet"*. Further findings revealed that to participate in this livelihood activity, one needs networks to access the resources which are the property of the destination community. Gbene, a 40-year-old seasonal migrant who engages in charcoal production, explains that a migrant needs a 'Zongo Naa' (literally, strangers' chief) who is often an

influential permanent migrant known to the indigenous people at the destination. The 'Zongo Naa' serves as a middleman who negotiates for a temporary parcel of land for the purpose of charcoal production since the place is a forested zone. In an interview with a man who wants to be known as Alhaji, a 'Zongo Naa' in Damango, he explained the process of access to tree resources:

"... I came to this community over 30 years ago from the Upper West region to farm and it was given to me by the family head of a Gonja who happened to be a 'playmate' i.e., the Sissalas and the Gonjas traditionally exchange jokes. Later, I decided to go into charcoal production alongside my farming activities. My landlord (the Gonja man) introduced me to the chief of the community who leased a parcel of land to me where I could fell trees for my charcoal activity. I paid some money (interviewee declined to disclose the amount) *and, as part of the agreement, the chief was entitled to 10% of the number of bags of charcoal produced from a tree. ... Since I cannot do it alone, I engage my brothers (Sissalas) who come around seasonally to assist me. I show them a number of trees on my allotted area to produce charcoal which we share in terms of bags. I then pay the chief his number of bags in monetary terms..."* (DKII 001, 2017).

This narrative by Alhaji was corroborated to some extent by Kwabena, a 43-year-old Sissala migrant, with the exception of the payment arrangements. Excerpts of the interview with Kwabena are presented in the dialogue shown in Box 5.2. This interview took place at the Largbanga, a community on the way to Damango.

Box 5. 2: Interview with a Seasonal Migrant Charcoal Producer

Q: Are you a permanent migrant here?
A: No, I came from Konsi (a suburb of Korro) in the Upper West region.
Q: How long have you been here?
A: I came here at the end of February, let us make it 4 months. But I will be going home in next the two weeks. I am waiting for some payments, when I get it I will go back.
Q: Is this the only place you migrate to?
A: No, sometimes I go to Kintampo, depending on where there is work.
Q: How did you get into charcoal production in this strange community?
A: I have some of our relations here who have settled here for a long time and the people of this community know them. It is through them, in fact, we come to help them produce the charcoal and they pay us.
Q: Why can't you go into production yourself and not have to pass through them?
A: Hmm, things are not done that way. I will come into conflict with the indigenous people here because they do not know me. But our relatives here are known to them and they have bought the trees from them to produce the charcoal. Even if they accept us, we do not have the money to buy the trees ourselves. So, we work for them and they pay us.
Q: What are the payment terms generally?
A: Here we produce bags and for every 100 bags produced we are entitled to 10 bags. But this varies from place to place and person to person. It sometimes depends on the relationship you have with the person.
Q: When you get the bags, what do you do with it?
A: What happens is that the Zonga Naa has his people who carry them to big towns, like Kumasi and Accra, to sell. He has his buyers too, so they agree on a price and transports the bags to them. Then he pays us the value of the number of bags we are entitled to. Sometimes, people come to buy from here.
Q: Why can't you sell directly yourselves, so that you can determine your own

prices?
A: As for you, you want to strain the relationship we have with our people. He (Zongo Naa) will think we do not trust him. Also, the village is in the interior, and we cannot carry the load to town to sell since we do not have our own buyers. This arrangement is the best for us.
Q: How much does a bag of charcoal go for?
A: The last time, it was GHc 15 per bag. This changes from season to season, the place and the buyers. **(Source: Fieldwork, 16th July, 2017)**

In this way, participants revealed that entry into the charcoal activity at migrant destinations requires the facilitation of social networks to access the resource. Migrants without such social networks would find it extremely difficult to participate in such an activity since it interferes with the natural resources of some of the local people. Thus, the role of the Zongo Naa (middleman) is to serve as a liaison between the resource owners and the seasonal migrants. Participants indicated that this arrangement creates the opportunity for exploitation of migrants by the Zongo Naas since they are the only means migrants have to access resources at the destinations, and particularly at locations which are unfamiliar environments to migrants. Even though bonding social networks facilitated access in the case of Kwabena, he had no say in the determination of the price he received for his share of the produce. This was determined by the Zongo Naa, who happens to be his employer, which implies that failure to accept the terms and conditions of the Zongo Naa will mean that a migrant cannot gain access to participate in such an activity.

This could account for why the bonding social network is more significant here than bridging networks; working with a close relation means that a migrant is more likely to receive a fair deal in terms of payments compared to dealing with a stranger. Bonding social networks was associated with a particular ethnic group specialising in this particular activity, the Sissala ethnic group. At the destinations, it was observed and corroborated with participants that this particular ethnic group are largely known for the charcoal activity.

Seasonal labour migration is also a common practice in the study communities. Members of households engaged in this kind of activity migrate largely to the southern part of the country (see Table 5.2) which experiences two cropping seasons in a year. Migrants worked as farm labourers during their sojourns to these areas. Findings show that the Dagara ethnic group are mainly those who participate in this kind of activity because of their farming skills. It was observed that majority of these migrants were illiterates with no formal education. Participant attributed their lack of formal education to their limited employment opportunities which have made them to resort to farm labour services on farms of rural communities in the south during the dry season. Participants submit that the phenomenon is on the increase due to increasing livelihood failures in their places of origin.

According to participants, once migrant households have made their decision to migrate, and decided who migrates, the household devises survival strategies for the migrating family member at their destination. These strategies are based on information and support at the chosen destination. The migrant's social networks and those of the household at both origin and destination serve as conduits for access to this social capital. Results, based on focus group discussions with migrants, indicated that labour migrations are done in groups, the formation of which is based on the social networks organized within cultural relations, as well as peer relations, within the community. Participants mentioned that these peer social networks are based on friendships with people of similar age groups and economic status. These

groups provide a support system which serves as insurance to new migrants who do not have destination networks. Lobnibe, a 28-year-old labour migrant, described his first migration which illustrates the importance of group solidarity in the migration process, even in the absence of social networks at the destination:

> *"... Friends really helped me on my first migration experience. Before my father agreed for me to migrate, he wanted to know how I was going to make it since I did not know anyone outside home and have never travelled that far away from home. ... He was, however, confident when I told him I was going in the company of Baghrviel, who is a regular migrant and well known in the community. ... I had earlier discussed with Baghrviel who agreed for me to join their company after the earthing-up is over. Prior to our departure, Baghrviel introduced me to the rest of the group members that numbered six during some of the pito drink ups. ... through such venues I was briefed on what they do and what was expected of me" (KKII 007, 2017).*

This illustration from Lobnibe demonstrates the value of group solidarity and trust in social networks as a means to migration. Group social networks provide collateral that facilitates migration among poor rural households who engage in migration. This submission equally suggests that social networks span beyond individual provision of support but also involves the internal mobilization of group energy in the form of group solidarity.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that people who have never migrated before do migrate alone in very exceptional cases, but largely group migration is common with seasonal farm labour migration. Participants narratives indicate that groups are formed based on the

sociocultural relations that exist amongst them. Accordingly, in a group, they are always interrelated in one way or the other. There is a "tampel lop-er (a cultural mediator)" who intervenes whenever there is misunderstanding. This helps to bind the group together and it is common with this ethnic group in their group formation. Participants argue that migrating in groups makes it difficult for people to take advantage of them. Also, the communal spirit and solidarity help them in getting a good bargain for their farm labour activities, but also in warding off spiritual attacks in the form of juju[15] by some employers who are not prepared to pay them. According to majority of the participants, moving in groups insulates them from attacks from thugs since they operate their trade in remote communities.

Similarly, Tantuo, a first timer, explained his experience of migration:

"We were eight people who just decided we were going to move down south and search for by-day work. None of us have ever migrated before but we have been hearing from interactions with those who migrate about some of the communities they went to. When the farming season was over, we joined the Techiman vehicle that moved on Sundays from Piina. We got to Techiman and got another vehicle to Atebubu. We arrived in the evening and had to sleep at the lorry station. The next morning we asked the people around where we could get farm by-day work to do. A man led us to another man who questioned us about where we were from and, after some interaction, he agreed to engage us, but said that the farm was in another village. So, he got a shed for us to sleep in and, the next day, he made a KIA vehicle pick us up to take us to the farm. Hmm, the sleeping

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[15] *This is a form of African metaphysics that indigenous people believe can be chanted and invoked to bring bad luck, disease and death on people. These according to participants can be expressed in many different forms. From their narratives, it is easier to be applied to an individual than for a group.*

place was not the best of places, sometimes reptiles move around, and you had to be extremely careful at night. After some bargaining, we arrived at a figure and the man left behind some tubers of yam and that was all that we had. ... when we managed to finish with his place, another man who had his farm nearby also engaged us. That was how we suffered till we came home" (KKII 007, 2017).

The experiences reported by Lobnibe and Tanuto suggest that social networks, either in the form of group solidarity or contacts at the destinations, are significant in the migration process. They also advance the importance of the cultural relational dynamics which exist in the communities and, in turn, foster the formation of social networks, particularly within the community of origin. The utility of these forms of social networks varies depending on migrants' circumstances; they do, however, provide a medium for migrants to diversify their livelihoods and maximize use of their time during the dry season. Group solidarity, as a form of social networking, is advantageous to vulnerable households who may not have the necessary social networks to provide them with support systems at the destinations.

Table 5.3 below shows a matrix which illustrates quotes from migrants about the different support they received based on the different forms of social networks involved in the migration process. Social networks facilitate migration through the provision of financial support, information on the destinations, accommodation, access to jobs, and support in the decision-making process. These are facilitated differently by the different types of social networks which emphasizes the importance, and use, of both bridging

and bonding networks in the provision of different support systems for migration.

Table 5. 3: Matrix of Different Support based on Different Social Networks

Theme	Bonding Network	Bridging Network
Financial Support	*"To make the journey, I sold one of my goats to raise the money; I also borrowed money from my wife's pito brewing business for support"* (KKII 008, 2017).	*"I borrowed from my friend who was better than me to raise the money to join my colleague to migrate. I paid back the money on my return"* (KKII 009, 2017).
Informational Support	*"I got information of the job availability from those relations of mine who are settled there when they came for an uncle's funeral"* (NKII 013, 2017).	*I had no idea of any place, I only joined those who were regular migrants. I followed them wherever they went, and we worked together"* (KKII 010, 2017).
Accommodation	*"I went on the invitation of my uncle, so I had no problem with accommodation and food since I stayed with them"* (NKII 014, 2017).	*"It was those who engaged us on their farms that provided us with sheds on the farms, but we had to provide our own bedding. This was very challenging as we had to sleep on jute sacks and polythene bags"* (NKII 015, 2017).
Decision-Making	*"I made the decision to migrate, but the permission had to be given by my father who is the head. He had to consult others to be sure that the journey is safe before I go. This included being sure that there was someone at the destination that could guarantee to assist"* (KKII 0011, 2017).	*"I made my own decision to migrate when I was convinced by those regular migrants that it was safe to migrate"* (KKII 012, 2017).

Access to Activity	*"For this kind of job (charcoal) you cannot do it if you do not have anybody there. So, it those brothers of ours there who are into it that help us" (NKII 016, 2017).*	*"We move as a team, so those who are regular migrants and have contacts of previous employers, they contact them, if they have jobs for us, then fine. If they do not, we follow the experienced people who have migrated to different communities" (NKII 017, 2017).*

(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Participants mentioned that charcoal production at the destinations, which has traditionally been the preserve of the Sissala ethnic group, has in recent times witnessed an increased participation by the Dagara ethnic group who, hitherto, were causal farm labourers in rural communities in the south. Participants of the Dagara ethnic group, however, admit that the shift into this activity is not only because it is lucrative, but because of the dwindling level of engagement in their specialized activity as a result of employers resorting to the use of agrochemicals to control weeds which used to be the source of employment for the Dagara farm hands at a particular time of the cropping periods in southern Ghana. This has necessitated an interethnic social network to facilitate their entry into this new activity, but also for them to learn the trade in terms of the skills required to be successful in the activity. In this way, the Dagara ethnic group are challenged with the need to establish new social networks outside their regular networks since the charcoal business requires a bonding social network to operationalize.

This section explored how social networks are established among rural seasonal migrants at both their origin and at their destinations. The section further assessed how these social networks facilitate access to migration resources at the destinations through the performance of some activities. The following section explores the exchange between the originating and the destination communities with emphasis on the former. It also determines how these exchanges, in the form of remittances, are utilized and how they influence the culture of the people.

5.5 Pattern of Exchange between Rural Communities

This section presents the pattern of exchanges in migration between the originating and the destination communities and how these patterns serve as symbols of success that perpetuate seasonal migration, and that attract other poorer households to adopt seasonal migration as a strategy to improve their wellbeing. This pattern of exchange takes the form of remittances, technological transfer, and cultural diffusion which could be beneficial or detrimental to either community.

5.5.1 The Role of Financial Resources and Incentives in Migration

To engage in seasonal migration as an activity requires resources in order to reap the most benefit. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that migrants explore various means of resources within and outside the household to enable them to embark on migration journeys. Rural households draw on various sources to make up the resources needed to sponsor a household migrant for their trip. Figure 5.3 shows that the majority

(90.6%) of the resources needed for migration are mobilized within the household and among family members, while the remainder (10.4%) gather resources from outside the household. In terms of the former, the migrant contributes about 52.6% of the total resources for his own migration, the remaining 38% represent contributions from other family members. This suggests that migrant's contribution, in terms of resources for the migration, may influence households' migration decisions because poorer households find it difficult to meet these expenses. Discussions with research participants revealed that it is difficult to raise resources for migration; there are limited sources for borrowing and those available are informal. One of the commonest sources of borrowing in the communities is the Susu saving schemes operated mostly by females in the community. As one interviewee commented, *"I had to borrow the money through my wife who belongs to the women groups"*. This arrangement raises questions with regards to non-payment on the part of the migrant who has not directly borrowed from the group. The difficulty of mobilizing resources for migration suggests that only households that are relatively rich are able to explore this strategy because they have the resources, or at least can borrow in order to get the resources needed to embark on a migration journey.

Even though migration trips involve the commitment of household resources, the returns are much to be desired. These take the form of remittances in either cash or kind. Cash returns from a migration trip are demonstrated in Figure 5.4. Based on the household survey, cash returns of migration trips revealed that the majority (55.1%) of migrants earned net returns of less than

GHc 200, while those who claim to have earned significant amounts (GHc 1,100 – 1,900) is about 7.6%. There were, however, no participants in the survey who earned GHc 2,000 or above. This suggests that, apart from the intangible benefits of migration, if there are any, cash rewards from the seasonal migration are minimal. This further supports the argument that only relatively better-off households are able to diversify in this direction since a loss in such enterprise will not greatly affect them. Migration has equally worsened the fortunes of some households. This is expressed by Alhassan: *"Some travel down south with the hope of getting money, but sometimes the situation is precarious such that others cannot even find the fare to get themselves back"*. This demonstrates that seasonal migration can make households worse off than before. Even though this is a problem, it is limited, since households still embark on this enterprise because it is a last resort.

There are, however, some rewards from seasonal migration that are 'in kind', such as foodstuffs and clothing. Some of the migrants who have established cordial and trusted relationships with their employers, as expressed by Maalidong in Section 5.3, are able to take advantage of the two cropping seasons in the southern part of the country. This allows them to farm to supplement their food stock back home, and also to sell some of their produce to earn some income. Further discussions with participants revealed that through such relationships some employers donate used clothes which is beneficial to the migrants as they do not need to buy these items. These intangible benefits, coupled with the seasonal unemployment in the dry season at the migrants' origin, among others, motivate these seasonal

migrants to continuously engage in this activity in spite of its marginal returns and unsustainability.

Figure 5. 3: Sources of Household Migration Resources

	Household Head	Individual Migrant	Borrowing from Family members	Borrowing from Friends	Loans
Sissala	15	72	19	7	0
Dagara	33	68	34	12	6
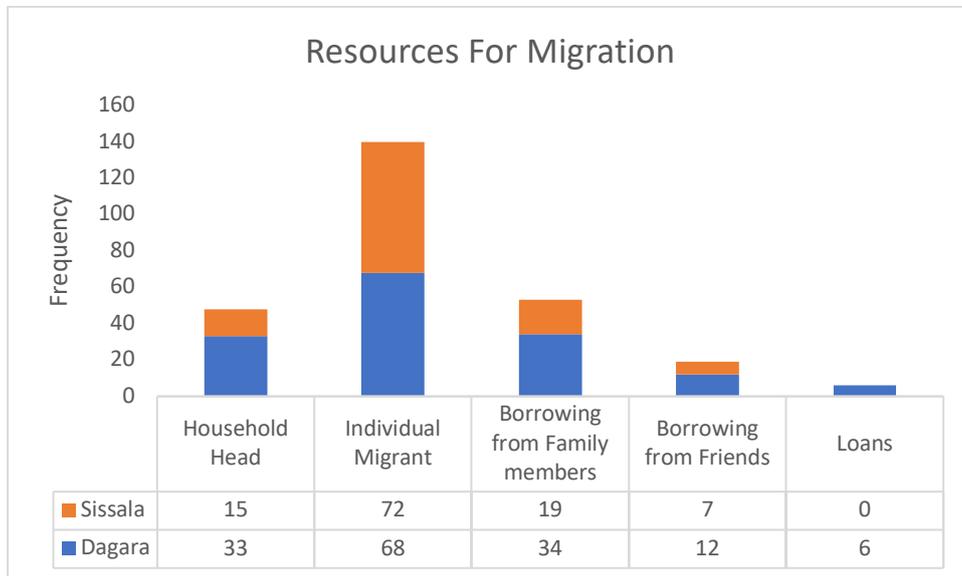
(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Figure 5. 3: Sources of Household Migration Resources

	Less than GHC 200	GHC 200 - 1000	GHC 1100 -1900
Sissala	42	30	4
Dagara	45	29	8
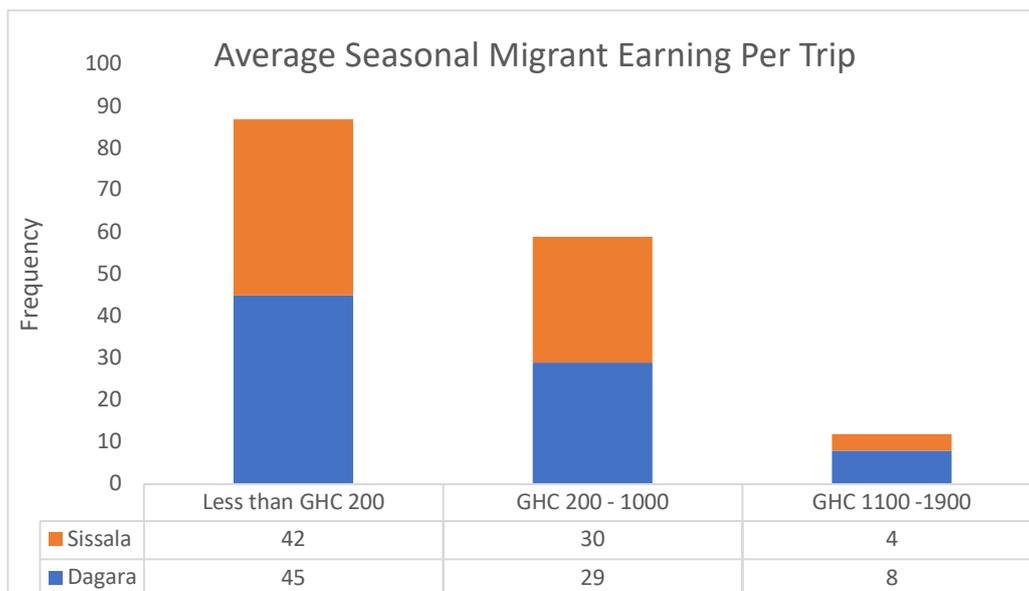
(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Figure 5. 4: Average Net Earnings Per Migration Trip

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Use of Migration Resources

Results from the household survey in Figure 5.5 revealed that the majority (86.8%) of households spent their migration resources on food while 9.9% invested their resources in non-agricultural related livelihood activities. Respondents surveyed showed that 14.6% spent their resources on housing, 61.6% on school fees, 72.2% on health needs and 18.8% on agricultural investment. Based on the distribution of migration resources, displayed in Figure 5.5, three points are clear. First, a substantial amount of migration resources is used on household sustenance, such as food, health, schooling, and housing. These expenditures are not sustainable, rather they make most households susceptible to seasonal migration. Also, a good number of households (78.8%) invest these resources in agricultural activities that are meant to ensure the food sustainability of the household. Third, a limited number of households (9.9%) diversify their migration resources into non-farming livelihood investments. The implication is that failure of their traditional farming activities means most households suffer poverty and may need to rely on the social support systems provided by governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Uses of Migration Resources

Category	Percentage
None of the Above	1.30%
Investment in Non-farm Livelihood Activities e.g. trading	9.90%
Investment in Agricultural Livelihood Activities e.g. weeding	78.80%
School Fees	61.60%
Health Needs	72.20%
Housing	14.60%
Food	86.80%
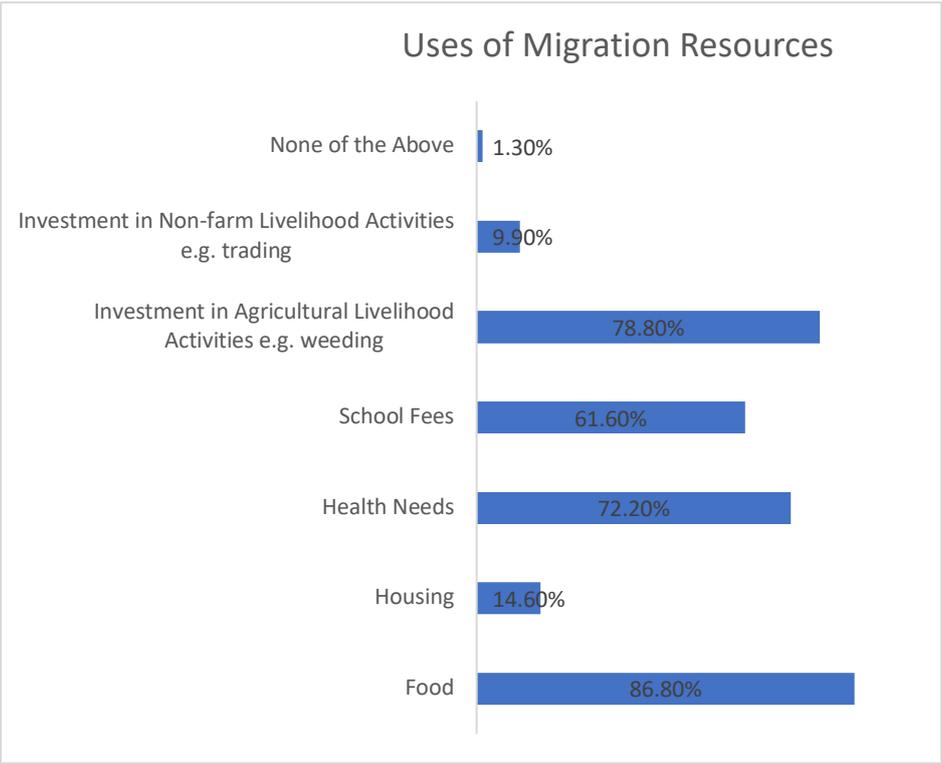
(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

Figure 5.5: Household Uses of Migration Resources

In-depth interviews corroborate household survey results as respondents indicated that the majority of their cash earnings are used to solve household and family issues. Table 5.4 displays illustrative quotes from respondents suggesting the use of migration resources at the places of origin. These quotes indicate that migration resources are invested in livelihood activities that will sustain most households rather than wean them from the phenomenon.

Table 5. 4: Examples of Uses of Migration Resources by Households

Use	Illustrative Quote
Farm investment	*"I used the little that I have to buy fertilizer to put on the crops, if not I will not harvest anything" (NKII 018, 2017).* *"I came late when everyone had farmed leaving me behind, so I used part of the money to hire youth and women's groups to farm and sow, so that I could catch up with the rains" (KKII 012, 2017).*
Household Bills	*"I must not lie, this trip I made some money, but I spent everything on my son who got admission into Queen of Peace Senior High in Nadowli[16]" (NKII 0019, 2017).* *"Much of my earnings from my last trip was used to renew the NHI[17] of my wife, five children, and my parents" (KKII 013).*
Culture and Legacy	*"We did not have enough bedrooms, so I had to buy some zinc and put up some rooms which are yet to be completed. For now, that is my concentration. If my children grow up, they will know this is what their father left behind" (KKII 014, 2017).* *"My mother died last year, and we had to contribute for the 'Goala', much of my money was used for the rites. This is to get it out of my head so that I can concentrate on other important issues and she could also rest in peace" (KKII 0015, 2017).* *"My target was to get some cattle for the house, and also to use as bullocks. I paid part of the money with the money earned through my migration trips" (NKII 020, 2017).*
Personal	*"I don't have any means of transport, in the night, if something happens at night, I will have to wake another household up, so my target is to save from these trips to get a motorbike" (NKII 021, 2017).* *"I am trying to save enough from the trips to open a provisions store, so that when I am weak I can retire to that (NKII 022, 2017)."* *"My major problem is that I migrate to enable me to get the resources to dowry my wife. I lost both parents at a tender age. Traditionally, it is the responsibility of my uncles, but anytime I approach them with the issue they claim there is no money, so I have to search for the money to buy the items myself (NKII 023, 2017)."*

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[16] *A pseudo name for the school, although it is an actual school name it is not in the research area.*

[17] *NHI refers to National Health Insurance. This is renewed each year for it to be functional.*

5.5.2 Transfer of Technology

Seasonal migration comes with some unintended benefits that impact the livelihoods of households at the places of origin and which are not accounted for as part of the benefits of migration. Participants revealed that migration has exposed them to new technologies, such as mobile phones, which has helped them maintain contact with family while at their destinations, as well as with previous employers at the destinations. These contacts facilitate future migration and reduce the stress in locating jobs since previous employers help in their job search. Also, the technology through mobile money transfer aids in the remittance of cash in times of need at the places of origin. This reduces theft and robbery as the migrants make their way home.

It was observed in Naawie community that the community had mobilized together to build a dam to serve their animals, particularly for the dry season. This community initiative, according to an interview with an elder, was an idea mooted by the community's youth. This confirmed findings from focus group discussions with migrants who indicated that the idea was imported from observations made at their destination which resulted in the construction of access roads among farming communities. Elder Bakoro in Naawie spoke about the construction of the dam:

> *"The youth came up with the idea of the construction of the dam, this was welcomed by the chief and we the elders. We tasked each family to provide a cow or the equivalent in cash for this purpose for the last two years. We then employed the services of a road contractor who is constructing it for us, as you can see. When completed, it will minimize the theft and the*

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drudgery in the search for water in the dry season. Others can also make gardens that can serve as employment" (NKII 024, 2017).

Seasonal migration is a means of diversification and social networks provide the opportunity for the exchange of new and innovative ideas between destination and origin communities. This is exemplified by the transfer of knowledge of communal spirit replicated appropriately by the Naawie community in the construction of the dam, as can be seen in Plate 5.1 below. These community initiatives are the result of the exchange of ideas and they build resilience mechanisms that sustain livelihoods in the respective communities.

(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)
Plate 5. 1: Community Initiative of Ongoing Construction of Naawie Dam

5.5.3 Cultural Diffusion

Culture defines a group of people within a particular setting. It changes with the passage of time, either through interaction or the advancement of the

society. Findings from the two communities revealed that seasonal migration has significantly influenced the culture of the people. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews provided evidence that migration has influenced the cultural identity of the people, particularly in the names of most migrants. Names form the identity of a person as well as the people. However, discussions with participants indicate that migrants have adopted 'foreign' names from their destinations and, accordingly, they lose their identity. This was expressed by a 68-year-old man from Naawie community:

"…… these boys travel to the south and come back with funny names; names that do not tell whether they are our people, or they are from the south. It is more serious with those who have settled for a long time in the south. You hear a name like "Kweku Dagaati'; this is not known to us. Our names give an indication of which family you come from or whose child you are in the community, but Kweku is a southern name while Dagaati is the way the southern people call us …. (KKII 016, 2017)."

This illustrates that migration contributes to the loss of this cultural identity through the adoption of names from the destinations. To the migrants, bearing a 'foreign name' in the community is an indication that one has migrated before, which to them is a privilege. It was further revealed that seasonal migrants find it fashionable to speak the language of the destination communities, particularly *'Twi'*[18]*,* rather than their native language. This not only corrupts their native language, but also motivates potential migrants to actually migrate in order to be part of the clique of those who are able to speak 'Twi'. This trend, according to participants, extends to the style of

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[18] *Twi is a popular southern Akan language of the Ashanti in Ghana.*

dress in the community as most of the seasonal migrants dress like those in the south when they return home. In this way, cultural diffusion is impacting negatively on their cultural identity. The implication is that while migrants' households may gain from economic resources, they also lose their cultural identity through infiltration of alien cultures. In some cases, migrants spend resources to patronize artefacts that promote the cultural identity of the destination communities.

The section explored the form of exchange involved in seasonal migration, how these exchanges are utilized, and their effect on the local arrangements at the origin communities. The infiltration of foreign cultural elements into the local culture at the origins were evaluated. The next section summarises the main findings of the chapter in conclusion.

5.6 Reflections

The results presented in this chapter provide some useful insights into how social networks mediate access to migration resources in rural-rural seasonal migration in northern Ghana. Examining the significance of migrants' characteristics in influencing migration, a two-way ANOVA analysis revealed that migrant characteristics are significant in migration decisions about who migrates and to where, and how the process is facilitated by social networks. This invariably determines the destinations for this category of person. Even though there are no restrictions on adult males regarding migration, they need social networks to make destination decisions. Results from this study suggest that first time migrants' destination choices are based

on social networks influenced by their characteristics, while subsequent migration destinations are based on personal experiences and networks.

Different social networks negotiate access to different migration resources. Strong ties, in the form of bonding networks, facilitate emotional support which this study finds facilitates migrants' access to natural resources. Weak ties, on the other hand, in the form of bridging networks, yield informational support which, in this case, facilitated access to casual labour activities at migrant destinations. This is evident in the access to activities by different ethnic groups from the study area. Based on the analysis, it seems that both bridging and bonding social networks are explored uniquely by respondents in terms of finance, accommodation, information, decision-making, and activity support at both origin and destination. This contributes to the debate that social networks are significant in the provision of access to employment opportunities. However, it also emphasises the differentiated importance of different social networks in the provision of access to different activities by different groups.

Social networks through migration facilitate exchanges between origin and destination communities. These exchanges either inure both communities to the benefits of migration, or not. These exchanges largely favour the origin communities, rather than the destination communities. Results established that exchanges, in the form of cash and in-kind remittances as well as ideas and technology, occurred between rural-rural origin and destination communities. For example, the exchange of ideas between communities led

to the collective action of building a dam at Naawie. Meanwhile, the exchange of technological practices minimised the drudgery rural migrants go through by the adoption of the use of agrochemicals in weed control in the origin communities. Despite the benefits of these patterns of exchange, some exchanges are detrimental to migrant communities. Results indicate migrants' adoption of foreign (destination) names and dress do not reflect the cultural identity of the community.

It was found that remittances, in the form of cash resources, were used on recurrent expenditure activities of households which are non-sustainable. It was established that households spent a major amount of their migration resources on food to ensure household food security, instead of on investment activities to ensure household livelihood resilience and sustainability. For example, households spent migration resources on items such as school fees, medical bills, and agricultural activities, each of which are recurrent costs. This pattern of expenditure promotes the vicious cycle of migration since households remain perpetually vulnerable to seasonal livelihood shocks. This suggests that households are limited in their diversification portfolios and consider seasonal migration to be the only way out.

5.7 Summary

This chapter examined how social networks mediate access to migration resources by rural-rural seasonal migrants. It established that social networks are significant in every aspect of the migration process. Household migration decisions about who migrates, the choice of destinations, and the type of

activity carried out at destinations that facilitate access to migration resources are all influenced by social networks. Different types of social networks are unique to the different ethnic groups who aid access to different migration resources. Significant to social networks in the study is the formation of a group network system that provides a safety net for migrants, especially first-time migrants who have no contacts at destinations. This form of social network is largely utilised among farm labour migrants but is limited in terms of provision of access to natural resources at the place of destination. This yield benefits in the form of cash and in-kind remittances, as well as ideas that inure households, and the community at large, to these benefits. Despite such benefits of migration to the household livelihood system, female migration is limited by sociocultural factors. The next chapter examines the gendered interest and limitations which affect rural-rural seasonal migration.

Chapter Six

Gendered Dimensions of Rural-Rural Seasonal Migration: Experiences of Women Migrants

6.1 Introduction

Traditionally rural-rural migration has been a male activity, undertaken by young men as a rite and by others to provide cash income or facilitate alternative livelihood options. Gendered roles within rural households are highly entrenched in the study area, where it is culturally unacceptable for married women to undertake rural-rural migration. Temporary rural-urban movement is considered permissible for women since it relies on the protection of female relatives at the destinations. These cultural norms subjugate women within the patriarchal system and this results in men controlling the decision-making process for the type of migration and livelihood strategies participated in by this category of women. This make women vulnerable and thus increase the gender inequality between men and women. Therefore, understanding how women access productive resources through seasonal rural-rural migration and the implications for the household in terms of decision-making as well as who benefits from the income is important. This expands the limited understanding of how women, especially married women, negotiate cultural norms to facilitate rural-rural migration in a patriarchal system.

To address this, Section 6.2 examines the nature of rural-rural migration opportunities for women. It provides evidence of cultural constraints placed on women for access to productive resources in northern Ghana, and the implications of such constraints for the construction of gendered vulnerability in rural communities. Section 6.3 explores the cultural perceptions of women's migration as a means of ameliorating their vulnerability and reducing gendered poverty. Section 6.4 focuses on household dynamics and the utilization of migration resources and Section 6.5 analyses the challenges to women's migration in a patriarchal dominated area of northern Ghana. As a conclusion, Section 6.6 summarises the key insights which result from gendered migration in a patriarchal system and which promote gender inequality in terms of access to livelihood opportunities. While Chapter 5 began to reveal an interesting narrative of emerging rural-rural migration by married women in the study area, the topic merits further exploration and offers an opportunity to situate such insights within the debate about the role of migration on livelihood transition and shifting gendered roles in northern Ghana.

6.2 The Nature of Rural-Rural Migration of Women in Northern Ghana.

This section presents findings of the nature of rural-rural women's migration, especially for married women, in patriarchal communities in northern Ghana. This involves the sociocultural livelihood arrangements that pose challenges to married women in rural communities, thus exposing them to livelihood vulnerability. The access to productive resources and the decision-making

arrangements of household's joint production outcomes are equally presented in this section.

6.2.1 Gendered Access to Productive Resources in Northern Ghana

Productive assets in typical rural households comprise mainly land and livestock. Access to these assets determines the welfare and vulnerability of individuals in the household. However, the right to own and use these assets in a household are gendered in most developing countries, most especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This section presents the rights of women to these productive resources in a patrilineal society in northern Ghana and how these ideologies influence livelihood vulnerability among women in this part of country.

Land and livestock are the main productive assets in an agrarian community, and decisions on these productive livelihood assets of households are gendered. In a patrilineal system, participation in key household decision-making is skewed towards men. This is reflected in the right to own and use productive assets that impact the livelihoods of households. Evidence from focus group discussions on the right to own, access, and use land in the household showed that ownership of land is the preserve of men in the community, except for those women who have the financial wherewithal to purchase or lease land for their own purposes. According to research participants from the communities, households derive their lands from the family lands which they hold in trust for the family. Apart from the usufructuary right of household to family lands, household who require more

land can also lease land from families that have sufficient land to spare. Participants from separate men and women focused group discussions converge in the finding that land in most parts of the communities around are inherited and entrust to men on the basis that women do not have the ability to defend land. Also, among the women interviewed, married women reported that they only have the right to use lands allocated to their spouses. Participants explained that this right of use is meant for the collective benefit of the household and not for women's individual purposes. For a woman to use such land for her private purpose she needs permission from her husband who has the prerogative to determine for what production enterprise the parcel can be used.

Even though the ownership and use of livestock in the household is equally gendered, there is somehow a flexible arrangement for women. Results from in-depth interviews showed that women are allowed to rear and own certain types of livestock in the household. These animals are considered 'white animals'[19] and can be reared by women. Majority of women who own culturally permitted animals in the area reported having the exclusive right to determine the use of the animals with minimum interference from their husbands once they have the permission of their husbands to rear them. Table 6.1 illustrates the right to own and use productive assets by different categories of individuals in the household as expressed by participants. It can be observed Table 6.1 that both married and single men (including widowers)

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[19] *Animals that are not used culturally in the communities for sacrifices and ritualistic purposes.*

have rights to own and use more productive family assets than women in the same household or family. Results indicated that widows have use rights only if they have male children with a deceased husband from that household or when the children are still very young.

Table 6. 1: Ownership and Use rights of Household Productive Assets

Individuals	Land	Livestock				
Men		Cattle	Sheep	Goats*	Pigs*	Poultry*
-single	√	√	√	√	√	√
-married	√	√	√	√	√	√
Women						
-single	×	×	×	√	√	√
-married	×	×	×	√	√	√
-widowed	√[20]	×	×	√	√	√

In terms of access to productive resources, the findings show that there is a gender gap because societal cultural norms denigrate women to the background, limiting their have access to productive resources, most especially land. In the study communities where women do have such access, participants report that they hold this in trust for their male children, but only where those males are their issue with their deceased husbands. Thus, women do not have control over land which is the core of rural livelihood. Box 6.1 illustrates this.

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[20] *Only have use rights because of the children * White animals*

Box 6. 1: Discriminatory Access for Women to Productive Resources

Agnes is a widow with six children. She does not have formal education. Her husband died four years ago, but she continues to live in her late husband's family home to enable her take care of her children, who are still very young, since no one else will do so. She has no employment apart from farming during the rainy season. She said once the final ritual of her husband's demise had been performed, her late husband's brothers reallocated to her different land to farm in order for her to take care of her children. The new allocation is not as fertile or as sizable as the land she cultivated with her late husband. She could not complain because land is the prerogative of the males in the family and her sons are too young to make any case for themselves.

(Fieldwork, March 2017)

Field showing Agnes' allocation of land, the area is made up of stones which have to be collected before any farming can be done **(Fieldwork in Naawie, 2017).**

Agnes' story highlights how women have no say when it comes to land and other productive resources of the families into which they marry. Married women, as indicated earlier, derive the right of use to land and other resources in the matrimonial home through their husband's allocations, however, the situation becomes a challenge in the event of the demise of the husband. The death of Agnes' husband meant she had no one to protect her interest in his

land since her male sons were still too young to demand justice. Even though cultural norms stipulate that widows with dependents are given land to enable them farm to fend for their dependents, these women are discriminated against in the allocation and sharing of land and other resources. This demonstrates the excessive control men have in rural patriarchal communities to the clear disadvantage of women. This goes a long way to affect women's ability to take advantage of some opportunities that are associated with land and does emphasise men dominant control in these communities.

Results from in-depth interviews showed that women do not still have control over farm outputs once they are brought home from the farm. Female participants revealed that they are not allowed to have access to the food barns even though the farm activities are carried out by both. This excessive control of men in the household affects the welfare of women in the sense that they are unable to access resources on their own that generate income to cater for their personal needs, such as the purchase of clothes and cosmetics, nor are they able to meet some cultural demands that come from their parental homes without relying on their husbands.

This section delved into findings of constraints placed on women in terms of access to productive resources for their individualized livelihood activities to earn income for their personal welfare and that of the household. These constraints are influenced by the decision-making arrangement of households

in a patrilineal family system. The next section examines the livelihood decision-making arrangements in the study areas and how they are gendered.

6.2.2 Gendered Livelihood Decision-Making in the Household

Although men and women participate together in household livelihood activities, decisions about the use of livelihood produce are highly gendered. Results from focus group discussions with women indicated that decisions on the use of household farm produce are male dominated. The men regulate the use of the produce through rationing. Most of the groups indicated that the men measure the raw food for the women to feed the household fortnightly without any addition to cater for the soup (for example) to go with it. It was, however, noted that men sell farm produce for their personal activities while women do not have such rights even though they both work to produce these goods. This unequal power relation in patriarchal systems is detrimental to women's empowerment and leaves women vulnerable since their needs are not met by any output they make. This was expressed by 38-year-old Asana from Korro in the excerpt below.

".... We do all the farm work together, but when the produce gets to the house the men take control of everything. ... in this community, the food is rationed. For example, my husband opens the barns every two weeks and supplies us with raw food. We, the women, then know what to do to get the food on the table for him and the children. Hmmm, it is not everything we say, can you imagine the man might choose to sell some of the produce every market day in the week for his personal use (drinks), but we, the women, do not have the voice to say anything (KKII 017, 2017)"

This demonstrates the inequality of decision-making and the use of livelihood resources in most patriarchal-dominated rural communities to make women subservient to men since household and family governance favours men. This power imbalance between men and women makes women susceptible to poverty and vulnerability within their own households since they are unable to use household and family resources for their benefit, even though they are confronted with the same livelihood and social challenges as their male counterparts. Participants explained that for married women to attend to their personal needs, they have to engage in extra livelihood activities that do not require the use of the household resources over which the men have decision-making powers. Female participants lamented that patriarchal and cultural norms make men overly possessive of women such that it impacts women's welfare by making rural women particularly vulnerable since their individual and personal needs are not catered for in such arrangements.

Section 6.2 discussed gendered access to livelihood resources in a patriarchal system in Northern Ghana. The section revealed that women are disadvantaged in their access to productive resources for their personal welfare, while men are not. This is because these productive resources, and the decision-making which concerns them, are entrusted to men while women are compelled to explore other livelihood alternatives to minimise their vulnerability. While migration is considered a livelihood diversification strategy it is dominated by men. The next section examines the cultural

barriers to women's migration in those study communities which limit migration to men.

6.3 Cultural Perceptions of Married Women and Seasonal Labour Migration

Cultural norms and beliefs influence gendered roles and responsibilities in households. Participants expressed that culturally assigned roles and responsibilities in the community make certain activities the preserve of either men or of women, not both at the same time. According to them, such dichotomized gendered functions limit the opportunity for cross performance of functions which are seen to be the preserve of different gender groups. For example, cash income generation and fending for the household have been seen as the preserve of men in most patriarchal rural communities. This section does present the findings of the cultural perceptions of women's migration which limits them (particularly married women) from exploring seasonal migration as a means of empowering them economically to meet their personal and culturally defined roles.

Findings point out that culturally, (married) women are assigned the role of taking care of the home by cooking for the household and taking care of the children. Due to these domestic household roles, women participants revealed that they are unable to take part in seasonal labour migration. This is because society expects them to stay at home to take care of the children for the overall benefit of the family. These socially constructed gender roles in most patriarchal rural communities in developing countries are those

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considered insignificant by men and are therefore not paid. Some participants however feel it is their responsibility as a woman to support their husbands. Also, because of their role, married women are not able to engage in seasonal labour migration which could earn them some income for their personal use compared to their unmarried peers who are able to migrate. Majority of the women consider that the existing household power dynamics is to the disadvantage of women since it is those who have economic power who make the decisions. This is certainly the most common perspective married women have of child and domestic care which means they are unable to engage in seasonal labour migration in the dry season. Indeed, it is consistent with interviewee Zanabu's opinion:

Once a woman settles down in marriage and child bearing comes in, there are some things that you used to do that you cannot do. One of them is engaging in seasonal migration in the dry season. You cannot leave the children and the domestic activities to the elderly, who are weak, and travel in the name of making money… That is the part of our responsibility mothers. Just that the men, who take this freedom of ours away, do not support us financially with the resources acquired from their migration activities to enable us to meet some of our personal needs (NKII 025, 2017).

The submission of Zenabu above is commonly held view among members of households in Northern Ghana in particular. According to participants, it is common to find only women, children, and the elderly during the dry season in their places of origin. These categories of person take charge of the household or family properties, such as the animals and homes, while their able men migrate to the south for work. This was observed by the researcher

in the during the stay in these communities. This does not promote gender equality in most rural communities.

Furthermore, it was revealed that men in a patriarchal society consider it shameful, and an indictment on them, to allow their wives to engage in seasonal labour migration. An in-depth interview with Dakurah, an elder in Naawie, corroborated data gathered from focus group discussions that showed people generally have negative perceptions of women's involvement in seasonal migration. He expressed this as follows:

"... marriage is not for small boys, for you to allow your wife to engage in such an activity is an irresponsibility on the part of the husband. I will never allow any body to do that in our family. You should be able to take care of a woman before you go into marriage. A woman is supposed to be in the house and you, the man, will rather go out and search for the food for the household. .... My son, I have seen women go hunting before? .... if they cannot go hunting, why do you expect them to go out there to fend for the household (NKII 026, 2017)"

Dakurah's statement shows that married women's migration affects not only the identity of the man involved, but that of the entire family as it suggests the household is not being responsible in taking care of the wives. This cultural expression of taking good care of (married) women by limiting their ability to engage in some livelihood activities demonstrates the gendered inequality among rural communities that are patriarchal in nature. These cultural believes, norms and roles enforce male dominance in the household

to the disadvantage of women who could contribute equally to household economic survival should this be allowed.

Findings showed that the establishment of a marriage in these communities grants the exclusive sexual right of the man over the dowered woman. Married women revealed that traditional marriage does not give them the same right over their husbands. Results gathered from focus group discussions revealed perceptions of sexual promiscuity on the part of women to be one limitation to married women's involvement in seasonal labour migration. This implicit view in these rural communities according to participants stems from dowry arrangements with their tradition system where only men dowry women and that provides them some control on women. Promiscuity on the part of men in these communities according to findings are considered to be normal because their polygyny nature. Men in the study area view women who engage in seasonal labour migration as promiscuous and this is not culturally acceptable. This view places cultural obstacles that bar women, particularly married women, from engaging in migration. Focus group discussions with women groups confirmed this belief among most men in the communities studied. Thus, it is difficult for married women to get approval from their husbands to engage in seasonal labour migration. An in-depth interview with Yuora, a 26-year-old married woman from Korro, revealed this belief which restricts married women's migration in the community. Excerpts of an interview with Yuora, who chose to migrate as a married woman and was subsequently thrown out of the house by her husband, is presented below.

Box 6. 2: Excerpts on Cultural Perception of Migration

Q: You migrated to Wenchi, when was that?

A: That was the dry season of 2016, somewhere after New year.

Q: When did you return from your journey?

A: In April, close to the Easter period.

Q: What happened on your return?

A: Hmmm, bra (the interviewee was emotional from this point as she shed tears). When I returned, my husband chased me out of his house.

Q: Tell me how he chased you out.

A: I arrived at Piina in the evening and got a Nyaaba lorry (motor king) to carry me to the village. When I got to the house, I went inside with my luggage and the children who were in the house with the other women in the house welcomed me. Later, my husband came shortly after the Nyaaba had left. He walked in and started bringing out my belongings from the room. He started shouting at me to pick my things and go to my father's house. Others tried intervening, but he was resigned to his decision. It finally resulted in beatings and an old man from the other house came and took me to his place.

Q: Why did your husband take that decision to drive you away?

A: I don't know, but I believe because he did not endorse of my going.

Q: What was his reason for not granting you permission to travel?

A: The men in this community believe that women who migrate do so to sleep with other men. That was the main reason why he did not endorse my going.

Q: If he did not endorse you going, why did you go?

A: I used to migrate before I got married. But since I got married in 2009, he never allowed me to move anywhere. Meanwhile he has never bought me anything, the clothes I came with when we married were getting torn, so I needed to get some money to start something to support myself.

May, 2017

58-year-old Bernard expressed a different view. He expressed his belief that

some married women who migrate become promiscuous when out of sight

of their husbands. He expressed concern about this development which seems to be on the increase in the community:

"..... By our custom, a married woman is not supposed to have sexual contact with any man aside from the husband. We have, however, been having these issues in recent times, mostly with women who migrate outside the community to work for money .... (KKII 018, 2017)"

This submission from Bernard shows that the issue of sexual promiscuity is a concern when it comes to the migration of married women. Such concern affects migration decisions for most families and impacts negatively on women's economic emancipation in these communities. As part of a field observation, a purification rite of a married migrant woman was witnessed in June, 2017. This is a cultural requirement for women who have sexually misconducted themselves whether in migration or not, this enabled them to be accepted back into their matrimonial home. One participant indicated that this is done with the consent of the husband at the cost of the adulterous woman. It was observed from participants and the communities in general that majority of the women and men did not have formal education, as a result, majority of the women were ignorant of their rights which are violated in the name of culture.

This section examined the perceptions of rural society on (married) women's migration in rural communities which are predominantly patriarchal in nature. Societies in these areas have a negative perception of married women who migrate to achieve economic sustainability. Also, cultural norms and gender roles make it impossible for this category of women to engage in such

activities. This implies that women must adopt strategies to circumvent these norms and perceptions to enable them to migrate. The next section explores how women negotiate their desire to migrate to achieve their objectives under these conditions. This provides an understanding of an emerging phenomenon of women's migration in these communities and the navigation around sociocultural norms required by them to participate in a male-dominated activity.

6.4 How do women cope with these Challenges?

This section explores mechanisms by which married women circumvent cultural norms and societal perceptions of women's migration in a typical patriarchal system in Northern Ghana. Patriarchal societies, particularly those in rural communities in developing countries, stigmatise married women who engage in migration because culturally it is perceived to be forbidden for married women to migrate. Despite this cultural position, some women are negotiating these cultural barriers in order to access resources which will improve the welfare in their households. Thus, this section presents some of the strategies married women adapt to enable them to migrate and yet avoid domestic conflict.

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions with women's groups provided an in-depth understanding of different strategies and measures married women in the communities adopt to meet their particular situation. Most women highlight the domestically gendered role of taking care of the children as a significant limiting factor to their migration, particularly in the

dry season when there are no farming activities to inhibit them. The majority of migrant women indicated that it is difficult to convince their spouses and get consent to migrate due to this responsibility. Participants said when necessary, they implore the services of relatives, particularly the elderly or older children, to take care of the younger ones in order to facilitate their migration. Sagzumeh, a 47-year-old woman from Korro community expressed how she overcame the problem of managing her domestic role to enable her to migrate:

> *My husband did not worry so much about what society and his relations would say. He prevented me on two occasions on the grounds that there was no one to take care of our four children if I migrated. This time, my mother, who is a widow, offered to come over to my place to take care of them. I discussed it with my husband, he initially hesitated, but considering that I had no capital to engage in any economic activity during the dry season he agreed, and my mother came over. (KKII 019, 2017).*

Similarly, 37-year-old Asana from Naawie, found it relatively easy to migrate due to the nature of her family's arrangements which gave her some flexibility. She comes from a polygamous family in which her husband has three other wives. Her narrative underscores the importance of this system in facilitating her migration:

> *Family responsibility does not interfere with my migration since we are four women married to one man. The four of us do not migrate at the same time. We agreed among ourselves that two will migrate at a time during the dry season while the other two take care of the domestic roles of the household. This understanding amongst us makes it easier for us explore seasonal labour migration to our benefit. ... We have never had conflict*

because we try to keep to the agreed arrangement. In the farming season, none of us migrate due to the farm work. ... (NKII 028, 2017)

These narratives emphasize how gendered roles prevent married women from taking advantage of some livelihood opportunities outside their household arrangements amidst livelihood stresses in their households. It also reveals how some family arrangements favour women, allowing them to overcome some of their domestically gendered roles which could have been a barrier to their engagement in seasonal labour migration. Typical among the communities studied, participants revealed that it is unacceptable for a woman to migrate and to leave her children without anyone to care for them. In addition to this community view, women generally find it difficult to leave their minors behind without anyone to care for them in order to engage in any activity outside their home. They, however, alluded to the family support system which allows some women to take advantage of it to facilitate their livelihood diversification into other activities including seasonal migration during the dry season. Participant expressed that women interest in participating in seasonal migration has been increasing in the communities since there are limited activities within.

Despite the family support system, it was also revealed that most women are restricted by their husbands from engaging in seasonal labour migration because of the perception that women who engage in such an activity are promiscuous and as such are 'bad'. According to participants, married women who would like to employ seasonal labour migration as a livelihood activity are constrained by the issue of trust with their spouses. The cultural

system of the people means men pay a marriage dowry and by doing so they presume some authority and control over their women, both sexually and in general life activities. Women have had to devise strategies that assure their husbands of their fidelity to avoid household conflicts and possible divorce as a result of their migration. When the women are unable to do this, the men restrict them from migrating. Participants in in-depth interviews corroborated this:

> *"I made attempts to migrate, but my husband was not comfortable at the beginning with the reason that it was not proper for a woman to migrate. But when I lost my capital for the brewing business, I requested to migrate with him so that I could do some jobs alongside him and raise some money to restart my brewing. He hesitated, but finally agreed. This went well three times, then he was comfortable to let me migrate on my own, but to the destinations that he usually migrates. ... I believe he is comfortable with those destinations because we are well known there... (KKII 020, 2017)"*

Relatedly, Abena migrates with others in groups because she does not have relations or any social networks at the migrant destinations. She said this helped in getting her husband's consent to migrate because he had confidence in the group with whom she was migrating:

"We have to organise ourselves into a group and migrate together. We hire one or two rooms at the destinations where we sleep together, and we work together. The men (husbands) agree to this system for us to migrate to some rural communities in the south" (KKII 021, 2017).

The patriarchal structure in this part of the country as expressed in the submissions above uses the dowry system by which men exercise control over women. This arrangement limits the power of women in most rural areas to make decisions about livelihood options that benefit them and the household. Decisions that are contrary to the interest of their spouses are considered deviant on the part of the men. Men who do not want to be seen by society to have lost control prevent their spouses from engaging in migration.

This section examined the strategies women employ in order to migrate amidst the cultural barriers put in place by their society. Women use appropriate means to negotiate cultural barriers to engage in seasonal labour migration without confrontations with their spouses. Seasonal migration provides an opportunity for women to access resources for their betterment. To achieve this, investment in migration resources at the origin is important in making them resilient. The next section, therefore, investigates the use of the migration resources by women which improve their well-being compared to those who stay home.

6.5 Utilization of Migration Resources and Household Dynamics

This section examines how female migration resource decisions are made within the household. How are they utilised, and do they benefit the female migrant to reduce her vulnerability? If females have a share in these resources, what are the social expectations they are required to meet?

Study results indicate that control and use of migration resources varies among women. Participants indicated that single women largely have sole decision-making power over their resources, depending on the sponsor of their migration trip. Consent from parents or household heads is sometimes required as a courtesy, or if they had contributed to the migration expenditure. With married women, however, the dynamics are different under a patriarchal system. Participants disclosed that although married women may have navigated difficult sociocultural norms to migrate, decisions on resources emanating from such enterprises are influenced by their spouses. Married women revealed that decisions on the use of their migration resources are highly influenced by their spouses; they have to present their earnings to their husbands, as the head of the household, in line with the culture of the area.

The household head decides on the collective interest of the household since he takes responsibility for any situation which may arise in the household. One husband justified taking responsibility for the women's migration resources when he said, *"if they go there and turn into a dead body, they bring the body to me, so why won't I also take whatever they come home with?"*. According to them, based on the culture of the people, a married woman is the responsibility of her husband, whether dead or alive, in accordance with the marriage arrangements and dowry paid. Men, particularly those in rural settings, capitalize on this to control and dominate the women. In-depth interviews with married women further revealed that despite the cultural requirement of the household heads making decisions for

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the collective interest of the household, it is for the good of the woman to involve her spouse as a strategy for securing permission for future migration trips. A married female from Korro community explains what happens in her household after she returns from a migration enterprise:

> *"I present whatever I have gotten from the journey (the migration) to my husband. He then decides what we should use the money to do…. if I have any pressing personal issue, I either do it before presenting whatever I have or else I may not be able to attend to that… Sometimes, when he is in a good mood, he will ask if I needed to buy anything, if I do he allocates some money for me, if not he decides on what to do" (KKII 022, 2017).*

However, when asked if the men involve the women in the decision-making over the men's migration resources, the majority of the women explained that they are not. Nonetheless, based on the different household arrangements, a few women admitted that their husbands involved them in the decisions about the use of their (the men's) migration resources. This demonstrates how patriarchal societies in most rural communities socialize their people to accept cultural norms and beliefs that seek to enforce men's control and dominance over women in typical rural settings.

Out of 24 married women interviewed, 20 (83.33%) indicated that they contribute significantly to the upkeep of their households using their own resources, while 16.67% depended solely on their spouses for the resources they (the women) need to be able to carry out their household responsibilities. Married migrant women claim they use their migration resources largely to support household activities, particularly as they attend to most of the basic household responsibilities. Table 6.2 below shows the percentage

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distribution of the use of migrant resources by both single and married migrant women. In Table 6.2 it can be seen that, apart from personal items (28%), married migrant women expended much of their migration resources on household commitments, such as food, children, and cultural needs compared to their single counterparts. Single migrant women, leaving aside expenditure on personal items (21.3%), invested much of their migration resources on livelihood activities and health (22.6% each). This implies that household demands, and responsibilities frustrate the amount available for investment by married migrant women. In typical rural communities much of the family care is left to women and this puts a strain on their resources. Meanwhile, their spouses only rely on the produce from their agricultural activity. Single migrant women are able to invest more in livelihood activities because they live in their parental homes, and thus have fewer responsibilities.

Table 6. 2: Use of Migration Resources by Single and Married Groups

Item	Single		Married	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
Food/Ingredients	6	11	10	21.3
Children Clothes	2	4.8	8	17
Livelihood activities	12	22.6	6	12.8
Cultural commitments	6	11	8	17
Health	12	22.6	5	10.6
Personal Items	15	28	10	21.3
Total	47	100	53	100

Some of the women who participated in study acknowledged in a focus group discussion that migration resources have helped them to engage in trading

activities which contribute to their livelihood sustenance. These women acquired capital through migration to enable them to trade in farm produce at the local markets in the surrounding communities. Box 6.3 demonstrates how a group of women organized themselves by pooling their resources in order to trade, to sustain themselves, and to prevent the need for further seasonal migration. These activities have increased their economic independence and brought harmony to their households because the women did not need to ask their husbands for financial resources for their upkeep or to meet their needs.

Box 6. 3: Economic Use of Migration Resources

Dolungbosong[21] women's group in Korro community (some of whom can be seen in the picture) is made up of eight women who have pooled their resources for trading purposes. During focus group discussions, these women revealed that most of them used to engage in seasonal migration to the south, but upon marriage and childbirth it was difficult for them since they have to take care of their homes. However, they used their savings from their migration enterprise to come together to buy groundnuts during the harvest season to store and then resell in the lean season, or in other local markets where prices are high.

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[21] *Pen name for the group*

They enumerated the benefits of the group's activities as follows:

They have minimized household conflicts with their spouses since they are economically independent and are able to cater for themselves and their children.

They have time for their children since they do not have to engage the services of anyone to look after them.

They no longer have to migrate and face the stress of a strange environment.

They are able to get loans from the rural bank in the district through their collective contributions.

They have sustained their marriages

These women claimed that their lives would be more difficult without migration resources since they had nothing to start life with and there are no jobs for them.

In-depth interviews with participants showed there are significant differences in well-being between married women who navigated sociocultural barriers to migrate compared to those who stayed at home. Married migrant women indicated seasonal labour migration has enabled them to raise capital to either start or support their local non-farm dry season livelihood activities. This has

contributed to the improvement of their lives, and thus reduced their vulnerability as they do not depend solely on their husbands for resources for their welfare. Focus group discussions with non-migrant married women revealed that married migrant women are better off since they are able to engage in some activities in which they (the married non-migrant women) are not able to participate. They indicated that it has made the migrant women more independent than them. This suggests that changing cultural norms of migration will encourage more married women to explore seasonal labour migration among others as an opportunity to extricate themselves from poverty and become more financially independent. This will afford women in households to contribute to the improvement of household livelihood conditions in most rural areas. Table 6.2 presents illustrative quotes which reveal there is significant difference between married migrant women and their non-migrant counterparts. These quotes reflect the differences between migrant and non-migrant women in terms of: their economic empowerment; their ability to socialize through associations with groups which aids their sense of belonging; the performance of cultural roles required of them to maintain their status in the communities; their exposure to new perspectives and ideas that shape their appreciation and ways of doing; and lastly, their supportive role in the household through their contribution to household sustenance.

Table 6. 3: Illustrative Quotes of Migrant Women and Non-Migrant Women

Status	Migrant women	Non-migrant women
Economic	I could not restart my pito brewing if not for the migration I did. Pito brewing was the supporting business that provided me with money to support myself and the children, but when I lost the capital, it was extremely difficult for me. I had to migrate (KKII 023, 2017).	During the dry season when we are less engaged, my colleague women who have support brew daily, but for me I brew once every week and the debtors are many, it can take me two weeks to brew again because we rely on the proceeds to buy the malt to brew. This increases my hardship, but I don't have the capital to do the daily brewing like others (KKII 024, 2017).
Social	Initially, it was difficult for me to join any of the women's associations in church or in the community because of my commitments. But now, I am part of the Christian mothers' group at church and the susu women's group in the community. We contribute GHC[22]1 every market day in the week. Now when am in difficulty I can borrow from the group, but before	I feel left out and alone. I admire these women's associations in the community, particularly on occasions when they wear their association clothes, it looks colourful and lovely. But where can I get the money to do these things? (NKII 030, 2017).

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[22] *The symbol for Ghana Cedis, the currency for Ghana.*

	I migrated, I did not have the resources to join these groups. I feel I belong now (NKII 029, 2017).	
Cultural	It is a requirement that your mother prepare you adequately for marriage by getting you some basic items, such as cooking pots and seed capital to start a trade. My mother could not afford that for me because she was poor. When I got to my matrimonial home, it was difficult for me to the extent that I had to borrow from my rivals. This makes them look down on me. My husband could not support me, I had to migrate with his permission to get the resources to start some business, so that my daughters do not suffer a similar fate to me (KKII 025, 2017).	Culturally, I have to provide a cloth to bury my mother if the unfortunate event occurs. As it stands now, I may have to borrow or rely on my brothers for support to perform my cultural responsibility, if not I will be embarrassed. Where will I get the bowls and feminine stuff to display on the bier to show she has a daughter? We are suffering in this community (KKII 026, 2017).
Exposure	When I moved out from home, I rested a bit from the household troubles. The household tension that brought quarrels with	Those who migrate look better than us. They are fresher and shinier than us (KKII 027, 2017).

	my husband lessened. When two woods are not close, they do not rub against each other (NKII 031, 2017).	
Household support	Migration helps, even though I did not stay for long, I am able to support my children in school. I am able to buy them clothes for school and their pencils. I used to feel shy seeing them go to school with torn clothes. Their father, when he can, manages to pay their fees, that is all. Though they walk barefooted to school, they are happy they wear decent clothes (KKII 028, 2017).	I wished I could support my children, but I do not have the resources. Because of that these children do not respect me as their mother. You speak to them and they will not mind you. Those women who able to support their children, they are respected (NKII 032, 2017).

6.6 Summary

This chapter focused on how married women navigated the sociocultural norms that bar them from migration as a livelihood strategy in patriarchal rural communities. The study established that patriarchy, through sociocultural and religious norms, places limitations on women in many aspects of life by virtue of their marriage which ensures gendered male dominance. This creates power inequalities in the household by entrusting decision-making roles only to males and allows them to use this power to the

detriment of women. These barriers, extended to women's seasonal labour migration, limits the potential for women to contribute significantly to the livelihood sustenance of most rural households in northern Ghana. Involvement of women in such activities creates opportunities for greater participation in non-farm livelihood activities which generates employment and leads to an improvement in the lives of all household members, as well as the local economy. This contributes to the efforts of poverty reduction in rural communities. The study revealed that married women are gradually navigating these sociocultural barriers to migrate into rural areas in the south to access resources through casual labour activities and cater for their personal needs and that of the household. The study demonstrated that even though the migration of married women is viewed as shirking household domestic responsibilities, it is in fact beneficial to the household since, based on patriarchal arrangements, husbands superintend these acquired resources; what is left for the woman, she stills expends for the good of the household.

Chapter Seven

Discussion of Findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a synthesis discussion of the analysis chapters to place the findings within the current literature debates on migration. This discussion focuses on the three main objectives of the study, as set out in the first chapter: a) to assess rural livelihood dynamics in northern Ghana and the factors influencing livelihood changes; b) to explore the role of social networks in mediating access to migration resources at the destinations; and c) the examine the impact of sociocultural factors on gendered rural migration.

The chapter is organised into these three themes. Section 2.3 has already presented a conceptualisation of the multiple drivers and motivations for migration (Black et al., 2011, Flahaux and De Haas, 2016), push-pull factors (Piguet, 2013, Van Der Geest, 2011). It also highlighted how the role of culture as a driver of migration in rural settings has always been conflated with other social drivers. However socio-cultural drivers are highly contextualised and vary in their influence in driving migration, therefore deserving attention. Social identity is one of the social drivers of rural migration among rural households that will be discussed in Section 7.2. Even though the literature about processes involved in migration and the role of social networks in this process were been reviewed in Section 2.3.3, gaps

were identified as to which category of social networks - bonding or bridging social networks - are more significant in the migration process (see Krämer et al., 2014, Liu, 2013). The value of these different social networks in facilitating migration will be discussed in Section 7.3. It will add to this debate about social networks as the main facilitator of rural-rural seasonal migration, and one which mediate access to migration resources for households. Furthermore, migration is highly gendered because it is influenced by socio-cultural factors, particularly in rural communities in northern Ghana where patriarchy is dominant. While some studies (Awumbila, 2015, Eryar et al., 2019) have identified independent migration of women as a means of economic emancipation, there was a need to better understand those often excluded in the migration process, such as married women (Section 7.4). The discussion takes a differentiated approach to reflect on different migration experiences of different types of women and men.

7.2 The Role of the 'Socio-cultural' within Rural Household Livelihood Stressors and Adaptation Strategies

Rural livelihoods depend largely on rainfed agriculture in most developing countries (Simelton et al., 2013, Slingo et al., 2005, Tessema and Simane, 2019). Many rural livelihoods are confronted with low productivity due to changing climatic and weather conditions (Amare et al., 2018). This makes agriculture and rural livelihoods challenging. Households in rural communities confronted with these livelihood challenges, often have limited alternatives for livelihood diversification and may be limited in technology

(Birthal and Hazrana, 2019). Many households are therefore compelled to explore other adaptation measures to better their livelihood and reduce household poverty. This section therefore draws on the analysis in Chapter 4 to examine the livelihood stressors confronting rural households in the study area and the adaptation options available and explored by them. It identifies that rural communities place emphasis on the protection of social identity, which drive them to engage in migration as means to cope with livelihood stresses.

7.2.1 Factors Causing Livelihood Stresses in Agrarian Rural Communities

The analysis in section 4.3.1 of the study household and interview data showed that erratic rainfall, deteriorating soil fertility and increasing drought are the main factors affecting agriculture production which is the main livelihood activity of households in the rural communities. For example, Table 4.2 showed a changing rainfall pattern in the form timings of the start of the season and the erratic nature of the rains, as well as the short duration of the rainy season, are a major concern that influence farming production outputs. Indeed, many authors have recognised the high vulnerability of agricultural production associated with rainfall variability as a result of climate variability and change (Tessema and Simane, 2019, Birthal and Hazrana, 2019, Amare et al., 2018). The impact of rainfall has been identified as a significant determinant of the economic and social well-being of a society (Barrios et al., 2010). Generally, in rural communities where

agriculture is the main stay, household livelihood and vulnerability to a large extent is influenced by rainfall variability.

Another plausible explanation from the analysis of declining household livelihood productivity is declining soil fertility. Intensive use of the same parcel of land for crop cultivation depletes the soil of its nutrients. Poor soil management can result in deteriorating soil productivity and ultimately low crop yields (Meena et al., 2019). This is particularly significant because it exacerbates the effects of climate change being experienced by households in sub-Saharan Africa, and in northern Ghana. Poor soil fertility as result of environmental change and limited inputs, limits the choice of crops cultivated by households, and as such results in food inadequacies, which are a cause of hunger and malnutrition (Dumenu and Obeng, 2016, Shetty, 2014).

Inadequate access to land can also attribute to low soil fertility since it results in over dependence on a particular parcel of land for cultivation leaching of nutrients. Results from focus group discussions and household survey (Section 4.3.1) revealed that increasing family sizes has resulted in fragmentation of family lands because households depend largely on family land for their cultivation. For example, Table 4.3 demonstrates that larger households depend on smaller parcels of land for their farming. This supports the argument that inequitable distribution of land has resulted in shrinking farm sizes in Africa, thus affecting agricultural production and obstructing household livelihood construction (Alobo Loison, 2015, Francis, 2000, Jayne

et al., 2010, Looga et al., 2018). Land in this part of Ghana is entrusted to families who then share it among households within the family. As households increase within the family, the fixed amount of family land needs to be redistributed and this leads to land fragmentation.

Climate change has further influenced the choice of crops cultivated by most households, as discussed in Section 4.3.1 (see Table 4.2). Households claimed that they have to adopt crop varieties that are new to them but fit into the changing cropping season. This finding is consistent with earlier studies that farmers knowledge of weather and climate information significantly influenced their adoption of improved and drought tolerant crop varieties (Elum et al., 2017, Wood et al., 2014). Adoption of climate tolerant crop varieties is not limited to household farmers in developing countries and farmers in the United States are also switching crops to mitigate the effect of climatic change (Seo and Mendelsohn, 2008). In-depth interviews in this study however indicated that adopted varieties and crops do not only affect the usual taste of the original varieties known to them but also impacts on the cultural values that these substituted crops play. For example, participants claimed that some crops such as guinea corn and millet are used for the performance of funerals, but these are being changed for other varieties (Section 4.2.1). This corroborates the another study that millet, guinea corn, yam and cowpea are used for ritualistic activities at funerals and festivals to appease the ancestors (Alfred and Bonye, 2012).

Implications of the findings discussed above are that erratic rainfall as a result of climate variability, declining soil fertility as well as inadequate land are factors that interact to cause increased livelihood stress for rural households in the study area. Increased stress from these factors influences the type of crops that households choose to grow for food. However, local crops are not grown only for the purposes of food for the household but are linked to some cultural performances and observance of these rural households' cultural identity. Changing preferences of these traditional crops will invariably influence the ritualistic and festival activities of the people. Thus, livelihood stressors do not only affect food and livelihood security, but also the culture of the people.

7.2.2 Households Adaptations to Livelihood Stress

Households approached adaptations to livelihood stresses in three main ways: food management strategies within the household; improving on-farm practices to suit the changing climatic and environmental changes; and employing seasonal migration, as indicated in Section 2.3.4.

Livelihood stress in rural environments results in food insecurity among most households in the study. As part of their efforts to ameliorate the effect of these stresses, households adopt food management strategies to enable them to survive. Dominant among the food management strategies indicated by participants through the survey and in-depth interviews (Section 4.4.1) included rationing of food, hunting for wild food in the bush, settling for less expensive and less preferred food; and borrowing from relations. These

measures are adopted differently by different households depending on their adaptive capacity. These household food management strategies have been recognised in the literature as short-term coping strategies for vulnerable households confronted with food insecurity Substantial (Berlie, 2015, Eakin, 2005, Morrissey, 2013, Shuaibu et al., 2014, Vincent et al., 2013, Regassa, 2011).

Interestingly, results from this study showed that seasonal migration has been used by households as a food management strategy. Participants mentioned that during lean periods of the year where food shortages are evident, male members of households migrate not only in search of alternative sources of livelihoods, but to allow the meagre amount food to be solely for the women, children and the aged left at home. Empirical results (e.g. Figure 4.4) showed that more households migrate during the period of June to August which coincides with the periods of household food shortages in every particular year. This finding is consistent with earlier findings of Regassa (2011) and Rademacher-Schulz et al. (2014) that out-migration is strategy by households to overcome chronic food shortage in certain times of the year. These food management strategies can be defined as immediate intervention measures by households to cope with livelihood stress and the response complements other adaptation strategies such as on-farm e.g. adopting new crop varieties and off-farm e.g. local trading and seasonal migration.

As part of their adaptation strategies to livelihood stresses, households also employ on-farm agricultural management strategies to improve yields.

Generally, at the household level, poverty greatly influences the adaptation options available to them (Adger and Kelly, 1999, Huynh and Stringer, 2018). Common with rural communities, the results from this study show that poorer households who cannot afford fertilizers, engage in the use of other appropriate technologies, such as animal manure, ashes and crop residues to enhance soil fertility and boost yields. Households that are better off were found to use improved crop varieties as way to increase food production from their farms, even though they complained of the taste and quality of these improved varieties. Certainly, low adaptive capacity of households leaves them vulnerable with limited options for adaptations to livelihood stresses (Antwi-Agyei et al., 2012, Wiggins and Keats, 2013).

As another form to cope with increasing livelihood stresses, households diversified into other local nonfarm based enterprises. Due to the sensitivity of agriculture to climate change, households whose livelihood depended on rainfed agriculture were diversifying into nonfarm activities as an adaptation strategy (Antwi-Agyei et al., 2014, Kumasi et al., 2019). Survey results in Table 4.1, Section 4.2.1, show that many households in the study are engaged in two or more livelihood activities to reduce the effect of livelihood vulnerability and failure. Participants indicated that the commonest activities opened to them include petty trading, charcoal and wood hewing, pito brewing and shea butter processing. Shifting from agriculture (as a less preferred livelihood activity) into other nonfarm activities is increasingly common with poor and vulnerable households (Schraven and Rademacher-Schulz, 2016, Djurfeldt et al., 2018). Yaro (2006) also recognised these

nonfarm activities of rural households and argued that these adaptation activities are seasonal and do not entirely represent a shift to the nonfarm sector but rather an intensification in the farm sector through capital accumulation from these nonfarm activities. This contrasts with Alobo Loison (2015) who instead asserts that the relatively better-off households in sub-Saharan Africa take advantage and benefit from opportunities of collaboration between farm and nonfarm livelihood activities.

Rural households are concerned with food security and livelihood sustainability. Households employ a combination of coping and adaptation mechanisms within their capacity to mitigate the effect of livelihood stresses. These strategies are insubstantial and do not lead to any increase or transformation of their livelihoods. Lack of investments and limited opportunities in the rural areas account for the weak adaptive capacity among rural households. Viable nonfarm activities open to rural households are mainly trading, charcoal production and wood hewing; and seasonal migration. These opportunities however are either constrained structurally or have environmental consequences. Trading activities in rural areas, for example, are constrained by poor road networks and lack of markets while charcoal and wood hewing activities degrade the environment. These environmental consequences aggravate livelihood conditions in the future. This suggests that there is the need to regulatory measures and adequate investments in rural areas. Without these, coping strategies adopted by households are not sustainable but have negative consequences on the very livelihoods they seek to protect.

7.2.3 The importance of Social Identity in Rural Seasonal Migration

Drivers of seasonal migration are intimately intertwined, and it is difficult identifying one driver as the sole motivator of rural-rural seasonal migration, as already discussed in Section 2.3.1. However, there is a cultural role in migration that has not been understood properly in the literature and is often conflated with other social drivers. Findings from in-depth interviews of participants (Section 4.3.2) revealed that maintaining and protecting the social identity of household and the larger family in community and beyond through meeting sociocultural obligations of society is a key factor that pushes most rural households to migrate.

Households attempt to be culturally relevant in their society in itself was found to remain a status symbol in the study communities. For example (Section 4.4.3), migration intentions of the both young women and men, while the public narrative was that the activity was driven by economic reasons, participants admitted that implicitly the private narrative was to protect the image of their families. This is a finding similar to the empirical research of Ungruhe (2010) who found that young males migrate as means of earning income to enable them negotiate social positions for their families in their home societies. Thorsen (2007) reported that young people migrate to maintain the social status of their families to avoid them being reduced to a mockery. For instance, in Section 4.3.2, participants considered the performance of sociocultural roles such as funeral rites and the payment of dowry as obligations rural societies used to define family a status. This

corroborates Ungruhe (2010) findings that young males migrate to earn income to buy cows to pay bride price. In contrast, women engage in seasonal migrate to acquire assets to prepare them for better marriage prospects and to make them more respected in their matrimonial homes and home society (Abdul-Korah, 2007, Hashim, 2005). To these women, being respected in your matrimonial home brings respect to their paternal families, which reinforces cultural norms and identity. It implies that the quest to protect the social status of families in societies is an important 'hidden' driver of migration in rural communities. This dimension of rural migration has been previously been less visible because of the dominant public narratives of poverty reduction and livelihood diversification.

In every society, there are categories of success and, by extension, successful families. These social symbols of success expressed by respondents in this study include living in a zinc roofed household, having a bicycle or motorcycle, owning a herd of cattle and being able to put your child in school. According to local perceptions these are significant means of defining a strong social identity for a household and it supports the findings of Ungruhe (2010) and Abdul-Korah (2008) in that the acquisition of these social symbols are viewed as modernity and 'to be successful' in society, which become key motivations for seasonal migration among rural communities. Households in the study that attained this status where considered locally as privileged and 'relevant' in society. Households strive to be socially relevant by attaining these symbols of success.

In closely nested rural communities, culture is highly relevant to households, such that households want to protect their identity in society. This is demonstrated through the performance of key sociocultural functions, such funeral rites, dowry, or traditional festivals. The ability to participate in the performance of these functions is considered a status symbol to rural communities. Rural households, even if they confronted with food security and livelihoods stresses, are required to meet these sociocultural obligations to protect their social identity. If there are limited livelihood opportunities at home then individuals from households must participate in seasonal migration, not merely because of economic reasons, but to satisfy these sociocultural demands of society to be relevant. The benefits of migration therefore become interwoven with other associated relevant narratives, such as the value of material possessions (e.g. bicycles, motorcycles, zinc roofed homes), although the primary motivation remains the benefits these bring socially and the implications for local standing, respect and power. These material possessions enhance the social identity of a household. This section therefore argues that even though there are a multiplicity of driving factors for migration, socio-cultural plays a significant role in establishing, maintaining and enhancing social identity within the rural context.

7.2.4 Summary

This section provided a discussion of the changing dynamics of the contextual rural livelihood system that has led to increasing livelihood stress for rural households. This drives them to explore a range of adaptation measures. First, rural households are confronted with climate and

environmental-related livelihood challenges because these rural communities are agrarian and heavily depended on rainfed agriculture. Erratic rainfall and declining soil fertility affect household productivity leading to food shortages. This generates a need for a range of adaptation measures, including household food management, on-farm strategies, and diversification into nonfarm activities. However, these strategies are not sufficient to meet the socio-cultural obligations of households and allow them to be socially relevant or protect their social status. As a result, poorer household must resort to seasonal rural-rural migration as a means to enable them to maintain household livelihoods, but also satisfy socio-cultural obligations that make them and their family lineages relevant in their societies. Yet, recognition of this subtle and often hidden driver of migration is significantly limited in the migration literature, which has traditionally focused on the economic motives. The next section examines the migration process of rural households through the lens of social networks.

7.3 Mediating Access to Migration Resources: The Role of Social Networks

Social networks are pivotal in mediating access to migration resources at the destinations of migrants. Social networks determine the destinations of migrants, the type activity or jobs they do through the provision of support systems in the form of information and sometimes financial support. There are two main types of social networks; bonding and bridging networks. However, many studies (see Hoang, 2011, Krämer et al., 2014, Liu, 2013) have advanced the relative importance of these types of social networks as

discussed in Section 2.4.2 in Chapter 2. This section examines how social networks play a facilitation role in these processes, leading to the mobilization of resources at the destination.

7.3.1 Social Networks and the Choice of Destinations

The study found that social networks play a significant role in the determination of destinations of migrants. The study found (Section 5.3.1) that the majority of first-time migrants migrated in response to a call from a close relation who had already migrated permanently to particular destinations. The call from these permanent migrants were for farm labourers. Migrants revealed that they agreed to migrate because of the guaranteed support and the social ties they had with people at the destination. This corroborates Dolfin and Genicot (2010) and Randell (2018) who concluded that social networks at the destination influence the choice of destination because of the assurance of support systems to find jobs, provision of information on the migration process and credit in times of need. Haug (2008) affirms that social capital at destinations positively impact on the decision to migrate to these locations. It should be emphasised that the intention to migrate and the decision to migrate are significantly influenced by the presence of social network at the destination. This implies that the choice of location for migration is facilitated by the particular availability of a social network at a particular destination. At the international level, Ivlevs and King (2012) have further argued that the intergenerational accumulation of destination migrants determine future destinations of migrants, as well as the migration process to these destinations.

Social networks already established at destinations through previous migration experiences also influence decisions about the choice of destination since previous migrants naturally gravitates towards their already known destinations where they already have contacts. This is expressed by Maalidong in Section 5.3 where migrants established temporal cropping arrangements with their employers through the good will of their previous experiences. Collinson et al. (2009) highlight the significant role social networks play in migration decisions and the choice of destinations. This reinforces the importance of social networks in determining the choice of destinations, as well as influence migration decisions as to who migrates.

Other first-time migrants who do not have the privilege of social networks at destinations, rely on indigenous networks through group solidarity migrate on their own to self-determined destinations as demonstrated in Section 5.4.2. The organisation of these migrant groups by first-time migrants is based on existing social networks and relationships that exist among people in the origin communities. Drawing on their social relationships that already exist within the community ensures that issues of conflicts within the group are easily resolved. This reinforces the idea that clan relationships within matriclans and patri-clans provide opportunities for belongness to people in new areas (Kunbour, 2009). For instance, migrants indicated that in every first-time group, there is always one who serves as a mediator, according to their clan relationships in the community - who intervenes in times of disputes in the group - and the intervention of such a person is respected due

to the reverence placed on these relationships. This group solidarity accordingly wards off criminal attacks and recalcitrant behaviours of employers who may try to cheat the group. This group solidarity is an important form of migration and is particularly common with the Dagara ethnic group who largely focus farm labour activities as a form of migrant work. This is consistent with Lentz (2013) who also suggests that the extensive network system of the Dagara clan favours alliances and the institution of friendships that form the basis for the formation of social networks and the recruitment of migrants. Suom-Dery (2017) however notes that even though the matriclan kinship of the Dagara transcends beyond their immediate environment, not all the Dagara ethnic groups practice this matriclan relationships.

Social networks are significant in determining migration destination as well as influencing migration decisions. This insight provides a deeper understanding about social networks compared to the ideas already established in the literature. In particular, the evidence shows the ability of first-time rural migrants to capitalise on existing indigenous social networks, based on patriclan and matriclan, to organise migration groups through group solidarity to destinations where they previously have had no existing social network. This is important because it provides insight on a different form of social network, based on existing social relations at the place of origin.

7.3.2 Social Networks and Migrants Destination Activities

The study determined the processes of migration of rural households and how this facilitates access to migration resources at the destinations. The study found that the majority of household migrants found jobs at their destinations through their social networks largely located at the destinations. Many migrant respondents claimed they ended up doing the same kind of job as others in their network performed at the destinations were engaged. Collinson et al. (2009) suggests that this is common because it is easier for contacts at the destinations to find new jobs within their area of activity than outside their scope of activity because they reply on existing networks within their activity groups to find these jobs. As a result, most first-time migrants migrate based on invitations by permanent social contacts at destinations who report the availability of labour work farms where they are already working (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2).

Different kinds of social networks yield different utility at destinations in terms of the type of activity migrants engage in as well as the resource generated as a result. The study established that both bonding and bridging social networks were used differently by migrants in their migration process (Section 5.3.1). Evidence from the study showed that different social networks lead to different kinds of activities at destinations. Bonding social networks favoured migrants who were engaged in charcoal production activity at the destination while bridging networks worked favourably for those migrants interested in farm labour activities at the destinations (Section 5.4.2).

Respondents attributed the differentiated use of social networks to type of activity and the risk involved in these activities. For instance, charcoal activity at the destination reflects the availability of forest trees in these areas and thus, requires bonding social networks to access permission from resource owners. The reason why the 'Zongo Naas' (middlemen) are helpful in mediating this process is that unlike farm labour employment that is less risky and has nothing to do with the use of resources of the destination, this approach requires trust and insider knowledge. This trust and confidence reposed in bonding social networks through kinship ties compared to bridging social networks make it relevant in exploring sensitive migration activities. Bridging social networks are convenient for farm labour migrants but bonding networks are necessary for more sensitive forms of activity, such as charcoal production and small-scale mining. Significantly, this study therefore challenges the existing understanding in the literature that suggests that social networks play the same role in the migration process, but one is more effective than the other. This thesis advance that different activities require different type of social networks and none is superiority to the other as suggested for bonding networks (Görlich and Trebesch, 2008, Krämer et al., 2014, Mogues, 2019) and bridging networks (Liu, 2013, Liu and Yeo, 2018, Kc et al., 2018) in the literature discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2.

Social networks define the type of activity carried out at destinations and ultimately, the resources generated. Different authors (Kc et al., 2018, Mogues, 2019) argue on the relative importance of bonding and bridging social networks, and the one most effective in influencing migration.

Analysis of data from the study have established that bonding and bridging social networks are both important in the migration process. Nevertheless, these social networks play different functions which lead to different outcomes in the form of activity type that migrants perform at destinations. Bonding social networks are more suitable and favour highly risky and sensitive activities that require some form of social currency to emphasise trust while bridging social networks works well for less risky and sensitive activities.

7.3.3 Social Networks and Pattern of Exchange Between Communities

Migration involves cost and households rely on multiple sources to mobilize the needed resources to enable members to migrate. The study found that resources for migration come from the individual migrating and are supplemented by other family sources and borrowing from friends. This reinforces the existing understanding that social networks reduce the cost of migration (see Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). However, the migrant has to demonstrated commitment to the process through personal contribution, which influences the decision on who is able to migrate. Migrants contribute more towards the cost of migration because they are the immediate beneficiary of the migration.

Social networks provide the conduit for exchange of migration resources between sending and receiving communities (Gurak and Caces, 1992). Benefits from migration take the form remittances in either cash or in-kind support. In-kind benefits according to respondents take the form of food,

which some have cultivate at the destination communities and surplus is also sent home. Some migrants seek to establish good relationships with employers at the destination in order to receive gifts in the form of cloths, which they take home. Migrant male participants reported that there are little financial benefits associated with seasonal migration since they are not able make sufficient financial gains after catering for the overall migration expenditures. This corroborates findings from Greiner (2010) in North-western Namibia, who found few financial remittances associated with migration. In contrast, participant female migrants in the study view the process to be benefit to their well-being.

Significant among the pattern of exchange in migration is technological transfer and exchange of ideas between destination communities and sending communities. Migrants learn the use of new technologies and ideas, which are replicated at the origin communities. For instance, in Naawie community, migrants through their enhanced perception about the value of communal spirit and knowledge of road construction and use of small dams for agriculture to initiate improved road construction and to build a dam back at their home community. Households adopted the use of agrochemicals in the form of weedicides to control weeds on their farms, which labour inputs. These exchanges could be argued to be part of the suite of benefits from migration, which corroborates Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) also argues that rural-urban migrants perceive these type of knowledge benefits as the key incentive for migration as with even a little remittance they can innovate and adapt their livelihood opportunities back home.

Survey results on the use of migration resources indicated that migration resources are used for solving immediate household need, such as purchase of food, payment of school health needs, school fees and investing in farming activities for the next cropping season. Food, health and payment of children school fees are the main items that nearly all households spend migration financial resources on. The remaining resources are channelled into investment of the next season's farming activities, including land preparations, weed clearing and making of mounds. This contributes to the argument (e.g. De Haas, 2006, Ungruhe, 2010) that migration resources are used for consumable goods by households, which are unsustainable for them. Men consider rural seasonal migration non-beneficial because behoves them to provide these basic necessities for the household which leaves them with nothing to invest in any meaningful livelihood alternatives.

Despite the benefits of migration, there are negative exchanges that result from migration. One of the negative influences of migration for the sending communities is 'cultural adulteration' (Lentz, 2013, Ungruhe, 2010). This study found that many migrants end up adapting lifestyles from the destination communities, which corrupt their culture. For example, young people have popularised the desire to have a southern name and speak 'Twi', reflecting the southern destinations to which members normally migrate. However, these names do not have any local meaning at the origin communities and names are perceived to need a local cultural significance to their home environment. Clothing styles acquired from migration is also perceived to be influencing traditional culture. This is consistent with Lentz's

suggestion that migration exchanges may negative influence the traditional culture of the people, - the loss of value in traditional aspects of culture - it as serves a motivation that drives the youth to migrate to feel that they belong (Lentz, 2006, Lentz, 2013).

Migration is an investment made by households with the hope that it inures to the well-being of the household. Migration is therefore revealed to be a hope narrative for the home communities. While this generates costs and benefits for a household., social networks help to minimise the physical and emotional challenges associated with this kind of enterprise. Furthermore, the benefits go beyond cash remittances, to include in-kind support, such as food, and, more significantly this study argues, soft transferable skills or new ideas for livelihood adaptation. Migrants adapt these ideas and skills on return to the benefit of their household and the wider community. Migration equally comes along with its associated social costs. Sending communities have experienced the adulteration of their culture through influences from the destination communities. This has implication for the maintenance of their identity as a people, which is perceived to challenge traditional structures.

7.3.4 Summary

Social networks are essential to the process of migration, from the point of initial decision making at the household, to the kind of activity performed at the destination. Migration social networks are either bonding and bridging networks and the study finds that each offers a unique facilitation processes

and used differently generates different outcomes. Differences in the use and value of these social networks could be contextual and thus, vary from one place to another, however this insight contributes to new insights to existing understanding. Migration also comes with both physical and social costs. Physical cost in the form of financial obligations and emotional needs of migrants, which are minimised with the facilitation of social networks at the destinations. How social networks facilitates this depends on the societal structure and cohesion at established. Social costs, however, reflects the unintended consequences that influence the culture and maybe eventually, leads to local concerns about the identity of the people through the interaction of cultures at these destinations. Evidence supports that some aspects of the culture of the people are compromised as result of acculturation.

7.3 Gendered Social Norms, Migration and Women Empowerment

Constructed gender roles define the functions of different gender groups in society. These socially constructed gender roles are entrenched in rural communities in many parts of the developing world. As highlighted in Section 2.5.1, Tacoli and Mabala (2010) argued that gender inequalities in decision-making and access to resources exist across every scale of social strata. Differentiated gender roles and functions vary across culture and between regions (Sunderland et al., 2014), and thus, while women and men in northern Ghana are both confronted by the livelihood stress and societal challenges revealed in this thesis, their access to resources are unevenly distributed. This section discusses the results of Chapter 5 to contextualise gender differentiated access to migration resources within the socially

constructed norms of the people included in this study. It examines the sociocultural norms that have prevented married women from migrating.

7.3.1 Navigating Gendered Migration in Patriarchal Rural Communities

The section explores the sociocultural norms that constrain married women from participating in migration within a rural patrilineal society. This issue was analysed within the context of how sociocultural gender norms shape the migration process of married women in Section 6.4. Hanson (2010) provides a useful framework to examine this issue with two analytical components to gender mobility research. First, it asks how gender shapes mobility, using an analysis of power to influence ability to migrate. Second, it asks how mobility shapes gender and the outcomes for those that migrate.

It is conceptually accepted that gendered ideological norms shape the (im)mobility of married women in a patrilineal setting, framing the implications for women's opportunities and wider empowerment (see Section 2.5.1, Chapter 2 and Chapter 6). Sociocultural gender norms are assumed to limit women's participation in rural-rural migration. However, this study found that women, including married women, reported navigating these norms to explore the benefits of rural-rural seasonal migration in order to meet their personal aspirations.

The underlying drivers for women to migrate relate to inequality in access to household resources within patriarchal societies, as reported in this study and in other studies (e.g. Spichiger and Stacey (2014) in northern Ghana. While

men are culturally allocated household land, women must rely on their husbands or family if there are not married. Likewise, access to resources and social networks to facilitate migration are also controlled by men, especially for married women who are culturally expected to attend to domestic duties at home while their spouse migrates. This power by men over women is attributed to culturally discriminatory distribution of productive resources and decision-making within the household. This situation exacerbates the vulnerability and poverty of women in northern Ghana, compared to other parts of the country.

Women who were able to navigate these sociocultural norms to migrate by either negotiating with their husband based on the presence of a relation at the destination or by accompanying their husbands reported that they felt economically empowered, since they are able to diversify into other livelihood activities compared to those who stayed put. Hitherto married women are relegated to the background when it comes to decision-making in the household and are seen as implementers of decisions. However, the study found increasing cases of married women migrating, and they reported that their husbands now consulted them in household decisions because they were seen as able to contribute to household income, which is not traditionally typical for a patriarchal household (Section 6.5, Chapter 6). This social change has enabled the case study women to attain new power and to challenge discriminatory norms.

This narrative suggests that traditional sociocultural norms of patriarchal communities enslave women, making them vulnerable and powerless to make a meaningful productive contribution to support themselves and their children. Typically, this is exacerbated for women who are divorced or widowed. These ideological patrilineal cultural prohibitions enforce male dominance but are counter-productive for sustainable development outcomes for the communities in the study area. Households underutilise the capacity of women to contribute to household livelihood security through alternative livelihood activities if they choose to. This undermines the potential of women and denigrates all women to household duties. These cultural perceptions influence other aspects of women's lives, including education, nutrition and reproductive health and, more broadly, potential infringes their fundamental human rights. This is a complicated and sensitive debate (Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang, 2004, Blumberg, 2015) and both monitoring of female rural-rural seasonal migration as well as support to underscore this process will be important.

In typical patriarchal communities, gender shapes household decision making through the existing power dynamics that entrusts most productive assets and resources to men through sociocultural norms formulated largely by men. This power dynamic influences household decision making processes in favour of men, which extends to the larger society because those who have control of resources participate actively and have greater influence in the final decision. These socially constructed norms in patriarchal society are used as a tool to ensure male dominance and control of women to make

them dependent and subordinate to them (Tuwor and Sossou, 2008). Women who have however navigated these cultural norms to migrated and acquired resources have been recognised by their male counterpart to participate in household decisions by virtue of their resourcefulness. It is therefore argued in this study that sociocultural norms in rural communities are inimical to women's empowerment since they do not afford them the opportunity to explore migration resources to make them resourceful and to contribute to the household and their own wellbeing.

7.3.2 Redefining Patriarchal Social Norms for Gender Empowerment

Sociocultural norms are formulated by societies to ensure social harmony and cohesion (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007, Turchin et al., 2012). However, rural patriarchal and sociocultural norms have rendered women vulnerable, insecure and passive participants in household decision making. These norms are skewed to men empowerment over women to ensure male dominance. This study found that sociocultural patriarchal norms restrict married women's migration from the study communities (Section 6.3). This resonates with findings from earlier studies that established that patriarchal norms restrict female autonomy to migrate or participate in economic activities, as well as to limit their access to productive resources, resulting in wealth disparities between men and women (Garikipati, 2008, Toma and Vause, 2014, Fleury, 2016). These patriarchal norms are emphasised in rural communities where women are perceived as subservient to men and their rights undermined. This rural mindset shapes household decisions on

migration. As De Jong (2000) established, this is a significant influence on married gender roles on household migration decisions.

Seeberg and Luo (2018) and Pickbourn (2018) suggest that supporting female labour migration makes them financially independent to fulfil their dreams and extricate them from patriarchal precincts. The study established that there are substantial differences between married women involved in seasonal rural migration compared with those who stay put. This corroborates Fleury (2016) argument that resources accrued from migration advances women self-esteem and autonomy within their families and communities. Implication is that married women seasonal migration presents an opportunity for women to be viewed as capable agents in contributing to household income and well-being since most migrant women acquires capital which helped them diversify into indigenous cottage livelihood activities such as trading, shea processing among others at their places of origin. Rural seasonal migration has thus empowered women economically to be financial independent to support themselves and their households. This ensured their active participation in households and family decision making processes. The study does offer insight on the potential of married women to participate in rural seasonal labour migration and how this contributes to household well-being when they are able to navigate the sociocultural barriers of gendered migration.

Therefore, this study has advanced an understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration as a livelihood adaptation strategy within the context of rural

household livelihood dynamics which threaten rural household livelihood security. Rural households are perceived to lack the adaptive capacity and technology to mitigate and offset these livelihood stresses (Schrieder and Knerr, 2000) and remain constantly in livelihood deficit. One implication of the study in Northern Ghana that advances understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration is to explain how rural-rural seasonal migration is culturally embedded in rural communities in Northern Ghana. It has brought to the fore that seasonal livelihood insecurity, due to declining agricultural productivity and unavailability of alternative livelihood opportunities, compel rural households to migrate not only to urban areas but to other rural areas that have better conditions appropriate for their limited skills.

Literature on migration in Ghana, particularly North-South migration, has focused on rural-urban migration of young men and women (Chapter 2). Little research has explored rural-rural seasonal migration and less still with respect to rural-rural seasonal migration of married women. This study fills this knowledge gap and provides the locus for further investigations into this research area.

7.3.3 Summary

Patriarchal social norms have discriminated against women in the distribution of household and family resources. Typically, productive resources are allocated to men through the inheritance system. This makes women vulnerable because they must depend on their male counterparts for the use of resources. The status quo is the result of socially constructed norms

that give power and dominance to men in the household, thus, making women subservient. This dominance is reflected in decision making processes at both household and community level within these communities. It shapes migration and access to opportunities that have the potential to empower women. The study shows how women who have navigated these sociocultural norms are empowered compared to their non-migrant counterparts, including in the participation of decision making at the household level and have enhanced general wellbeing.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine the dynamics of rural-rural seasonal migration as a livelihood adaptation strategy among rural households in Northern Ghana. The debate in the study is whether seasonal migration is a coping and a risk diversification approach in the context of increasing livelihood stresses as result of changing environment and its associated policies; or it is migration that leads to livelihood transformation. Based on an ethnographic led approach (Section 3.4.4, Chapter 3), the study used qualitative data collection methods and a questionnaire to explore the objectives that guided the study set out in Section 1.3 in Chapter 1.

The study was organised around three main themes, based on the objectives that guided the research. These themes developed the focus of the argument and analysis through the thesis. First, Chapter 4 provided empirical insight into the livelihood dynamics of the area and the most important factors that drive rural-rural seasonal migration among rural households. Second, Chapter 5 presented results on the processes of rural-rural seasonal migration, and the role of social networks in facilitating access to migration resources and the social dynamics of this process. This is important because the literature makes assumptions about the role of different types of social networks in facilitating rural-migration, but this is not understood for rural-

rural migration (Section 2.3.3, Chapter 2). Chapter 6 then provided an in-depth analysis of one dimension of the sociocultural dynamics of rural-rural seasonal migration, with an examination of the participation of women, and the challenges for married women when contributing to this livelihood strategy. The focus of Chapter 6 emerged as an interesting dimension of the analysis of socioeconomic and cultural differentiation within patterns of rural-rural seasonal migration in Chapter 5 and warranted deeper examination, given the under-reported role of women in rural-rural migration in the literature. Chapter 7 discussed the three main thematic results chapters within the existing literature by positioning results within the field of migration.

This concluding chapter is structured into three section. Summaries of the conclusions based on key findings and their implications presented in Section 8.2. Possible insights for policy and practice are provided in Section 8.3 while interesting further research questions emerging are discussed in Section 8.4.

8.2 Conclusions on Findings

Based on empirical data discussed in Section 7.2.3, cultural and social identity of households are important drivers of seasonal migration within rural context. This drivers have been conflated with other social drivers within the multiplicity of drivers that influence seasonal migration. It also revealed how the process of seasonal migration is highly differentiated by access to types of social networks. These patterns and processes are further shaped by gendered ideologies, which discriminates participation of gender

groups in this livelihood strategy in a typical patriarchal community. These importance of findings and conclusions are discussed in this section.

From the first objective, findings showed that rural household livelihood systems that are dependent on weather conditions are failing due to changing climate and environmental conditions. This has led to chronic food insecurity from year to year, such that households are unable to meet their sociocultural obligations that rural households consider sacred since they respect their ancestry. For rural households, the performance of these sociocultural obligations makes them relevant and respected in their communities and beyond. However, due to limited livelihood opportunities in these rural communities to respond to their poor harvest, households are confronted with increasing livelihood stresses and switch between two or more activities to sustain their families.

Therefore, the study concludes that households do not migrate only to meet their food security needs; but to also meet their sociocultural obligations of the household which makes the relevant in society. The performance of these cultural obligations, unlike food security needs that are limited to the household, go beyond the household to involve external social networks in other communities. Failure to meet these cultural obligations does not bring disrepute to only the household but to the other external social relations. Households, thus, see it more important to them to achieve this objective even over some immediate household needs. The protection of their cultural identity and social status as part of the social drivers of seasonal migration is

a more important driver even though remote within the context of rural people.

Further findings (Section 7.2.1) indicated that climatic and environmental conditions influence the type of crops rural people grow since they have to adopt to crop varieties that suit the changing climatic and ecological conditions. This influences their cultural performances as a people, since traditional crops and animals used for these sacrificial performances are changed due to the adoption of new varieties. The study therefore concludes that climate and environmental change impact on the cultural identity of the people since culture portrays the identity of the people by what they do and how they act. Findings showed that seasonal migration has led to the cross infiltration of the culture of the people through importation of practices that are alien to them. It can therefore be concluded that seasonal migration has certainly contributed to the changing cultural identity of the people.

Based on the second objective, findings (Section 7.3.1) show that social networks are pivotal in the migration process of rural migrants. Social networks influenced the process in the decision-making process in the household, the destination of migrants and the type of activity migrants engage in at the destination. These social networks are either bonding and bridging networks found at destinations that provide information and emotional support for migrants. It is therefore concluded that social networks in general are significant and influence household migration decisions

dynamics at the rural level, such that those with destination social works are favoured in household migration decisions.

Even though social networks are important in the migration process, findings established that rural people who do not have destination social networks migrate in groups to unknown destinations. Migration groups are formed based on existing indigenous sociocultural relationships in the community. This suggests that group solidarity yields social capital that provides emotional support and collective strength that facilitates migration among rural people. The study concludes that group solidarity is as important as social networks in rural migration process, since in the absence of social networks, group solidarity functions similarly as social networks.

The study found that both bonding and bridging social networks are used differently in rural migration to access different migration resource through the different kinds of activities these networks lead migrants to explore. This could be contextual since it contradicts other findings that suggest that bonding and bridging networks are of different importance. Contrasting findings suggest that one is more important than the other. The study therefore concludes that bonding and bridging social networks functions differently and lead to different migration outcomes.

The third objective centred on the gender dimensions of rural seasonal migration. The study established that sociocultural norms are entrenched in rural areas of most parts of sub-Saharan Africa. These sociocultural norms

largely discriminate against women in several ways but most especially in the distribution of productive resources and participation in household decision making and to a large extend community decision making. However, findings show that women who navigate these sociocultural norms to migrate have become financially independent and thus gain recognition to participate in household decisions making compared to those entrapped by these sociocultural norms. The study hence concludes that seasonal migration serves as an economic activity that empower women to take up challenges and break sociocultural barriers that undermine their potential.

Findings indicate that sociocultural constructions in rural patriarchal communities make women subservient to men in the households. This promotes male dominance and does not encourage inclusion. This is traced to the sociocultural marital contractions and the role assigned to women seem to make men heads while women turn to be seen as possessions of men. The study concludes that sociocultural norms in rural settings in patriarchal communities do not favour women socioeconomic emancipation but rather perpetuate dominance.

Overall there are mixed experiences of migrants to the impact of rural seasonal migration on rural livelihoods. For women who have navigated sociocultural norms to migrate, rural seasonal migration has been beneficial to them. These women find it empowering since it has made them financially and economically independently and contributed to their well-being in general. Both migrant and non-migrant women agreed that seasonal

migration has improved the socioeconomic lives of those are able to migrate. Men, however, claimed that seasonal migration has not significantly contributed to their livelihoods since they are not able to transform their livelihood conditions. This is attributed to fact that household and more of the sociocultural responsibilities and duties of households' rest on men which explains why dominate the migration process in rural communities. This study therefore concludes that rural seasonal migration instead of being a transformational livelihood strategy, is considered as a coping strategy for households who explore it meet household food and sociocultural needs to remain relevant in their societies.

8.3 Recommendations

The results of this study have practical implications for government and policy makers seeking to support livelihood development and reduce poverty in northern Ghana.

Investments in supporting livelihoods at the source of to reduce migration as coping strategy will minimise the numbers of migrants moving to the southern part of the country. In order for Ghana to progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals, improved opportunities for education is important because it provides the foundation for the attainment of the other goals. There was high illiteracy in the study area due either limited educational facilities. Government should invest in establishing more educational facilities in rural communities and incentivising teachers to work in these areas. Government should also expand the existing school feeding

programme to cover more rural areas to ensure school retention in these areas. Also, gender parity in the enrolment into educational facilities should be encouraged since it not only increases literacy among women but will avert some of the negative sociocultural constructions that are skewed towards some gender groups. This will help improve the livelihood capacity of the people in the future as well as build a human resource base of these rural communities.

Agriculture is the main livelihood activity of the people. This livelihood activity is highly dependent on the climatic conditions of the area for a particular season. These climatic conditions are largely uncertain with increasing climate variability and change. Thus, impacting significantly on agricultural output resulting in food insecurity in the area. Also due to the unimodal rainfall pattern of the area, there is high seasonal unemployment in the dry season; this encourages seasonal migration. This should be managed to ensure that migrant household benefit from the process to create opportunities for others at the places of origin. This minimises the social problem leaving the management of the household to the aged and the weak who are left behind during the dry season. It is therefore important if government supports a comprehensive irrigation programme for districts with high rural populations to allow dry season horticulture for example. These irrigation programmes should not only be limited to the provision of irrigation facilities but linked to the poverty reduction strategy policy of the country which should to include entrepreneurial training for people as well

as linking them to market opportunities within the public sector to guarantee patronage of their output to make it comprehensive.

It was observed that livestock farming was limited in the study area due to animal diseases and limited knowledge in animal husbandry. This can be attributed to weak and in some instance nonexistence of veterinary extension services in the district. This is not only the case in Lambussie district but remains a countrywide problem. There is no defined governmental policy for recruitment of veterinary professionals within the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA). Only few are engaged in government units largely for quarantine purposes. A policy reform to incorporate veterinary services into the MoFA will be helpful in training rural farmers in animal rearing, which would create dry season employment for the youth in these areas.

Government should target the establishment of entrepreneurial development centres in every district particularly in Northern Ghana to provide entrepreneurial training to the youth who are largely unemployed and do not have any formal education. This category of people who are largely concentrated in rural communities do not have any specialised employable skills. They could be equipped with artisanal skills and supported with credit to establish group businesses in their localities. This will minimise the north-south migration as well as illegal mining that is destroying the environment. This could be organised under the auspices of the Non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education.

As the findings in Chapter Four indicated, sociocultural norms limit women access to family productive resources such as land and cattle in typical patriarchal communities. This can be attributed to access to resources along family access which are entrusted to men. Spichiger and Stacey (2014) noted that this encourages inequality among men and women in Ghana and affects the implementation of legislation that advocate women rights to own land. This creates unequal access to livelihood opportunities among gender groups in most part of rural Ghana. Sociocultural barriers have resulted in increased illiteracy among women making them vulnerable and subservient to men control. There is the need for advocacy for change in mindset in the distribution of family productive resources to include women. The Land Administrative Project (LAP) is currently revising the laws on land and institutional reforms in Ghana. These institutional reforms should streamline and ensure equity in individual ownership and distribution of family land to address the lack of gender (women) access to family resources. Also, implementation agencies such as the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources (MLNR), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the judicial institutions should commit to ensuring implementation of gender parity in the most sectors of the economy. This will ensure women's empowerment and improvement in women livelihood vulnerability and poverty.

Tailored social support scheme towards rural women should be established to provide training and microcredit to build the capacity of women as a means of empowering them. These could be in the form of cottage industries in their

localities. This will help them overcome sociocultural norms that hinder them from exploring their livelihood opportunities.

8.4 Further Research

This study provided improved understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration and has contributed to the debates about migration and sustainable livelihoods. Despite the new insights, there remain areas for further research to ensure a broader understanding of rural-rural seasonal migration. Firstly, this research used empirical evidence from communities in the Upper West region, but northern Ghana is diverse in language, custom and religion; and it would be valuable to undertake a larger study in other locations to see how these factors influence migration patterns and livelihood arrangements.

The study of women's migration in Ghana has previously, focused on migration of young women to urban areas. While this research has provided a foundation into women's migration, this emerged as a theme that could be expanded to better understand the transition of single migrant women into married women in a typical patriarchal cultural system and entry points to support this process.

In the course of the study, it was observed that permanent migrations can weaken the social security system of most families due to the absence of key family members and the line of succession of family headship. It would be intriguing to study the role of rural seasonal labour migration in the

maintenance of social security mechanisms among households in rural communities.

Finally, seasonal rural-rural migrants work all year doing difficult labour-intensive activities – labouring away from home in the dry season, travelling long distances, experience stress, and then labouring at home to prepare and manage the next cropping season. Labouring under increasing temperature changes is not fully understood. To investigate the effect of labouring on the health of the migrant, and their productivity at their places of origin would be valuable.

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Introduction: I am a student of the University of Reading and working on an academic research on the topic "Climate Change Induced Migration and Rural Livelihood Transformation in Northern Ghana" This questionnaire is administered to solicit your views on the topic. Responses given here will be treated as confidential and anonymous.

Your consent is needed here to proceed; you are at will to terminate this interview at any point you feel not interested. It is hoped that you respond to every question to the best of your ability, however, if you are not comfortable with any question, you have the free will to decline to respond to it.

Instruction: Tick (√) where appropriate and fill-in the spaces provided for responses that require writing. In some questions, you will be required to pick many options as applicable.

Thank you for your cooperation.

/

Interviewer's Name....................... Community: ....

Interviewer's Signature ….............…… Date: ....

Interviewee code: ………………………….

Section A: Background Information

1. Age of Respondent:

a.15 – 20 [   ]   b.21 – 26 [   ]   c.27 – 32 [   ]   d.33 – 38 [   ]   d.39 – 44 [   ]   e.45 – 50 [   ]   f.51$^+$ [   ]

2. Sex of Respondent: a. Male [   ]   b. Female [   ]

3. Ethnicity of Respondent: …………………………………….

4. Marital Status of Respondent:

a. Single   [ ]

b. Married   [ ]

c. Separated/Divorced   [ ]

d. Widowed   [ ]

5. Number of wives (if applicable): ………………………..

6. Religious Affiliation of Respondent:

a. African Trad. Religion   [ ]

b. Christianity   [ ]

c. Islam   [ ]

d. Other (specify), …………………………….

7. Highest educational attainment/qualification of Respondent:

a. No formal education   [ ]

b. Primary level   [ ]

c. JSS/Middle School   [ ]

d. Secondary level   [ ]

e. Tertiary level (Univ., Poly., College)   [ ]

f. Other (specify),

....

8. In order of preference, mention the first three (3) main jobs/occupations your household engages in:

a. …………………………….. b. ………………………….. c. ……………………………

9a. What is your household size?

a. single   [   ]

b. 2 – 4   [   ]

c. 5 – 7   [   ]

d. 8 – 10   [   ]

e. 11 – 13 [   ]

f. 14 – 16 [   ]

g. 17^+ [   ]

9b. How many other dependents do you have?

....

Climate Variability, Farming (Livelihood) Activities and Migration Dynamics

10. Do your household own a farm for the cultivation of crops?   a. Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

11. What is total size of your household farm?

a. 0.5 – 2.5 acres [   ]   b. 2.6 – 3.6 acres   [   ]   c. 3.7 – 5.7 acres

   [   ]

d. 5.8 – 7.8 acres [   ]   e. 7.9 – 9.9 acres   [   ]   f. 10^+ acres

   [   ]

12. Is your present cultivation area sufficient for your household?

a. Yes [   ] b. [   ]

13. What is the mode of acquisition of the parcel of land you currently cultivate? **(Multiple response)**

a. Allocation of family land (Customary freehold)   [   ]

b. Own land through purchase (Outright Purchase)   [   ]

c. Rental Shared cropping with landowner   [   ]

d. Lease   [   ]

d. Other, specify

………………………………………………………………………….

14. Please complete the table below by indicating the average output of crops that applies to your household for the past year? **(Multiple response)**

Crop	Output/acre
Maize	
Cowpea	
Millet	
Guinea corn	
Groundnuts	
Yam	
Other, specify	

15. What was the purpose of the cultivation of the crop identified above?

a. Household consumption   [   ]

b. Market sale   [   ]

c. Both household consumption and Market   [   ]

d. Other, specify ………………………

16a. Which of these crops does your household sell for family income?

(Multiple response)

Maize   [ ]

Cowpea   [ ]

Guinea corn   [ ]

Millet   [ ]

Yam   [ ]

Groundnuts   [ ]

Bambara beans   [ ]

Other, specify ………………………

16b. Why the selected crop(s)?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………….

17. Why does your household sell food crops for income?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………

………………….

18. Does your household rear animals?

a. Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

19. If yes, which of these do you rear? **(Multiple response)**

a. Cattle   [   ]

b. Pigs   [   ]

c. Goats   [   ]

d. Sheep   [   ]

e. Donkeys   [   ]

f. Poultry   [   ]

g. Other, specify …………………………..

20. What is the purpose of rearing?

a. For household consumption   [   ]

b. For sale   [   ]

c. Both household consumption and market   [   ]

d. Other, specify …………………………….

21. How much does your household depend on the livestock?

a. Complete dependence   [   ]

b. Do not depend on it   [   ]

c. Somehow   [   ]

d. Assets for emergencies   [   ]

e. Other, specify …………………………………

22. Does some of your household members migrate from the community?

a. Yes   [   ]   b. No   [   ]

23. Which form of migration do they engage-in?

a. Seasonal migration   [   ]

b. Permanent migration   [   ]

c. Other, specify ………………………………………………………….

24. Mention some of the destinations of these migrants.

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

25. For the past five to ten (5 - 10) years have you experienced changes in the climatic conditions that has an impact on crop yield or harvest?

a. Yes   [   ]   b. No   [   ]

26. If yes, which of these climatic conditions have you experienced?

(Multiple response)

a. Drought   [   ]

b. Floods   [   ]

c. Change in Rainfall pattern   [   ]

d. Decline in soil fertility   [   ]

e. Other, specify………………………..

27. Does the changing climatic conditions have effect on household food crop production?

a. Yes   [   ]   b. No   [   ]

28. If yes, in what way does it affect food crop production?

a. Decline in food crop production   [   ]

b. Increase in food crop production   [   ]

c. Other,

specify…………………………………………………………………

………

29. Does your household experience food shortages in the cause of the

year?

a. Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

30. If yes, which months in the year, does your household experience food

shortages? **(Multiple Response)**

a. January   [   ]

b. February   [   ]

c. March   [   ]

d. April   [   ]

e. May   [   ]

f. June   [   ]

g. July   [   ]

h. August   [   ]

i. September   [   ]

j. October   [   ]

k. November   [ ]

l. December   [ ]

31. Which of these coping strategies does your household adapt to cope the period of food shortage? **[Multiple response]**

a. Borrowing food from extended family and friends

   [ ]

b. Reduce the quantities and frequency of food eaten in a day   [ ]

c. Rely on less preferred and less expensive foodstuff   [ ]

d. Hunt for wild food in the bush   [ ]

e. Other, specify

………………………………………………………………………

32. Estimate how much your household spend on the following items in a month.

S/N	Item	Estimate (GHC)
a.	Food	
b.	Cloths	
c.	Healthcare	
d.	Education	
e	Housing	
f	Agriculture	
g	Funerals	
h	Other	

33. With the changing climatic conditions, which of these do your household do to secure livelihoods? **(Multiple Response)**

No.	option	Reason or Example
a.	Diversify into non-farm activities	
b.	Sell household assets e.g. animals, land, etc.	
c.	Change regular household crop to other crops	
d.	Adopt to new crop varieties	
e.	Migrate temporarily	
f.	Change farm cultural practices	
g.	Other, specify	

If alternative (e) is an option continue from Question 34 to 66, if not skip to Question 64.

34. Has any member of your household migrated in the last 2 years?

 a. Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

35. Complete the table below on Migrant Characteristics of your household

S/N	Relation to Household head	Gender [Male or Female]	Age	Level of education

36. If yes, on who behalf has he/she migrated?

a. On his own behave   [   ]

b. On behave of the household   [   ]

37. Why do they migrate? **(Multiple Response)**

a. To minimize risk of livelihood failure   [   ]

b. For migration experience   [   ]

c. Unemployment   [   ]

d. For subsistence   [   ]

e. Other, specify ……………………………………….

38. Which months of the year do they migrate? **(Multiple response)**

a. January   [   ]

b. February   [   ]

c. March   [   ]

d. April   [   ]

e. May   [   ]

f. June   [   ]

g. July   [   ]

h. August   [   ]

i. September   [   ]

j. October   [ ]

k. November   [ ]

l. December   [ ]

39. Which are the commonest destination(s) migrants migrate to and why?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

40. How do migrants migrate?

a. Individually   [ ]

b. Groups   [ ]

41. Averagely, how long do they migrate outside the household?

a. 1 – 2 months   [ ]

b. 3 – 4 months   [ ]

c. 5 – 6 months   [ ]

f. Above 6 months[   ]

42. What major activity(ties) do they engage in when they migrate to their

destinations, and why?

…………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………..

43. Who makes the decision to migrate in the household?

a. The migrant only   [   ]

b. The household head only   [   ]

c. The entire household   [   ]

d. Other, specify

……………………………….…………………………………………

44. Who provides the resources for migration?

a. The migrant   [   ]

b. The household head   [   ]

c. Other,

specify……………………………………………………………

45. How are resources for migration mobilized? **(Multiple response)**

Through:

a. Individual savings   [   ]

b. Friends   [   ]

c. Family members   [   ]

d. Loans   [   ]

e. other, specify ……………………………………….

46. Averagely how much migrants earn from a migration trip?

a. GHC 200 – 1000   [   ]

b. GHC 1100 – 1900   [   ]

c. GHC 2000 – 2800   [   ]

d. Above GHC 2900   [   ]

47a. Do migrants remit the household? a. Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

47b. If yes, what form does remittances take? **(Multiple Response)**

a. Cash   [   ]

b. Kind   [   ]

c. Both cash and Kind   [   ]

d. Other, specify ………………………………….

47c. If cash, what do household spend the cash on? **(Multiple response)**

a. Food   [   ]

b. Housing   [   ]

c. Health needs   [   ]

d. School fees   [   ]

e. Investment in agricultural livelihood activities e.g. weeding, etc.   [   ]

f. Investment in non-farm agricultural livelihood activities   [   ]

g. Other, specify ……………………………………..

48a. Does migration also have any negative effect on the household? a.

Yes [   ]   b. No [   ]

48b. If yes, what are some of the effects of migration on the household?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

49. Which of these could be the reason(s) why other households are not

migrating? **(Multiple response)**

a. Lack of resources to migrate   [   ]

b. The risk involved in migration   [   ]

c. There is no host at the destination   [ ]

d. The household is able to cope with the climatic conditions   [ ]

e. Inadequate information on migration   [ ]

f. No one to support with labour issues back home   [ ]

g. Because of the security of family assets   [ ]

g. Other, specify

…………………………………………………………………………

Pull and Push factors of Migration

In the following sets of questions, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement of which households migrate seasonally by selecting one of the options. 1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Disagree, 5=Strongly Disagree

Place origin factors

50. Households migrate because of lack of employment opportunities at the places of origin.   [1   2   3   4   5]

51. Households consider seasonal migration as a household strategy to diversify household income.   [1   2   3   4   5]

52. Households migrate because of inadequate land for farming at the origin.   [1   2   3   4   5]

53. Households migrate because of unfavourable rainfall conditions which affect yield at the origin.   [1   2   3   4   5]

54. Households migrate because of poor soil fertility at the place of origin which affects yield.   [1   2   3   4   5]

55. Households migrate because of food scarcity at the place of origin.

[1   2   3   4   5]

56. Households migrate because they have the financial resources to

migrate. [1   2   3   4   5]

57. Households migrate because of conflicts at the origin community.

[1   2   3   4   5]

Destinations factors

58. Households migrate because of family relations support they have at the

destination community. [1   2   3   4   5]

59. Households migrate because of support of friends they have at the

destination community. [1   2   3   4   5]

60. Households migrate because of abundance of land at the destination

community. [1   2   3   4   5]

61. Households migrate because of fertile lands at the destination

community. [1   2   3   4   5]

62. Households migrate because of good rainfall regime at the destination

community. [1   2   3   4   5]

63. Households migrate because of employment opportunities at destination

communities. [1   2   3   4   5]

Institutional Support in Agricultural Transformation.

64. Does seasonal migration contribute to improvement of agriculture in

your community?

a. Yes [ ]b. No [ ]

65. If yes, how does it contribute to agricultural improvement in the community?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

66. If no, why does it not contribute to improvement in the agricultural sector?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

67. How does seasonal migration affect household farm labour?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

68. What other effect does seasonal migration have on households in the community?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

Do you have any question you may want to ask or issue on the subject matter that you may want me to know?

Thank you for your time and interest in the study.

Appendix 2

Focus Group Checklist

A. Community Migration Dynamics

1. Why do people migrate seasonal from this community?

2. Who those migrating? (e.g. males, females; rich, poor; ethnic groups, etc.)

3. Which are the preferred destinations and why?

4. When do they migrate and why those timings?

5. How do they migrate? (e.g. individually, groups; role of social networks, etc.)

6. Why are other households not migrating?

7. How do members of the community perceive seasonal migration and those who migrate?

8. What are migrant experiences of seasonal migration?

9. What are the effects of seasonal migration on households and the community at large?

B. Migration and Livelihood Activities

1. What are the main livelihood activities of households in this community?

2. How does seasonal migration affect household livelihood activities?

3. How does seasonal migration affect households' resources? (in terms of monetary or assets)

4. How are migration resources utilized in the household? (for food, education, housing, healthcare, funerals, investment, etc.)

5. What impact does seasonal migration have on agricultural productivity and food security at the household and the community at large?

6. How does seasonal migration facilitate livelihood diversification in the community?

C. Climate Variability and Seasonal Migration

1. For the past five (5) years, have there been any changes in the climatic conditions that influence agricultural production?

2. In your opinions, what could be the causes of these changes in the climatic conditions?

3. How are households and the community coping with these changes in climatic conditions?

4. How does climate variability influence migration in the community?

5. What is your community doing about these climatic changes that affect agricultural productivity?

6. Are there any organizations (governmental and nongovernmental) in the community that championing environmental issues in your community? (What are their Activities)

7. What can be done to improve and ensure sustainable livelihood system of households in the community?
   Are any questions you may like to ask or other issues related to seasonal migration and livelihoods that you may want me know?

Thank you for your patience, time and interest in this study.

Appendix 3

Key Informant Interview Checklist

A. Migration and Livelihood Issues

1. Is migration prevalent in this community?

2. If yes, why do you consider in your opinion are the causes of this phenomenon?

3. What times of the year do people migrate in this community?

4. Who are those engaged in migration from this community (e.g. educational status, age, occupation, marital status, gender, etc.)

5. Why these groups of people?

6. Do social networks play any role in the migration of these group of people? How, and in what way?

7. How do you perceive the migration phenomenon in this community? A threat, an opportunity or both. Explain.

8. Does migration affect agriculture in this community?

9. Are there some social institutions that are held by this community the promote productivity? If there are, what are some of these social institutions?

10. Does migration influence these social institutions? How?

11. Do the changing climatic conditions facilitate migration of people in this community?

12. In your opinion, how are resources from migration utilised by migrant households in this community?

B. Coping Strategies

1. What are some of the coping strategies households adapt to mitigate changing climatic conditions?

2. Do these strategies affect agricultural production in the community? How?

3. What are some of the things that can be done to improve livelihoods in this community?

4. Are there development institutions/organisations working in this community? If yes, what roles are they playing to facilitate rural livelihoods?

5. What are some of the community's responsibilities towards livelihood improvement?

6. What are the successes and the challenges?

Are there other issues you may want me to know on the subject matter I have not touched on? Are there other questions you may want to ask?

Thank you for your time, patience and interest in this study

Appendix 4

A. Screenshot Demonstration of the use of SPSS
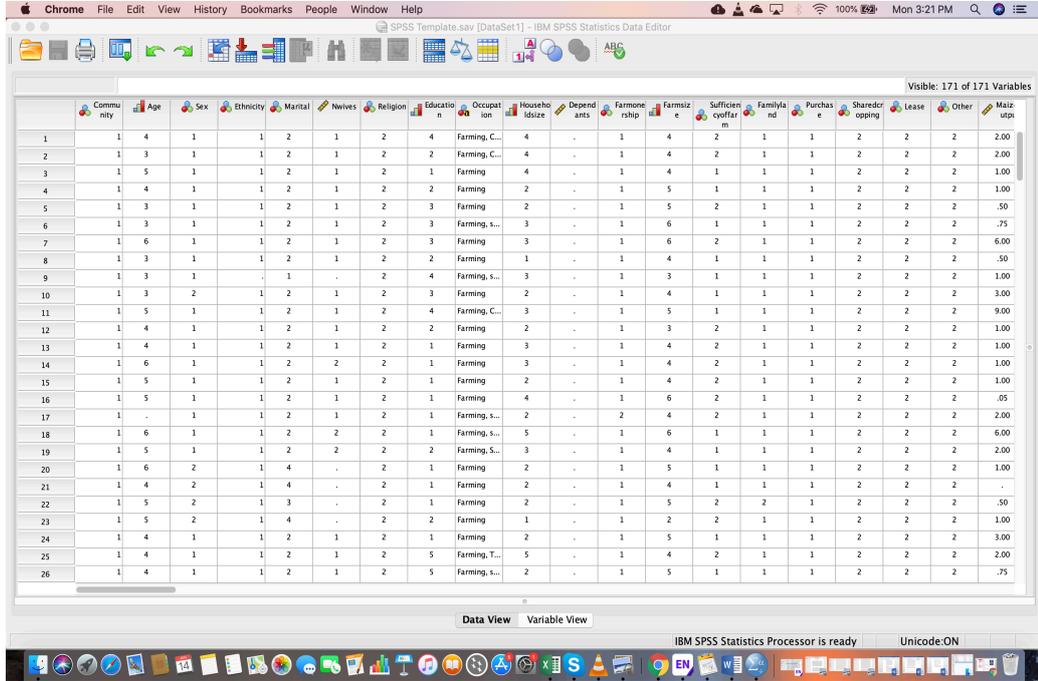
B. Screenshot Demonstration of the use of NVivo