

The socio-economic well-being of internal migrants in Agbogbloshie, Ghana

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Abstract

The recent claims that migration can improve the well-being of migrants and their dependants back home has mainly focused on international migration to destinations that are considered developed. Few studies have focused on internal migration and its effects on migrants' well-being. Besides, whether migrations to areas that are considered not developed can also contribute to improving the well-being of migrants and their dependants back home remains unaccounted for in the literature. This study employed a quantitative design involving descriptive statistics, independent t-test and binomial test to examine the effects of internal migration on the well-being of migrants in Agbogbloshie-the most populous slum in Accra. The study found that the determinants of well-being; income, education and employment have improved for migrants after migration. The results implied that migration had a net positive effect on migrants' well-being. However, this benefit comes at a cost as migrant workers are engaged in works that pose a lot of risk such as carrying very heavy loads, exposed to toxic substances and living in very poor accommodation. The paper recommends that efforts be made by governments to bridge the development gap between the north and south of the country so as to limit the rate of migration.

Keywords: Migration, Development, Well-being, Poverty, Income distribution, Ghana

Résumé

Les récentes allégations que la migration peut améliorer le bien-être des migrants et leur charge retour à la maison a principalement porté sur la migration internationale vers des destinations qui sont considérées comme développées. Peu d'études ont porté sur la migration interne et de ses effets sur le bien-être des migrants. En outre, si les migrations vers les zones qui ne sont pas considérées développées peuvent également contribuer à améliorer le bien-être des migrants et de leurs familles à la maison reste portées disparues dans la littérature. Cette étude a utilisé

une conception quantitative impliquant statistiques descriptives, test t indépendant et test binomial pour examiner les effets de la migration interne sur le bien-être des migrants dans le bidonville d'Agbogbloshie-le plus peuplé à Accra. L'étude a révélé que les facteurs déterminants du bien-être; le revenu, l'éducation et l'emploi se sont améliorées pour les migrants après la migration. Les résultats implicite que la migration a eu un effet net positif sur le bien-être des migrants. Toutefois, cet avantage a un coût que les travailleurs migrants sont engagés dans des œuvres qui affichent beaucoup de risques comme porter des charges très lourdes, exposés à des substances toxiques et de vivre dans un logement très pauvre. Le document recommande que des efforts soient déployés par les gouvernements pour combler l'écart de développement entre le nord et le sud du pays afin de limiter le taux de migration.

Mots-clés: migration, le développement, le bien-être, de pauvreté, répartition des revenus, Ghana

Introduction

There has been increased interest in the relationship between migration and development among governments, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and development agencies in recent years. This interest is informed by the claim by many scholars that remittances from migrants abroad can be an effective instrument for income redistribution, improvement in well-being and economic growth than large bureaucratic development programs or development aid (Jones, 1998; Kapur, 2003; Ratha, 2003; de Haas, 2010). Whereas a plethora of literature abounds on the impact of international migration on development, few studies have focused on how internal migration affects the well-being of migrants and their dependants (Black and Sward, 2009), yet there is evidence to show that internal migration is on the increase in many countries due to inequitable distribution of facilities and development opportunities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2005).

Like many developing countries, Ghana has the problem of uneven development and inequitable distribution of basic social amenities between rural and urban areas. Facilities for higher education, quality healthcare, major sports and entertainment facilities, telecommunication, and the modern economy are all concentrated in the big cities such as Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi (Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995; Anarfi et al, 2003). This dualism and disparities in development were inherited from the colonial administration. For example the British colonial government perceived the southern forest region of the country to have the strongest potential for development and consequently promoted the northern savannah region to be the source of labour for the industrial and the productive agricultural sector located in the Southern regions of the country (see Caldwell, 1969; Nabila, 1985; Anarfi et al, 2003; Awumbila and Ardayio-Schandorf, 2008).

After more than five decades of political independence and the implementation of numerous rural development programmes by the various governments, the problem of uneven development still persists especially between the Southern part of the country

and the three Northern Regions. Undoubtedly, this situation has resulted in seasonal and sometimes permanent migration of young people from the three Northern Regions to the southern sector in search of jobs (see Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Analyses of Ghana's population censuses since 1960 confirm the above assertion. The census results have revealed that the three Northern Regions have largely been net out-migration areas. In the 1960 population census, the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions had a net out migration of -157,055. In 1970, the three regions recorded a net out-migration of -33,719. In 1984 however, while there was a net gain of 10,716 for the Northern region, the Upper East and Upper West regions suffered a net loss of 20,762 and 3,083 persons respectively. By 2000, all the three regions were affected by large volumes of net losses of population, which stood at 139,216 for the Northern Region, 201,532 for the Upper East Region and 191,653 for the Upper West Region (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2005).

The rationale for migrating and the decision making process of these migrants have been thoroughly explored over the years (see Opare, 2003; Tanle, 2003; Anarfi, 2003; Awumbila, 2007; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al, 2009). All these studies have found that most young migrants were the ones who took the decision to migrate. Evidence also points to "*push-factors*" that is moving away from the vagaries of rural living and then "*pull factors*" such as western industry, commerce, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and bright lights of the urban areas as the causes of most rural-urban migration (Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995; Opare, 2003; Tanle, 2003; Anarfi et al, 2003; Awumbila, 2007; Yeboah, 2008 and Kwankye et al, 2007). The building of better roads, improvement in transportation services and the rapid growth in the telecommunication sector have only served to facilitate migration from the rural areas to urban centres.

A review of the many works done on the North-South migration in Ghana reveals that the effects of such movements on the well-being of these migrants and their dependants is yet to be critically examined, especially in the context of the growing interest in using well-being measures to evaluate societal progress. Although the concept of well-being is widely used, there is no commonly agreed definition of just what it is and how it should be measured. Moreover, the terms well-being, quality of life, happiness and life satisfaction are often used interchangeably (see Diener et al, 2003; Diener, 2009; Nowok et al, 2011).

According to the New Economics Foundation (2008), well-being is a dynamic state, in which the individual is able to develop his or her potential, work productively and creatively, build strong and positive relationships with others, and contribute to his or her community. It is enhanced when an individual is able to fulfill his or her personal and social goals and achieve a sense of purpose in society. Naess (1999) sees well-being as the individual's experience, or perception, of how well he or she lives. This is taken as the criterion of quality of life or well-being.

In this paper well-being is used to mean the individual assessment of how well he or she is within the context of incomes, health status, and educational aspirations.

Migration and the Development mantra

As far back as a century ago, Ravenstein, the father of modern migration studies, observed that migration increases as industries and commerce develop and transport improves (see Grigg, 1977). In other words, migration has positive correlation to development. Ravenstein further asserted that migration was mostly from agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce and that the major cause of migration was the economic factor. Many studies on migration therefore focused on exploring the economic causes of migration; the extent to which migration affects the individual migrant's well-being does not appear to have received adequate scholarly attention.

In the 1950s, the dualistic literature on economic development viewed migration of labor out of the rural sector into industrial production as the key to modernization and income growth. The Kuznets curve portrayed an inequality between those fortunate enough to relocate in town versus those left in poverty in the rural areas. It was believed that as urbanization proceeds, average incomes rise and the dispersion of income later narrows because fewer are left in agrarian destitution (Lucas, 2007). These early frameworks presumed the existence of a surplus pool of labor in the villages and the removal of labor to town consequently left agricultural production unaffected. Within these dualistic models, the decision to migrate or not was at the discretion of the individual potential migrant. Moreover, migration was treated as permanent moves; a life changing, discrete choice, usually taken early in life in order to reap the benefits over a longer time horizon (Lucas, 2007).

Perhaps the most popular migration theory is the Lee's Push-pull model (1966). Lee explained migration as a consequence of factors pertaining to places of origin and destinations. For Lee, migration is a decision that an individual or family makes which could be rational or irrational and for every act of migration the following elements are present: origin, intervening obstacles and destination. The decision to migrate is influenced by four factors namely: a) factors pertaining to the area of origin b) factors associated with the area of destination c) intervening obstacles and d) personal factors.

Push-pull model does not appear to give adequate recognition to the diversity and internal stratification of societies. Generally, while general contextual factors that are defined as either push or pull factors are likely to work out in a differentiated way on the individual level, and might subsequently encourage some people to leave and others to stay. Another fundamental oversight of Lee's model is that push and pull factors are generally mirrored in each other. For example, the argument that migrants are lured to big cities or to foreign countries because of the high wage '*pull*', is implicitly or explicitly made in relation to an apparent low wage '*push*' at the sending end.

Stark (1991) was the leading proponent of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) model. There are two main strands of the NELM. The first is to recognize

The Yendi Municipality was chosen because the available evidence shows that over 65 percent of the migrants in Agbogbloshie are from the Dagomba and Konkomba ethnic groups mostly based in the Yendi Municipality (Housing the Masses, 2009).

The paper employed quantitative research design to establish whether there is a relationship between migration and well-being. The logit regression model was used in determining the relationship between migration and socio-economic well-being of migrants. One of the advantages of this approach is that it enables us to know the actual relationships between two or more variables being studied. With this we are able to describe fine differences between people in terms of the characteristics being studied as well as providing a consistent yardstick for arriving at such distinctions (Alan, 2008; Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000). The descriptive method was used by employing percentages and mean values to present the results of the analyses on the variables of interest. This provided a comprehensive understanding of the results in the very descriptive form.

The sample size was selected from the population of Agbogbloshie and Yendi. Within the population of Agbogbloshie, a sample frame consisting of migrants from the three northern regions was determined. The estimated population of the inhabitants from the three Regions in Agbogbloshie was 56,880 representing 77 percent (Housing the Masses, 2009). Using the 56,880 persons as the sample frame and a 95 percent confidence level, the sample size for Agbogbloshie was 398. Using the same method a sample size of 301 was obtained for Yendi with similar age characteristics as those in Agbogbloshie.

The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science version 16.0 and Stata 12.0. The quantitative data analyses employed descriptive statistics using percentages, tables and charts. The binomial test was used to determine if the educational levels of the respondents had improved after migration by comparing the educational levels of the migrants and non-migrants in Yendi. The ordered logit regression model was used to test the effect of migration on status of migrant's socio-economic well-being. An independent t-test was used to compare the means of incomes of migrants and non-migrants in order to test the hypothesis that income of migrants is greater than that of non-migrants;

H0: Mean (diff) = 0 H1: Mean (diff) > 0

The null hypothesis H_0 states that there is no statistical difference between the mean income of migrants and the mean income of non-migrants. That is the study postulates that the incomes of migrants did not improve after migrating. The alternative hypothesis H_1 states that there is a statistical difference between the mean income of migrants and the mean income of non-migrants. Thus the alternative hypothesis holds that income of migrants after migration are greater relative to non-migrants, which means that migration would have improved the well-being of migrants in terms of income compared to non-migrants. The t-test was used because the two means to be compared (income of migrants and income of non-migrants) have independent samples from different populations (migrants and non-migrants). The t-test follows the normal distribution of zero mean difference and a constant variance.

Findings and Discussion

Reasons for migrating to Agbogbloshie

The study found that majority (84percent) of the migrants migrated to seek employment. About 80 percent indicated that they were employed. Only 20 percent of the respondents were unemployed. The results further showed that 50 percent of the migrants migrated in order to have access to quality education. Thirty-nine percent had done so to escape outmoded cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and forced marriages. Only one percent of the migrants migrated because they were transferred to the South by their employers. For about 50 percent of them, other reasons for migrating were to look for resources to expand or start up business. The three common jobs that the migrants were employed to do were security guards in private companies, head-porterage popularly known in Ghana as *kayayei*, dealing in scrap metals, cleaning and petty trading. All the head porters asserted that their current jobs were risky compared to their jobs back home. The remaining 32 respondents (8 percent) indicated that there was no much risk at their places of work. They indicated that the carrying of heavy loads was most risky for them. Other risks they mentioned were being knocked down by vehicles, frequent fire gutting their belongings and the exposure to miscreants such as thieves and rapists. Also, most of the migrants complained about poor accommodation and poor sanitation as there were no gutters and other drainage systems in the area. Most of the migrants were of the opinion that their previous accommodation in Yendi was far better than what they had in Agbogbloshie.

These findings are consistent with the claims by most theories on migration. Although several factors determine why people migrate, the determinants of migration are usually categorized into 'push' and 'pull' factors (see Lee, 1966; Mabogunje 1970, Lewis, 1982; Todaro, 1997). Outmoded cultural practices, lack of jobs and education facilities in Yendi can be termed as the *push* factors. These are factors within a particular geographical location that turn to serve as a repelling force to drive people away to leave that location. The opposite is true with factors in certain geographic regions that tend to attract migrants; people may be pushed off by poverty in rural areas to relocate to towns permanently or temporally. On the other hand, pull factors in cities such as Accra and Kumasi are the better employment opportunities or better facilities that encourage people to move to these urban centres.

These findings further support the view that migration from the three Northern Regions to the Southern part is a response to imbalances in development (Awumbila, 2007; Yeboah, 2008). As the survey results showed over 80 percent of the sampled migrants in Agbogbloshie moved in response to seek job opportunities in Accra. This

goes to validate Harris and Todaro (1970)'s model of migration which sees migration as a response to wages differentials between two geographical areas. The findings are also consistent with Ravenstein law of migration that economic factors are the major causes of migration (see Grigg, 1977). What this points to is that development policy needs to channel investment to deprived regions in the country.

Effects of education on migration

The binomial test indicates that statistically there was no significant difference in the proportion of the migrants that had formal education and the proportion of the non-migrants without formal education. The results are presented in table 1.

Table 1: The binomial test of educational level proportions

Level of Education	Proportion with Level of Education		P-Values	
	Migrants (S)	Non-migrants (N)	(H0: S > N)	(H1: S < N)
None	0.2836	0.3154	0.905	0.116
Primary	0.1287	0.0738	0.000	0.999
JHS	0.2368	0.2315	0.428	0.621
SHS	0.3099	0.2383	0.001	0.998
Tertiary	0.0409	0.4564	1.000	0.000

Source: Authors' field survey, May, 2014.

As shown in table 1, 28 percent of the migrants had no formal education while 31 percent of the non-migrants had no formal education. A similar result was found for the proportion of the migrants who had Junior High School level education. There was no statistical evidence to support the assertion that more of the migrants had JHS education compared to the non-migrants.

In the case of Senior High School, 31 percent of the migrants had Senior High School level education compared to about 24 percent of the non-migrants. The binomial test result showed that a greater proportion of the migrants had SHS level education compared to the non-migrants. The situation is similar in the case of Primary education. More of the migrants had primary level education compared to the non-migrants. The situation was the reverse in the case of tertiary level education. Most of the non-migrants had tertiary level education compared to the migrants. Thus the alternative hypothesis that more of the migrants had higher education compared to the non-migrants was rejected. Overall, the results showed that a larger proportion of the migrants had primary

and secondary level education compared to the non-migrants but a greater proportion of the non-migrants had higher-level education compared to the migrants.

The results suggest that migrating to Agboglobshie is selective. People with tertiary level education in the three Northern Regions are not likely to migrate to Agboglobshie. Persons with tertiary education may migrate to other parts in Southern Ghana that may offer jobs for their qualifications and not Agboglobshie which is considered a slum. It has been argued that education is a major factor that induces rural-urban migration. For instance, Oberai (1978) found a strong correlation between the propensity to migrate and one's level of education and this has been observed in many developing countries. On the contrary, Adepoju (1995) found an increase in migration of illiterate persons from the rural areas to urban informal sectors.

Effects of migration on education

Our findings in Agboglobshie revealed that 77 percent of the respondents had improvement in access to education, 16 percent of the respondents indicated that their access to education had rather worsened whilst the remaining 7 percent claimed their access to education remained the same implying that migrating to Agboglobshie had no impact on their education. For those who claimed migration had improved their access to education, their responses revealed that they schooled during the day and worked in the night. This was peculiar to those working as security guards and cleaners. In any case migration had a positive effect on migrants' education since it opened the economic doors to save and continue schooling in the South.

There is evidence that remittances have played important role in contributing to the education of migrants' children in the Philippines, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nepal and Pakistan (see Yang, 2004; Edwards and Ureta, 2003; Adams, 2006; Thieme and Wyss, 2005; Mansuri, 2007). In spite of the seemingly positive correlation between education and migration, there are claims that migration can also create disincentives for education. For example, Mexican household surveys indicate that international migration has had a negative effect on the level of education of the children of international migrants (McKenzie and Rapoport 2007). It has been argued that Mexican migrants' educational qualifications have little impact on the type of jobs most migrants can acquire in the United States of America, and this may influence their ideas about whether educational investments are worthwhile, particularly if their children are also planning to migrate.

Effects of migration on the income of migrants

The study found that majority (77 percent) of the migrants claimed that their income levels had improved after migrating to Agboglobshie, 20 percent of the migrants

indicated that their income level had remained the same with only 3 percent having a reduction in their incomes. The descriptive statistics showed that on the average a migrant made about GH¢335 (US\$ 113) a month while a non-migrant from the Yendi Municipality on the average made about GH¢195 (US\$66) a month (see table 2). The independent t-test results revealed that the average income for the migrants was statistically different from the average incomes of the non-migrants with a difference of about GH¢140 (US\$48). Thus the migrants made almost twice the amount made by the non-migrants in a month. This finding agrees with the main reason for migrating which was to get better paying jobs and improve living conditions. That is the income difference was instrumental in the decision of the migrants to migrate.

Table 2: The Independent t-test results for income in GH¢

Income	Mean	Std. Error	Std. Deviation
Non-migrant	195.143	11.6242	181.577
Migrant	335.049	11.9792	187.121
Null Hypothesis	Mean (diff) = 0	Mean (diff) = 0	Mean (diff) = 0
Alternative Hypo.	Mean (diff) < 0	Mean (diff) ≠ 0	Mean (diff) > 0
P-value	0.0000	0.0000	1.0000

Note: Mean (diff) = (income of non-migrants – income of migrants)

Source: Authors' field survey, May, 2014.

Migration and remittances

The study found that 65 percent of the working migrants sent remittances to their families back home (see table 3). The remittances ranged between GH¢100 (US\$ 34) and GH¢399 (US\$102 - US\$136). Majority (48 percent) of these migrants sent their remittances *as and when the need arises*. About 35 percent sent theirs every month, 5 percent sent their remittances weekly and 10 percent did it once year.

Table 3: How often remittances are sent

How often Remittances were sent	Frequency	Percentage (%)
As and when the need arise	122	48.40
Monthly	90	35.62
Weekly	13	5.02
Yearly	28	10.96
Total	254	100

Source: Authors' field survey, May, 2014.

Our findings with regards to the motives of remittances to areas of origin are based on these three models and the findings validate these theories. The study found that majority of the migrants remit on the basis of pure self-interest (65 percent) while the remain 35 percent sent money to take care of relatives and to pay debts which falls in the category of pure altruism and tempered altruism. For 64 percent of the respondents, they had been able to achieve their aim of migrating to Agbogbloshie. The indicated that they have been able to purchase personal items (43 percent), repaid debts (24 percent), saved some money (43 percent), finance children's education (64 percent) and sent money back home to relatives (87 percent). For most of these migrants, migration had given them the exposure to other means of livelihood apart from the traditional occupation of peasant farming which most of them were previously engaged in.

Many studies on the determinants of remittances have shown that three main reasons account for remittances: pure altruism or selflessness, pure self-interest and tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest. Although it can be difficult to establish a difference between altruism and pure self-interest, altruism is the principle or practice of concern for others. The theory of altruism posits that the migrant derives a positive utility from the well-being of the family left behind (see Becker 1974; Lucas and Stark, 1985; Stark, 1991; 1995). Pure self-interest generates three motives for migrants to send remittances home. The first arises from the belief that if the migrant takes care of the family, a larger portion of the family wealth would be bequeathed to her in later years. The second motive is to build up assets at home such as land, house and livestock. The third motive may arise from intent to return home at a later stage which would require investment in fixed assets, in a business or in community projects if the migrant has political aspirations. Tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest is a contractual arrangement between the migrant and the household left behind for example co-insurance, exchange-motives, loan repayment. Such contractual arrangements are based on investment and risk. In the case of investment the family bears the cost of educating the migrant worker who is expected to repay the investment in the form of remittances (see Lucas and Stark, 1985; Hagen-Zanker and Siegel, 2007).

Conclusion

This paper sets out to assess the effects of migration on the socio-economic well-being of migrants in Agbogbloshie. The paper has shown that slums can offer some hope to the poor migrant. We have shown evidence that migration has had enormous impact on migrants' incomes thereby improving their well-being. The descriptive statistics showed that on average a migrant made about 335 Ghana cedis a month while a non-migrant on average made about 195 Ghana cedis a month. The statistical test indicated that the average income for the migrants was statistically different from the average income of the non-migrants. In other words, on average the monthly income of a migrant

outweighs the monthly income of the non-migrant by about 140 Ghana cedis. Thus, the migrants on an average made almost twice the amount made by the non-migrants in a month. Even though the cost of living in Accra is higher compared to that of the three Northern Regions, the fact that migrants were able to remit shows that they were better off in terms of incomes than their counterparts in Yendi. Based on all these, it can be concluded that migration from the three northern regions to Agboghloshie has welfare gains not only in income but also in education and employment which are key ingredients of well-being measures.

The major cause of migration from the three Northern regions to the southern part of the country is economic. This gives insight in terms of what development policy must focus on in the investment decisions that are made. The concentration of livelihood opportunities in few urban centres without corresponding investments in deprived regions of the country needs policy attention.

Policy Recommendations

Commitment to rural development initiatives

The government needs to intensify the implementation of pro-poor policies and development initiatives that seek to achieve equitable distribution of investments in the country. The focus must be on the provision of basic services in rural areas. These include electricity, potable water, well-functioning rural clinics and recreation facilities. Although the availability of these facilities might not completely halt rural-urban migration, they can contribute to reducing these flows. The idea is not to discourage internal migration but to improve upon the living conditions of the entire country.

Promote agricultural development

There is the need for integrated rural development strategy to increase agricultural production and to make the agricultural sector more productive and attractive. This can be done by increasing rural labour productivity through improving farm technology, increasing access to farm inputs such as fertilizers, high yielding variety of seeds, insecticides and adequate agricultural extension services. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and District Assemblies must collaborate to improve access to financial credit and market facilities in rural areas. The government should task research institutions such as the Grains Development Board and Savannah Agricultural Research Institute to collaborate and intensify the development of irrigative technologies to support all-year-round agriculture

Improving security and general infrastructure in Agboghloshie

The government must improve upon the security situation through equipping the police to intensify their visibility in the area. The drainage system, water and sanitation and the drainage system need to be improved to reduce the risk of an outbreak of epidemic such as cholera and other sanitation and water related health risks.

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