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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

**GOALS OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT YOUTH IN**

**ACCRA**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

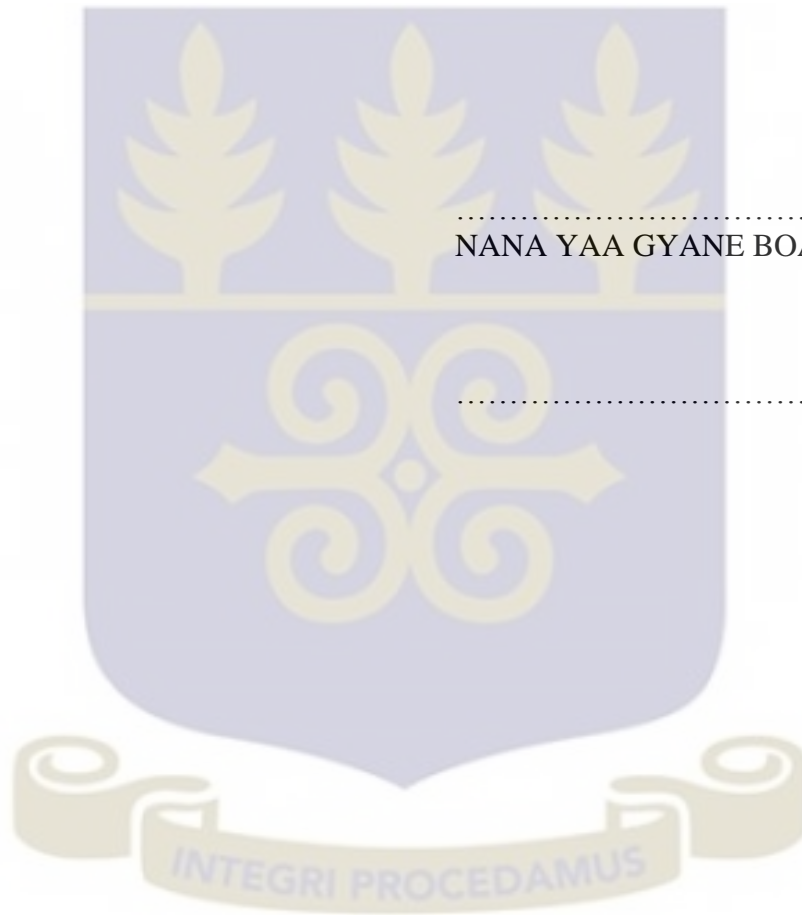
I hereby declare that, except for the duly acknowledged citations of references and ideas, this is the result of my own research and it has neither in part nor in whole been presented for another degree.

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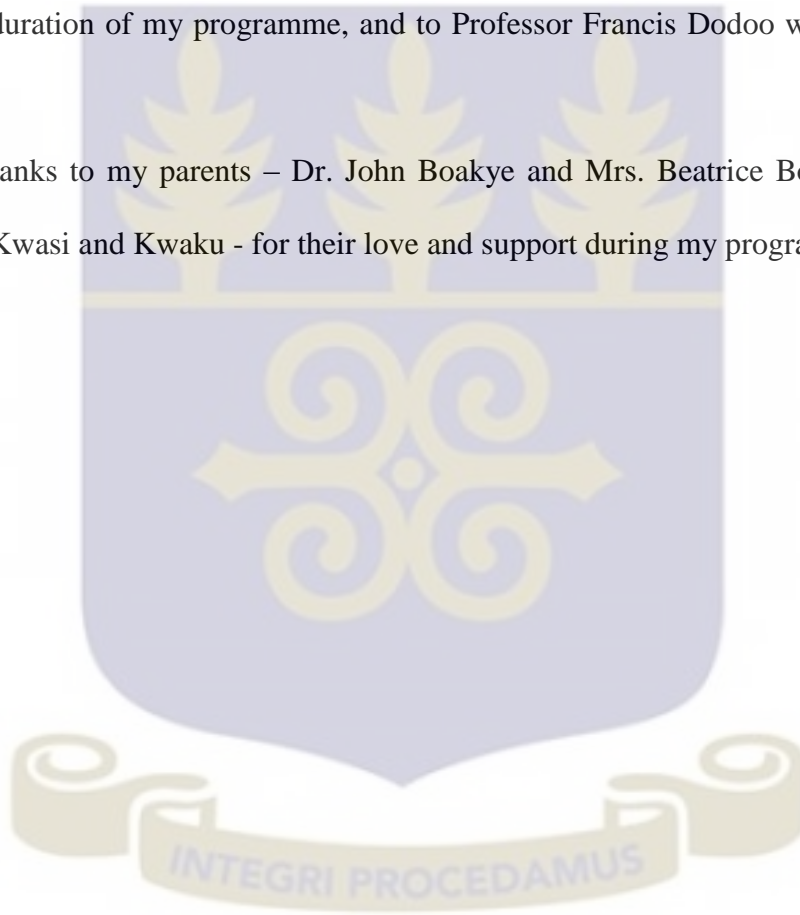


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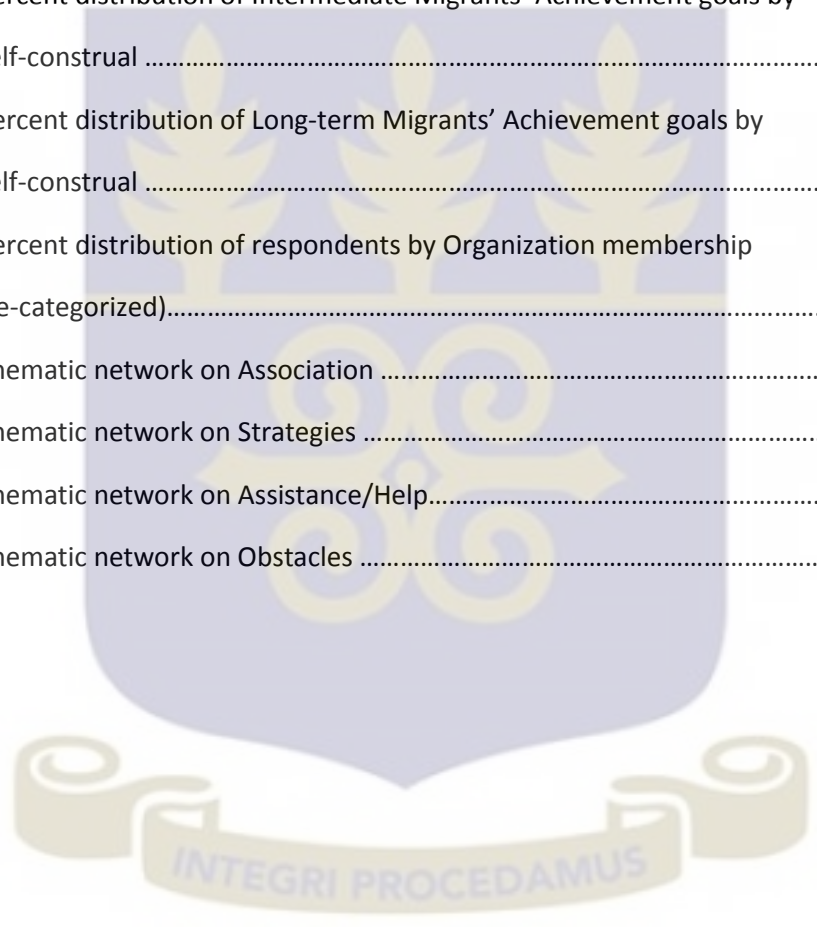


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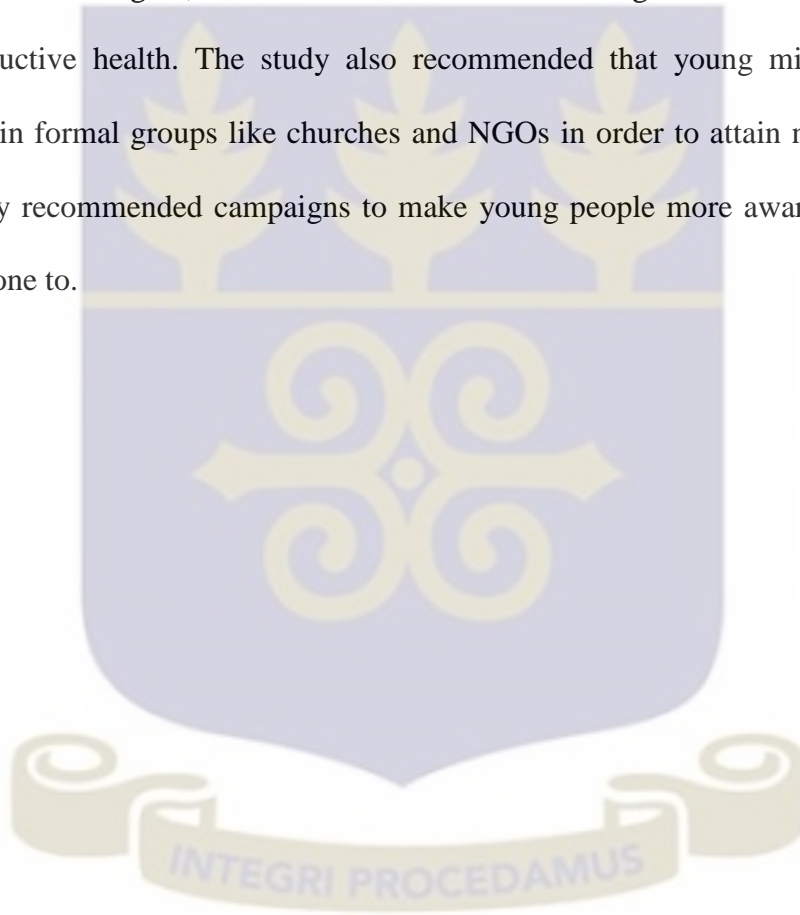
## Abstract

Many young people migrate from rural areas to urban areas with the view of attaining certain goals in order to improve their lives. The theory of migrant selectivity suggests that migrants are more ambitious and more driven than similar individuals in their places of origin, and also similar individuals in their places of destination. Based on this theory, this study sought to compare the goals, obstacles and strategies of migrants to those of non-migrants. The study also compares the goals, strategies and obstacles of migrants with different durations of stay in their communities of residence. The results of this study spelt out the need to create group-specific programmes and interventions when it comes to issues of youth poverty and migration.

Using both qualitative and quantitative data, the study aimed to explore the goals migrants and non-migrants aspire to achieve, and how the strategies and obstacles towards the attainment of these goals differ. The study was done among 326 migrants and non-migrants between the ages of 15 to 24 years in James Town, Ussher Town and Agbogbloshie. It also included focus group discussions with 56 participants. The goals of the young people included their Relation/Intimacy goals, Generativity/Transcenditivity goals, School/Work Achievement goals and Other Achievement goals.

Female respondents were more focused on relations goals and younger female non-migrants, on 'avoidance' relations goals. Migrants who had been in the community for a period of 2-5 years are more streetwise and seek independence more. The study also found that educational goals were not popular among female migrants. Friendship groups, formed among the males, were used to support themselves economically. Unlike non-migrants, migrants seemed to work for the things they needed instead of 'getting assistance'. Also, while non-migrants joined organized groups for assistance, migrants helped others for favours.

The study recommended reforms to extend free education and quality education to higher levels, and to generate jobs for young people in rural areas. It also recommended that the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection increase awareness on reproductive health risks, among migrants. The study also recommended efforts to increase young women's interest in education. Initiatives like LESDEP should be made more available, and perhaps should target people that need it more. Again, there should be more focus on migrant women when it comes to issues of reproductive health. The study also recommended that young migrants should be encouraged to join formal groups like churches and NGOs in order to attain needed assistance. Finally, the study recommended campaigns to make young people more aware of dangers that they are more prone to.



## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Background

Studies have shown that the reasons why young people migrate often include saving money and sending remittances back home (Kwankye et al, 2007), health, school, helping a relative, neglect (Hashim 2006), the desire to earn incomes in destination areas so as to return home to support family (Anarfi & Kwankye 2005), the desire to be independent and earn their own money (Anyidoho & Ainsworth, 2009), among others. However, based on the fact that many of these young people are at the stage of transcending into adulthood, it is important to go beyond the reasons for migration to look at how young migrants, at this stage of transition into adulthood, are carving out their lives by the goals they are striving to attain. The theory of migrant selectivity posits that migrants are in themselves, a select group of individuals that are more able, ambitious, more aggressive and entrepreneurial compared to similar individuals at the places they migrate from and the places they migrate to (Chiswick, 1999; Dodoo, 1999). Based on the theory of migrant selectivity, this study focuses of internal migration of young people, specifically to Accra, and examines how these goals differ from those of non-migrants.

In Ghana, the dichotomous spatial development between the northern part of the country and the south has often resulted in the south being perceived as a place of greener pastures (Kwankye, 2012; Kwankye 2011; Kwankye et al, 2007). Migration in Ghana was previously dominated by male adults from the northern parts of Ghana to the south for employment in the mining sector and agricultural industry (Osei-Twum and Wasan, 2012; Adepju, 2004; Oberhauser and Yeboah, 2011). According to Awumbila (2014), Awumbila et al. (2011) and Kwankye and Anarfi (2012), Ghana's economic slump of the 1970s and 1980s led to the use of migration as a basic survival strategy by families, to enable them cope

with difficult economic conditions. Over time, the trend has changed into one dominated mainly by children and youth between the ages of 10 and 24 years (Osei-Twum & Wasan, 2012) and by female adolescents, moving independently of their family and friends (Awumbila, 2007). This changing trend has been attributed partly to females gaining social and economic independence (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008), but more importantly to high levels of poverty experienced by young people and their families.

According to Patel et al (2008), children and adolescents in low and middle income countries (LAMIC) constitute 35-50 percent of the population. It is estimated that, worldwide, about 218 million children are engaged in child labour (Tetteh 2011). Furthermore, according to the 2010 Ghana Population and Housing Census report, about 48.9% of Ghana's population is below age 20. In August 2000, Ghana's Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare reported that there are 18,000 working children in Accra alone (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). The Ghana Child Labour Survey conducted in 2001 by the Ghana Statistical Service showed that about 2.5 million children in Ghana, representing two in every five children aged 5-17 years, were engaged in economic activity. In addition, the "Census on street children in the Greater Accra Region" is a report carried out by Ghana's Department of Social Welfare, Ricerca e Cooperazione which is an Italian non-governmental organization (NGO), and Catholic Action for Street Children and Street Girls Aid, which are local NGOs in Ghana. The report showed that, in 2011, there were a total of 61,492 street children in Greater Accra Region. It is reported that economically poor households often use migration as a coping strategy (Ansell, 2000; Riisøen, et al, 2004; Yaqub, 2007). Awumbila et al (2014) also explain that remittances from migrants help reduce poverty within migrant-sending households.

In spite of the fact that migration can be a means of realising their dreams, it also has its risks. However, with increased poverty and increased population, many migrants believe

that the advantages of migration outweigh its risks and challenges. In most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, almost 60 percent of the populations are below age 25 (United Nations, 2011), with most of them growing up in environments characterised by rapid urbanization, weak economies, limited opportunities, high unemployment rates and extreme poverty (Kabiru 2010). Young people are, therefore, forced to migrate to cities in order to obtain their needs.

Some of the goals young people want to achieve reflect the normative developmental tasks (such as establishing relationships, becoming emotionally independent from parents, preparing for a career, and do on) that are relevant to the period of adolescence (Nurmi 1991; Nurmi 1993). Individuals interpret these tasks with respect to a number of factors. They may interpret them according to their own interests (example, providing a better life for their families, careers), or their resources (example, savings and familial support). They may even interpret them according to their beliefs (example their ability to accomplish certain tasks), generating an individualized set of goals and plans for their achievement (Cantor & Sanderson, 1998; Massey et al, 2009; Nurmi, 1991 and 1993; Zirkel & Cantor, 1990). That is to say that based on their interests, resources, beliefs, among others, individuals select which of these developmental tasks to set as a goal and how to achieve them.

Goals are important for self-betterment during adolescence. This is because, defining what their goals are provides a yardstick or standard to help adolescents weigh the degree to which different choices will help or hinder their chances of achieving desired goals. As a motivational force, they influence the degree to which effort is expended on tasks that make achievement of aspirations and goals possible (Camarena, 1998). Striving for personal goals assigns meaning, structure, and direction to an individual's life (Conrad et al, 2010; Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003). There is also evidence that personal involvement in the pursuit of important goals is positively related to one's subjective well-being and mental health (Emmons &

Kaiser, 1996; Gollwitzer & Moskowitz, 1996). Emmons argues that goals are essential components of a person's experience of his or her life as meaningful (Emmons, 2003). While Gabrielsen et al (2012) point out that many studies have used the terms life goals and meaning interchangeably, studies have found that the absence of engagement, purpose and meaning can lead to hopelessness (Snyder, Rand, & Sigmon, 2002), depression (Seligman et al, 2006) and a reduced ability to take command of one's own life in difficult and threatening situations (Antonovsky, 1987; Gabrielsen, Ulleberg, & Watten, 2012). Also, life choices and outcomes are often affected by the goals young people have (Anyidoho et al, 2012).

According to Pratsinakis (2005), migration is an instrumental behaviour used as a strategy towards the realization of aspirations. When young people migrate, regardless of their apriori motives for moving, they typically also develop goals after migration based on their backgrounds, experiences, environments, among many other factors. Coupled with the fact that adolescence and young adulthood are periods for building towards one's adult life, these characteristics may together be reflected in the things they want to attain, and the strategies by which they attain them.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Due to problems faced by independent adolescent migrants, and the dangers they are often faced with, government and policy makers often discourage independent migration of adolescents into urban areas. Measures put in place to deal with the issue of independent adolescent migration have usually involved efforts to send young migrants back to their places of origin. As indicated by Whitehead and Sward (2008), efforts to simply prevent children's mobility do little to eliminate the root causes of child migration, and risk further disadvantaging children from poor areas who migrate by choice.

In Ghana, scholarly studies on migration have usually focused on the factors that cause individuals to migrate (pull or push factors), difficulties faced by young migrants and their coping strategies. There have also been studies on return migration, and on migration experiences of young migrants (Kwankye et al, 2009). However, the studies done on young migrants have not explored the goals (in general) of young migrants in their transition into adulthood, and how migrants, in their often documented difficult circumstances, differ from non-migrants with respect to the goals that they set for themselves. There is also limited knowledge on how young migrants differ from non-migrants in the obstacles they face in their efforts towards the attainment of their goals, and how these obstacles affect how attainable their goals are.

Based on the desire to better their lives and achieve the statuses they want, adolescents often take on difficult and challenging livelihoods or developmental tasks like saving, becoming independent of parents, taking on certain jobs, among others (Nurmi, 1991, 1993). For many adolescents in low income countries, where there are vast disparities of wealth and social/economic activities, this involves migrating to urban areas in order to achieve these goals. In considering the aspirations of young people, their goals may vary, and so may the extent of resources available to them for the achievement of those goals. These may then translate into different efforts, strategies and behaviours that may go into seeing these goals achieved. So, for instance, while non-migrant adolescents may have the advantage of growing up within a familiar environment, young migrants may have to adjust to a new environment, and under difficult conditions. However, they may for instance, instead, have the advantage of being built into a network of more experienced migrants who were equally pushed by the desire to better their lives. Individuals vary in some sense, and interventions that are made without recognition of the different challenges faced by different groups may favour some groups but not others.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study attempted to provide answers for the following questions:

- i. What do young migrants and non-migrants aspire to achieve, and how do these differ by duration of stay in current communities?
- ii. What is the relationship between the interacting systems that influence an individual's environment, and individual goals?
- iii. How do the strategies for the attainment of goals and the obstacles towards the achievement of goals differ between migrants and non-migrants?

### **1.4 Objectives**

The general objective of the study was to examine how differences in goal between young migrants and non-migrants reflect the differences in goal strategies and obstacles among migrants and non-migrants.

The specific objectives were to:

- i. describe the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants and non-migrants.
- ii. describe the relationship between migration status and goals.
- iii. examine strategies used in the attainment of goals, and the challenges in trying to attain them.

### **1.5 Rationale**

Independent child migration is the most common form of migration among adolescents (Anyidoho and Ainsworth, 2009). Having left the environments that they are used to, independent adolescent migrants may be relatively more disadvantaged than their non-migrant counterparts at the destination area. As a select group of individuals, migrants may have different goals and strategies for achieving their goals. In addressing the goals of

individuals in their transition into adulthood, it is important, not only to examine the targets individuals set for themselves, but also how individuals achieve these targets, based on their resources. For instance, studies by Salmela-Aro et al (2007) showed that the more family-related goals young people had, the earlier they married, started to cohabit and had children. That is to say that there is the need to understand what young people themselves want, and empower them to achieve it. Even though independent adolescent migration may be a high risk strategy, there might be positive outcomes and lessons for more appropriate and sustainable interventions.

Without understanding how these different factors influence individuals differently, interventions may benefit very few individuals. Knowing what young people want to attain will help government prioritize interventions for bettering the lives of young people more efficiently. It will also better assist different groups of young people in the areas that they need assistance, for instance in the allocation of particular training facilities.

Again, by exploring strategies of migrants and non-migrants in the attainment of their goals, the study will help identify reasons accounting for successes or failures among different groups of young people in the attainment of their goals and this will better inform programmes aimed at helping different young individuals to better strategize towards their attainments. It will provide rich information to help migrants to restructure and prioritize their goals.

A population policy is currently being drafted. Currently, apart from the basic fundamental human rights embedded in Ghana's 1992 Constitution, there are basically no protective policies specifically for migrants in the country per se. This study focuses mainly on a critical segment of the population that needs the support of families, communities and the nation as a whole to be able to develop their talents. Being a migrant at a young age increases one's vulnerability to multiple social vices because of the challenges some migrants

go through at the place of destination. A comprehensive policy on migration that integrates the needs of all the segments of the population is, therefore, necessary. This area is hardly explored and will, therefore, contribute new knowledge to the existing literature on migration.

## **1.6 Operational definition of concepts**

Migration involves movement from one place to another across the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. Non-migrants are conceptualized as individuals who have lived in the study area since birth. Awumbila et al. (2014) defined a migrant as someone who has moved and settled in an area for at least six months. The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) defines a migrant as a person who has moved and stayed at his/her current place of residence for at least a year (GSS, 2008). For the purpose of this study, migrants are defined as those individuals that are not born in the communities of birth but moved there sometime after birth. Migrants are further divided into those that had lived in their destination area for a period of less than two years (recent migrants), two to five years (intermediate migrant), and above five years (long-term migrants). This was to help explore the relationship between migration duration and goals/goal types. This benchmark was chosen based on studies by South et al (2005) and Greif and Doodoo (2011). In Grief and Doodoo (2011), a benchmark of 1.5 years was chosen because it approximated the median duration of stay of respondents, and also because it was similar to benchmarks set in other studies including that by South et al (2005). This study chose two years because it was similar to benchmarks of the two studies mentioned above, and five years because it approximated the median duration of stay in their communities.

In thinking and deciding where they want to see themselves in future, individuals can think of themselves in terms of what they hope to achieve (for example, getting a good job or

a higher level of education). They may also think of themselves in terms of circumstances they intend to maintain (for instance, being in a good relationship) or circumstances they wish to keep from happening (for instance, getting pregnant, not being able to save). Therefore, in this study, as in Emmons et al (1996), goals have been conceptualized as desired states that people seek to obtain, maintain or avoid.

Leiv et al (2012), in their development of a scale for measuring life goals, defined goal attainability as the extent to which their goals were attainable to them. Goal strategies are the actions or steps respondents are planning to take or are taking to achieve the goals they have set for themselves. The obstacles are defined as things, people or circumstances hindering respondents from attaining these goals.

This study also involved comparing two age groups, and so the term ‘younger migrants’ is used to describe those within the 15-19 age group, and ‘older migrant’ is used to describe those within the ‘20-24’ age group.

The study also makes a distinction between ‘migrant groups’ and ‘migration groups’.

‘Migrant groups’ was used to refer to the three groups of migrants. ‘Migration groups’ was used to refer to all four groups, thus the non-migrants and the three categorized groups of migrants.

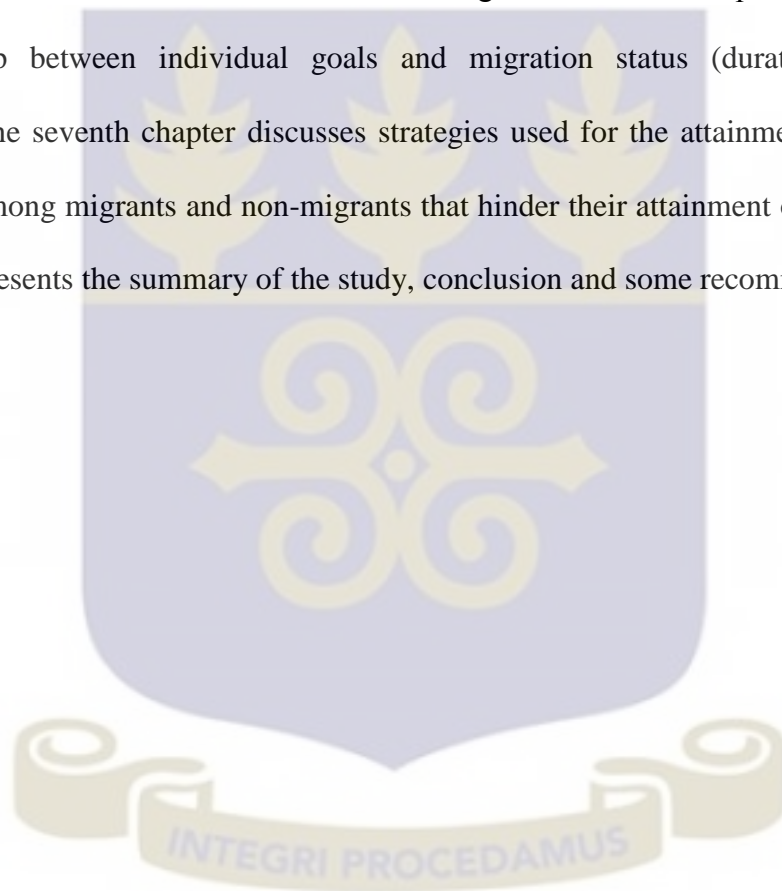
Finally, ‘independents’ was used to represent respondents with independent self-construals, and ‘interdependents’ was used to describe respondents with interdependent self-construal.

## **1.7 Organization of study**

This study is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives and rationale for the study. The second chapter includes the literature review and the conceptual framework of the study. The third chapter deals with the methodology of the study, giving the description of the data,

the study area and methods of data analysis. It also provides a description of the scales that were used for the study. In the fourth chapter, the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, such as their age, sex, highest level of education attained, among others are presented.

Chapters five, six and seven are the main chapters of data analysis. The fifth chapter discusses goal-setting among young people, exploring goal types and showing the relationship between individuals' characteristics and goals. The sixth chapter further explores the relationship between individual goals and migration status (duration of stay in community). The seventh chapter discusses strategies used for the attainment of goals, and the obstacles among migrants and non-migrants that hinder their attainment of goals. Finally, chapter eight presents the summary of the study, conclusion and some recommendations.



## CHAPTER 2

### Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

#### 2.1 Introduction

This study compares the goals of migrants and non-migrants, arguing that migrants, based on their determination to move to attain something, will have goals and/or strategies and obstacles that are different from those of non-migrants. The study is, therefore, based on the theory of migrant selectivity.

Proponents of the theory of migrant selectivity argue that migrants are a 'select' group of individuals relatively more able, ambitious, aggressive, entrepreneurial, and so on, than similar individuals in their places of origin or destination. Cobb-Clark explains that individuals weigh the costs and benefits of migration in making migration decisions. These decisions have implications for the general characteristics and economic performance of those individuals who choose to migrate (Cobb-Clark, 1993).

Merged with the perceived benefits of migration, migrant selectivity among young people may mean that young migrants are different from young non-migrants in different ways, perhaps in their goals and in the ways they plan to attain them. Within Ghana, several push factors account for the migration of young people into urban areas. According to Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) and Hashim (2007), these include deteriorating environmental conditions, fewer incentives for farming and persistent underdevelopment. Kwankye (2012) has found that child migration from north to south is often influenced by the perceived wealth of return migrant peers. Hashim (2006) also adds that these may include neglect, health-related reasons, helping a relative, education-related reasons and job-related reasons. In Awumbila and Ardafio-Schandorf's (2008) study of migration of female porters, reasons for migration included lack of employment opportunities, the need to purchase household items for preparation towards marriage and cultural factors. The most important

reason seems to be that in Ghana, migration is a widespread coping/livelihood diversification strategy for economically poor households. By diversifying their livelihood options, they reduce their risks and vulnerability (Ansell, 2000; Punch, 2009; Yaqub, 2007). Among young people, migration often becomes about independence and money (Kwankye et al. 2009). Migration often involves people of all ages moving into urban cities in search of better livelihoods.

## **2.2 Migration**

In the wake of deteriorating economic conditions, many Africans see migration as a last hope for improving their living standards (Adepoju, 2006). Whether internal or international, migration is often beneficial to individuals that believe their places of origin do not allow them to attain their socio-economic opportunities.

According to the UN, the estimated number of international migrants in the world rose from 100 million in 1980 to 200 million in 2005 and could double again over the next 25 years (UN, 2006a). Recognising that migration is inevitable and often necessary as a means of survival, many studies and conferences have discussed various issues related to migration. For instance, the 2006 Euro-African Conference on Migration and Development discussed the issues of illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings, re-admission of illegal immigrants and improvement of legal immigration channels, and implementation of an active policy aimed at integration and fighting exclusion, xenophobia and racism in the destination areas. Another concern in relation to migration is the brain drain, which Newland (2007) attributes to policies of the North.

In spite of these migration challenges, there is an increased interest in issues of migration, partly due to its relation to development. For instance, migrants' remittances to developing countries increased from \$96 billion in 2001 to \$206 billion in 2006 (Adepoju,

2008). As explained by Adepoju (2008), there is now a lot of attention on benefits of migration for both sending and receiving countries. Much more attention is now being focused on finding ways of optimizing the benefits and minimizing the adverse effects of migration. The Global Commission on International Migration Report emphasized that well managed migration could result in a win-win scenario for migrants, the countries of origin and destination, balancing the interests and needs of countries involved as well as the aspirations of the migrants (Crisp & Koser, 2005).

International migration often attracts more attention, perhaps due to the fact that it involves a broader spectrum of migration such as its relation with policies, countries, governments, and so on. Internal migration, however, needs as much attention as international migration. It was estimated for instance in 2005, that only about three per cent of the world's population are migrants living outside their country of birth (Crisp & Koser, 2005; Ratha et al, 2007). This shows that internal migration is much more prevalent than international migration and, therefore, requires much more attention than it is usually given.

Migration in Ghana is often a result of imbalances in spacial development existing between areas of origin and destination (Kwankye et al., 2007). Rural-urban migrations are often the effects of a 'neglected' rural sector that fuels unemployment in the rural sector, leading to an increase in urban population through migration, and consequently, unemployment in urban areas. Migration from rural areas to large cities has placed a huge demand on urban economies, which are too weak to absorb large numbers of new workers, resulting in further poverty and unemployment.

A study exploring the migration of Dagara women (often with their husbands) from north-western Ghana to the southern part of the country showed that the women often migrate to explore farming opportunities (Lobnibe, 2008). Also, a report by the Development Research Centre on Migration of independent child migrants in Burkina Faso, Ghana,

Bangladesh and India, giving accounts of children indicated that migration is often a self-betterment strategy for poor children in developing countries. According to the report, these children view migration as a way of taking more responsibility for their own material needs, gaining independence or becoming more eligible for marriage (Whitehead & Sward, 2008).

### **2.3 Migration Positives and Negatives**

Studies have shown that in Ghana and many parts of Africa, male out-migration often leads to the creation of female-headed households (Murray 1981), and in small poor communities where men control income-generating resources, this can lead to increased poverty in some households. In a study of Northern Ghanaian Migrant women, Lobnibe (2008) found that women who accompany their migrating husbands often lack economic and social support of their wider family members, and since access to land is dependent on the men, the women have limited chances of generating their own incomes.

Furthermore, urbanization poses a threat to the health of migrants through inadequate accommodation, lack of waste removal, poor sanitation and absence of running water (Osei-Twum and Wasan, 2012). In Ghana, over 50 percent of the population lived in urban areas as at 2010 (GSS 2012), and the slum population also increased from 4.1 million in 2001 to 5.5 million in 2008 (Awumbila et al, 2014).

When it comes to adolescents and young people, the risks involved in migration as explained by Kwankye et al (2007), further include having no proper places to sleep at night, poor payment for their services, perceptions about their work being too difficult, low incomes and poor healthcare. Others include disrespectful treatment from customers, for females, harassment from city guards, security men (night watchmen) and male colleagues, and increased population of migrant workers (reducing job availability) among others (Kwankye et al 2007). As explained by Tetteh (2011), the risks of young migrants could also involve

abuse of certain rights including the right to express their own views, to be protected from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment among others. Kwankye (2011) further explains that parental gains for having migrant children may be eroded due to the child migrants' social economic and reproductive health risks. Also, rapid urbanization and the lack of parental care further increase risks that young migrants face.

Again, the health and wellbeing of migrant children is often negatively impacted (Osei-Twum and Wasan, 2012). Kwankye et al (2007), in a study on coping strategies of migrants, identified risks such as reproductive health-related risks (example influence, abuse), city risks (example low incomes, disrespectful treatment), work-related risks (example taxes, aches and pains) and shelter-related risks (poor sleeping places, sexual harassment). Migrants' diminished social networks also increase their tendencies towards risky behaviour (South and Haynie 2005).

Whitehead et al (2007) also explain that migrating children and their families are frequently the subjects of strong moral evaluation. These children are viewed very negatively. This negative perception may be a result of stories of negative moral behaviour associated with cities, coupled with the fact that some young women often return to their places of origin pregnant or with children. According to Whitehead et al (2007), in Ghana, child migration is often associated with child trafficking and child slavery, and is often accompanied by accusations of parents being irresponsible. Therefore, when child migration fails or does not yield in improvement in the lives of the household, in some communities, this negative perception can lead to stigmatization of the migrants and their families.

However, in spite of negative experiences of some child migrants, migration has the advantage of increasing the young migrant's autonomy, enhancing their self-esteem and helping them to learn useful skills (Punch, 2009). Migration has been found to be a learning experience and a 'rite of passage' where children are presented with opportunities for

employment, vocational training and education (Osei-Twum and Wasan, 2012) and where they become more socially and economically independent, build a social network, meet new people, see new places and experience new things (Castle & Diarra, 2003). Castle and Diarra (2003) further argue that migration also allows young people to earn a higher income than they otherwise would have in their home communities, send remittances home, contribute to their family and learn new skills. Migration also has the advantage of offering employment and training opportunities for young migrants (Tetteh, 2011), and offers young people the freedom to pursue their interests, spending compensation for their labour without hindrance or censure (de Lange, 2006). In a study by Imorou (2008) on migration of young people from northwest Benin to the cotton fields, it was found that the migrant children experience greater freedom and adopt certain responsibilities and behaviours at an earlier age than might be true for other groups. Anyidoho et al (2012) in their study on young people's aspirations in agriculture explained that, for the young people, leaving home to farm elsewhere holds prospects of better incomes and resources than they might have in their places of origin. Also, more than half of the respondents had aspirations of learning a trade, and migrating to farm allowed them to save money to do so.

Also, a study done by Hashim (2006) involving parents of independent child migrants showed that in spite of the known hardships associated with migration, i.e., inadequate accommodation, poor payment for services, poor healthcare, disrespectful treatment, harassment and abuse among others, many of the children still preferred migration to being at home. This is because migration affords people the opportunity to socialize, and through socialization, young people learn which goals are realistic and how to realize their goals (Malmberg and Norrgard, 1999).

## 2.4 Migration decision-making

Mabogunje (1970) was the first to document the influence of nuclear and extended families on migration decisions of young people. He argues that the family for instance has the ability to hold back potential migrants until they are old enough to migrate or decide who in the family migrates or does not.

In Kwankye's (2011) study on migration as a parental investment, he found that though adult relations actively participate in the decision making process, two-thirds of the female migrants took their own decision to migrate. However, for more than half of the male migrants, the decision was taken by others. In Hashim's (2006) paper on positives and negatives of child independent migration, majority of the children, both return and current child migrants, were not compelled by anyone to migrate. However, he also found that child migrants between the ages of seven and thirteen years were usually asked to migrate by an older person, while those above 13 years either simply run away or negotiated for permission. Studies have indicated that in Ghana, there is a strong tradition of young people willingly leaving home to find work, on their own initiative (Riisoe et al 2004; Anyidoho and Ainsworth, 2009). Young people therefore often have a say in the decision making concerning their migration (Andvig 2000; Hashim 2006).

According to Chambers (1995), poor households do not value investment in education when they depend on livelihoods supplements from child labour. A higher proportion of females, thus 52 percent, found it easier deciding to return home compared to the males (Kwankye, 2012). He also found that those who found the decision to return home easy to make were 2.1 times more likely to report that they had regretted returning home relative to their counterparts who had difficulty deciding to return. In Yeboah's (2010) study conducted in Accra to explore the nature and experience of poverty among porters, 65 percent of the women said that the decision to migrate was a household decision, especially for students and

betrothed women. However, only 5 percent of the men had their families deciding on their behalf.

As stated earlier, research in developing countries has explored and shown many reasons why people migrate. Unlike the neoclassical microeconomic theory of migration decision-making that paints migration as an individual choice for self-betterment (Todaro 1976; Massey et al. 1993), the new household economic theory places the family and family well-being at the centre of migration decision-making (Lucas and Stark 1985; Massey 1998; Gubhaju and DeJong 2009). Therefore, the individual migrant's decision to migrate is not based on one's own interests only, but on the greater good of the household as well.

Findley (1982) explains that migration is more likely to take place from communities that already have a history of migration, or customs that necessitate migration of some of their members. In some areas, according to de Lange (2006), migration has come to be a rite of passage for children such that not migrating can be considered shameful.

## **2.5 Transition into adulthood during migration**

Adolescent transition into adulthood has often been used to explain behaviours of young people in achieving better livelihoods (Nurmi 1991, 1993). Nurmi (2004) has described adolescence as a life phase during which individuals are faced with challenges and demands, developmental tasks and transitions. It is a period between childhood and adulthood which involves a variety of changes in role patterns, obligations and normative expectations (Nurmi et al, 1993). Poole and Cooney (1987) have also defined adolescence as a period of thinking about the future in preparation for transition to adulthood. According to Stewart (1989) during life transitions, people's goals are often more easily articulated, and individuals often develop new goals in the hope of creating positive change in their lives (Zikel and Cantor, 1990). Migration was often viewed by children as a way to begin taking more

responsibility for their own material needs. According to Hashim (2006), children's migration decisions are not only economic. Thorsen (2005) adds that migration is also part of the process of transition, which involves moving from being small children with few obligations and limited say in decisions to being young adults with some responsibilities.

For many of the children interviewed in The Development Research Centre on Migration's (Migration DRC) West Africa case studies, for example, migration was their way of trying to attain independence or becoming eligible for marriage. So, in their attempt to attain their goals, even when child migrants face difficulties, they develop coping strategies and build resilience, and this can lead them to gain self-confidence from their ability to cope (Boyden et al, 1998). During adolescents' transition into adulthood, the developmental tasks which they go through are reflected in the goals that they set, which also determine the strategies and behaviours in trying to achieve those goals.

Punch (2009) gives an additional meaning to 'youth transitions'. According to him, the term 'youth transitions' does not just refer to transitions from school to work, or from unpaid work to paid work, but also includes other kinds of transitions such as leaving home, forming a new household, developing new relationships, getting married, and having children, and these normative tasks have a great influence on the young migrants and their experiences (Punch, 2009). Migration also means a whole process to changing one's life, including forming new networks, new living arrangements and finding new sources of livelihood.

## **2.6 Duration of stay of Migrants**

There are varying reasons for and outcomes of different durations of stay in migrant communities. For instance, in Englund's (2002) study assessing migrants' commitment to their rural areas of origin and to the city, it was found that migration to urban areas rarely

resulted in permanent settlement. However, the desire to improve the conditions of life in villages frequently led to periods of continual settlement in town.

With regard to the consequence of duration of stay, Greif and Dodoo (2011) explored the relationship between length of time since arrival in a slum and risky behaviour. In their study, they defined residence that had lived in their current slums for less than 1.5 years as recent migrants, and those who have been inhabitants for a period equal to or greater than 1.5 years as long-term migrants, and found that a shorter duration of residence in slums meant a reduced ability to develop coping strategies. They found in their study that recent migrants have the advantage of having less risky behaviour and the disadvantage of having a sense of naivete vis-à-vis city life. Also, in Kwankye's (2012) study on experiences of return independent child migrants in Northern Ghana, he found that return migrants who stay at the destination for 1-2 and 3-4 years before returning were less likely to want to migrate again compared to their counterparts who stayed less than a year.

## **2.7 Goals of young people**

During young adulthood, goals that are crucial for personal development in adulthood are first formed (Arnett 2000). Goals are, therefore, said to reflect the developmental tasks of adolescence and early adulthood (Malmberg and Norrgard, 1999). Life tasks, used interchangeably with goals, have been defined as important, affectively charged, and self-relevant concerns or tasks that people are working on in their lives or consider important (Zirkel and Cantor, 1990). Goals have also been defined as internal representations of desired states (van Horen et al, 2008), or future-oriented representations of what individuals try to attain or to avoid in different life domains (Brunstein et al, 1999). In addition, Downie et al (2006), have defined personal goals as projects and concerns that people think about, plan for, carry out, and sometimes, (though not always) complete or succeed at.

Goals contribute to the process by which people construe their lives as meaningful or worthwhile (Emmons 2003). It has been found that by constructing personal goals, young people direct their future lives and manage their development (Salmela-Aro and Phillips, 2007). Studies have also shown that the source of a goal has an effect on how the individual pursues their goal and succeeds at it (Ryan 1995) and that “goals that the self has not enforced are likely to generate intrapersonal conflict (Sheldon and Houser-Marko, 2001). Some studies have tried to explore the relationship between individuals’ background characteristics and the goals that they set. Though Erickson (1963, 1968) found that independence and identity are traditionally seen as the most important normative tasks of young people, other studies have shown that adolescents’ most self-articulated goals relate to occupation and education (Carroll, 2002; Emmons & Kaiser, 1996; Knox, Funk, Elliott, & Bush, 2000).

In a study by Massey et al (2009) in The Netherlands involving 440 students in a high school to investigate individual differences in self-generated goals and goal process appraisals based on socio-demographic characteristics, girls reported more school, relationship, self and body goals and older students reported more future trajectory goals.

Another study by Carroll (2002) examined the goals and reputations of at-risk and not at-risk adolescent females in single-sex and mixed-sex school contexts among 216 female students aged 13 to 16 years from six secondary schools in one of the capital cities of Australia. Findings from this study indicated that girls in single-sex schools have higher aspirations, feel more efficacious about their academic achievements, and are more likely to set goals related to education than girls in mixed-sex schools. Girls in mixed-sex schools reported career, freedom/autonomy, and interpersonal goals more frequently than educational aspirations.

Literature on goals of young people in Africa is quite limited. A study done by Henry and Fayorsey (2002) to explore strategies used by adolescent girls living in Ga-Mashie to

cope with unwanted pregnancies found that girls aspired to develop their means of making a living as well as developing ongoing relationships with boyfriends. The relationships were often used as a means to attain that aspiration. The study also showed that individuals start defining their goals within their teenage years.

In an earlier study exploring the self-concepts of Ghanaian children, utilizing the who-are-you technique to assess the development among young people in Accra (Trent 1965), it was found that the ideals and aspirations among 16-17 year olds, 18-19 year olds and 20-21 year olds differed. Compared to those with younger ages, the 20-21 year old boys were less interested in sports and more concerned with interests related to academic success. The girls appeared much more sociable than the boys. According to the author, the ideals and aspirations of the oldest children were limited, and included only 'to be a professional', 'to help others', 'to be educated', 'to be a cultured person', and 'to study abroad'.

Sewell and his colleagues made aspirations a central component in their social psychological theory of attainment (Sewell et al, 1970; Sewell et al, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1972, 1975). They argue that an important part of the association between background and outcomes is due to socialization processes that lead children from different backgrounds to plan for and move toward different goals (Jacobs et al, 1991). Others (Campbell, 1983; Kerckhoff, 1976, 1984, 1988; Spenner & Featherman, 1978) argue that "the background-to-aspirations association could be the result of a recognition by lower status adolescents that they face greater barriers to a successful future" and therefore channelling their ambitions based on these recognitions (Jacobs et al, 1991).

## **2.8 The Self-construal and goals**

Singelis et al (1999) have defined self-construal as a constellation of thoughts, feelings and actions about the relation of the self to others and self as distinct from others. While people

with independent self-construals give priority to personal goals, people with interdependent self-construals give priority to group goals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). By this definition, therefore, it is expected that the importance placed on different goals will differ among independents and interdependents. For instance, studies by van Horen et al (2008) also found that independents considered their goals more important than interdependents. They also found that interdependents assign more relevance to social goals than to individual goals, and independents attached equal importance to both types of goals. Also, studies by Elliot et al, (2001) found that interdependent self-construals were positively related and independent self-construals were negatively related to adoption of avoidance goals. Based on Markus and Kitayama's (1991) study, it is expected that African (and therefore, Ghanaian) youth are more interdependent than independent. Though all the respondents are Ghanaian (African) and, therefore, expected to be interdependent, it is expected that young migrants and non-migrants may differ in their levels of independence and interdependence.

The idea that the pursuit of one's conscious goals is associated with emotional and subjective wellbeing has been established (Brunstein, 1993; Brunstein et al, 1998; Massey et al, 2009). Hofer and Chasiotis (2003) examined the relationship between implicit motives, explicit life goals, and life satisfaction in a Zambian sample of male adolescents. The results revealed that congruence between implicit motives and self-attributed goals is associated with an enhanced satisfaction with life (Hofer & Chasiotis, 2003). Other studies have explored the relationship between the individual self and the types of goals that the individual is more likely to set. There have been early studies in Ghana on the self, self-concept and self-concept development among young people. Studies by Alawiye and Alawiye (1988) measured self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-ideal of young people in physical maturity, peer relations, academic success and school adaptiveness. They found that, the role of gender in self-concept development seemed negligible, and self-concept of Ghanaian children was different

according to the construct areas being tested. Also, grade level emerged as the most potent variable in development of self-concept. In a study conducted among 76 students examining how the importance of personal goals differs by a person's independent or interdependent self, independents considered their goals more important than interdependents. It again showed that interdependents assigned more relevance to social goals than to individual goals (van Horen et al, 2008).

Studies have shown that an individual's perception of the self is important in shaping his or her perceptions, evaluations and behaviours (Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1989). The term self-construal refers to the perceptions that individuals have about their thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to others as Hsu (2004) and Markus and Kitayama (1991). It is also defined as a constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning the relation of the self to others and the self as distinct from others. According to Grace and Cramer (2003), "an independent self-construal refers to one's perception of a clear boundary that separates the self from others and to giving higher priority to personal goals than to group goals. An interdependent self-construal refers to one's defining of the self in terms of relationship to others and to giving higher priority to group goals than to personal goals" (Grace & Cramer, 2003).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) distinguish between the Western 'independent' view of the self and the 'non-Western' interdependent view of the self. According to them, many Asian cultures emphasize attending to others and fitting in (or into a group), and the relatedness of individuals to each other. In many Western cultures on the other hand, "individuals seek to maintain their independence from others by attending to the self and by discovering and expressing their unique inner attributes". Also, constructions of the self that are noticeable in many African settings may be labelled as interdependent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). According to Adams and Dzokoto (2003), it is worth noting that

construction of self in many African settings is not one of prosocial orientation and communal harmony, but instead emphasize risks and dangers of inherent interdependence. One's self-construal reflects the relationship between the self and others and especially the degree to which they see themselves as separate from others or as connected with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). They further argue that these construals can influence, and in many cases determine, the very nature of individual experience and motivation. Though the interdependent self may be generalizable to many Asian, Latin-American and African cultures, individuals within these groups may have certain characteristics that may reflect either types of self-construals. Based on this, it is expected, as mentioned earlier that migrants and non-migrants may vary in the levels of independence and interdependence. This may subsequently affect their choices of goals and the importance they place on different goals, for example goals that are for self-betterment as opposed to goals of helping others.

Individuals start defining their goals within their teenage years (Brandtstädter, Brunstein et al, 1999; Conrad et al, 2010; Henry & Fayorsey, 2002). However, while these subjects have been explored, little attempt has been made to explore the goals of migrants in comparison with non-migrants, and, for example, difficulties with goal attainment and impediments to goal pursuit (Massey et al, 2009).

## **2.9 Conceptual Framework**

This study examines the relationship between migration status and goals, exploring the relationship between background characteristics and the goals that young people set for themselves. Background characteristics, namely age, sex, level of education, duration of stay in Accra, work status and self-construal were explored. There is very limited literature on goals of young people in Africa, including Ghana, and also limited literature on studies comparing goals of migrants with those of non-migrants. Also, very little work has been done

in Africa on the relationship between groups of young people and their goal choices. This study is, therefore, to a large extent exploratory.

Generally, migrants may be more ambitious than non-migrants but it is expected that they will find their goals less attainable because of (their awareness of) the comparatively more challenging environment and obstacles, and less support they may have for the attainment of their goals, compared to non-migrants. However, it is possible that their motivational selection may in a way compensate for this, whether partly or wholly, or in certain goal areas.

Also, Higgins and Parsons (1983) affirm that people are very often faced with new and age-graded life task or goals. In Salmela-Aro et al's (2007) study on how young adults' personal goals change as they progress, they found that the older the participants, the more family and work related goals they had. Young people of the ages of 15-19 years may be more spontaneous and therefore are expected to appear more ambitious compared to people of 20-24 years because the older age group may be more efficient in weighing their opportunities, challenges and strategies better. In Kabiru et al's (2013) study, they found that some youth maintain high aspirations and try to achieve them through education, delinquency and residential mobility. However, these high expectations decreased with age. Older age groups may also find their goals less attainable because of the totality of responsibilities they may have, compared to the younger group. Caspi (2002) and Grob et al (2011) suggest that the third decade of life is a period during which individuals are faced with more transitions and life decisions than any other stage in life; transitions which include starting a relationship, starting a family, starting a career, and so on.

In studies by Kabiru et al (2013), it was found that almost all male and female respondents in the three age cohorts in their study (12-14, 15-17 and 18-22 years) reported that the goals that were important to them were owning one's own home, being able to take

care of parents in their old age and having a good job. Studies by Cross and Markus (1991) and Greene and DeBacker (2004) showed that females are more drawn towards social or self-related issues, whereas males are more concerned about achievement and property. Studies have further also shown that girls are more often oriented towards interpersonal, family (Greene and DeBacker 2004) and educational related goals (Nurmi 2001) compared to boys, who are more concerned about material values (Cross and Markus, 1991). While there is limited literature on the relationship between work status and goals, Jacobs et al (1991) in their study on dynamics of young men's career aspirations found that occupational aspirations and the rate of choosing a new occupation declined but also become more stable with age.

The conceptual framework for this study was adapted from King's interacting system's framework (King, 1999) which she built from her theory of goal attainability. The major assumption of King's theory is that the human being/individual is a social being who is rational and, therefore, has the ability to perceive, think, feel, choose, set goals, select means of achieving their selected goals and make decisions. The theory posits that individuals are open systems interacting constantly with their environment. King identified three interacting systems – personal system, interpersonal system and social system - along with concepts that define these systems.

'Personal systems' was defined by 'self' and 'growth and development' among other concepts. King's definition of self included those thoughts and feelings that made one aware of being a person separate from others and consequently influencing their views on who they are and what they do. In this study, the self is represented by a measurement of the individual's self-construal, as defined by Markus and Kitayama (1991) and Singelis (1994). The study incorporates self-construal in arguing that the perception that individuals have about their own thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to others might influence their life

aspirations. Also, 'growth and development' was defined by the processes in people's lives as they move from a potential for achievement to actualization of self. Studies on migration have defined the process of migration as a self-betterment move, and so 'growth and development' was represented in the study by an individual's migration status. These represent the main dependent and interdependent variable of the study – migrant status and goals – where it is argued that an individual's migration status may influence the kinds of goals he or she wants to attain at certain points in time.

'Interpersonal systems' was represented by the individuals' organizational membership, and are formed by human beings interacting with each other. A person's organizational membership can be an asset (or hindrance), influencing the attainment of his or her goals.

Social systems on the other hand, are structured, large groups that define individual roles, behaviours and practices for the purposes of sustaining desired attributes and maintaining the practices of the system. These include peers, families, religious groups, and so on. This was represented in the study by one's community of residence. The three communities – Agbogbloshie, James Town and Ussher Town - differ slightly in development and this could possibly have an effect on how they carve out their self-development. The relationship between these independent and dependent variables is illustrated in Figure 1, controlling for age, sex, level of education and migration status, with migration status being the main independent variable.

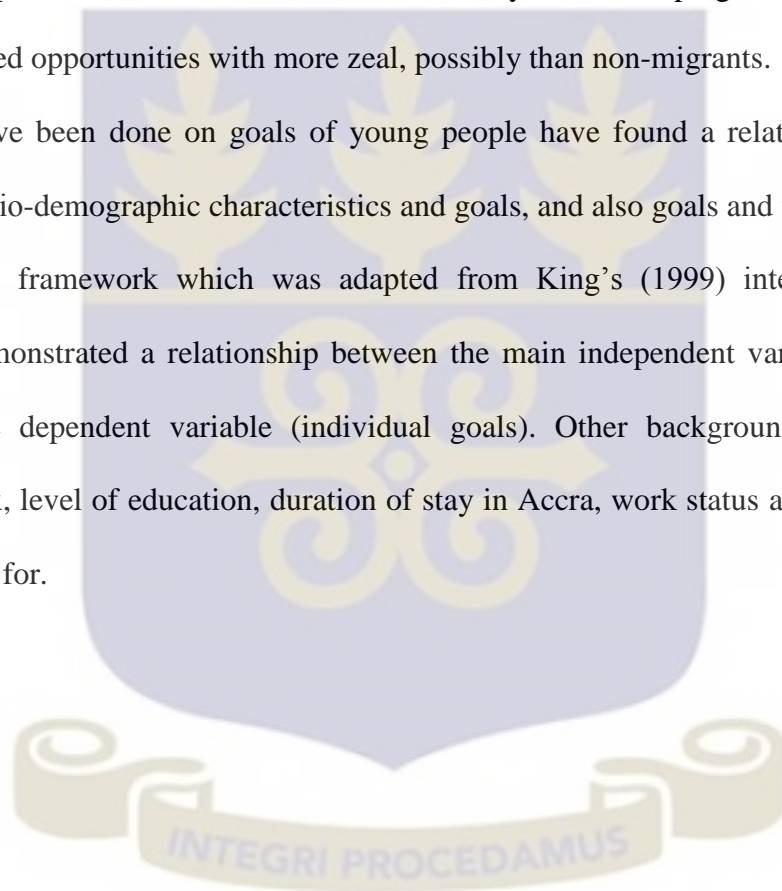
In Ghana, internal migration is often caused by imbalances in special development between the areas of origin and areas of destination (often rural areas to urban areas). Interests in matters relating to migration do not only stem from challenges faced by migrants but also from the benefits of migration in terms of remittances. Studies have also shown that for many young people, migration becomes a means by which they make their lives better.

Due to the theory of migrant selectivity, migrants have been believed to be more able, ambitious, aggressive and more entrepreneurial than similar individuals in their places of origin or destination. Therefore, the study expects that the things they want to attain and the means of attaining them will be different from non-migrants.

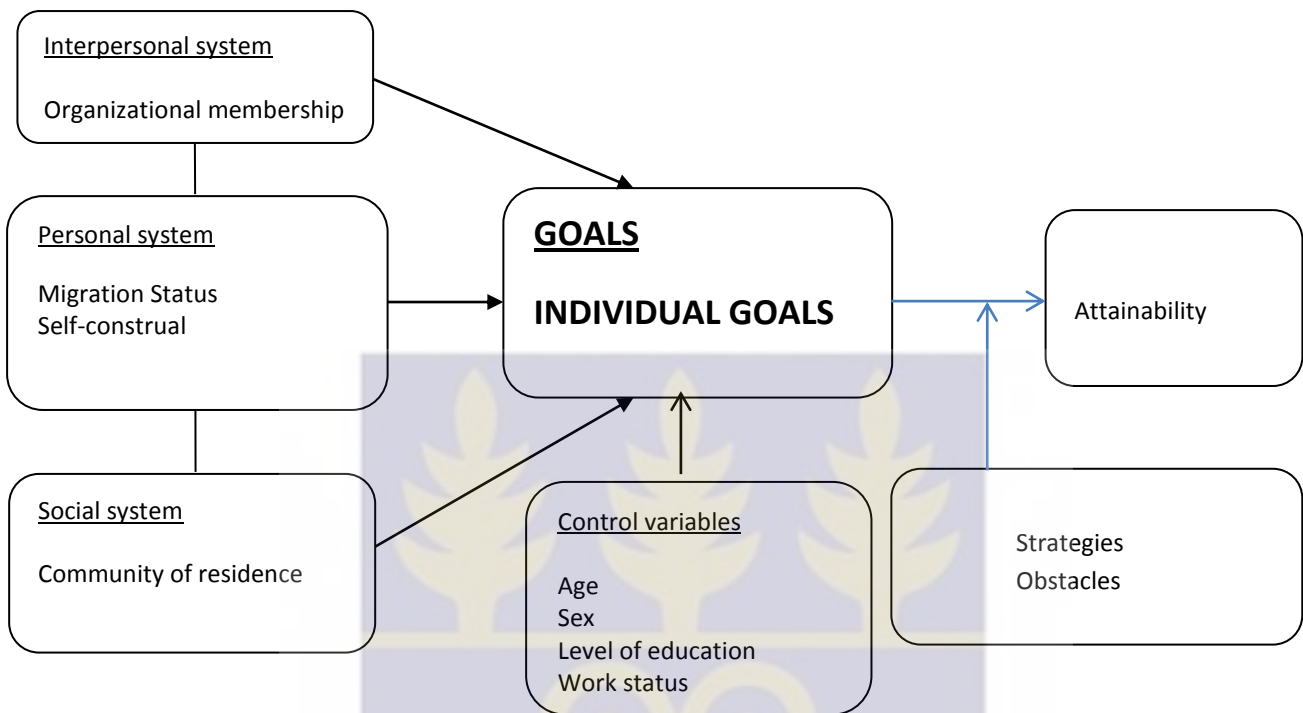
In spite of reported vulnerability, economic exploitation, abuse and risks associated with migration, there are several benefits that young migrants experience. Therefore, it is expected that young people at the time in their lives when they are developing into adulthood will explore perceived opportunities with more zeal, possibly than non-migrants.

Studies that have been done on goals of young people have found a relationship between individuals' socio-demographic characteristics and goals, and also goals and wellbeing.

The conceptual framework which was adapted from King's (1999) interacting systems framework, demonstrated a relationship between the main independent variable (migration status) and the dependent variable (individual goals). Other background characteristics namely age, sex, level of education, duration of stay in Accra, work status and self-construal were controlled for.



**Figure 2.1** Conceptual framework showing the relationship between interactive systems, goals, and their attainment



Adapted from King's (1981) Interacting System's Framework



## CHAPTER 3

### Methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

This is a mixed method study. Data for the quantitative portion of the study was obtained from the Population Training and Research Capacity for Development (PoPTRCD) project. The purpose of the research for these institutions was to examine health, poverty and development indicators in the study site, and to facilitate the integration of fieldwork into the teaching and learning of population sciences among students and staff.

Three rounds of the project have so far been completed. The first round of the survey was conducted by the Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS) in collaboration with the University of Southampton, University of Cape Coast, University of Ibadan and the Fourah Bay College University of Sierra Leone in June, 2010. The second and third rounds were conducted by RIPS in December 2011 and September 2013 respectively. This study uses data from the second round of the project.

#### 3.2 Study Area

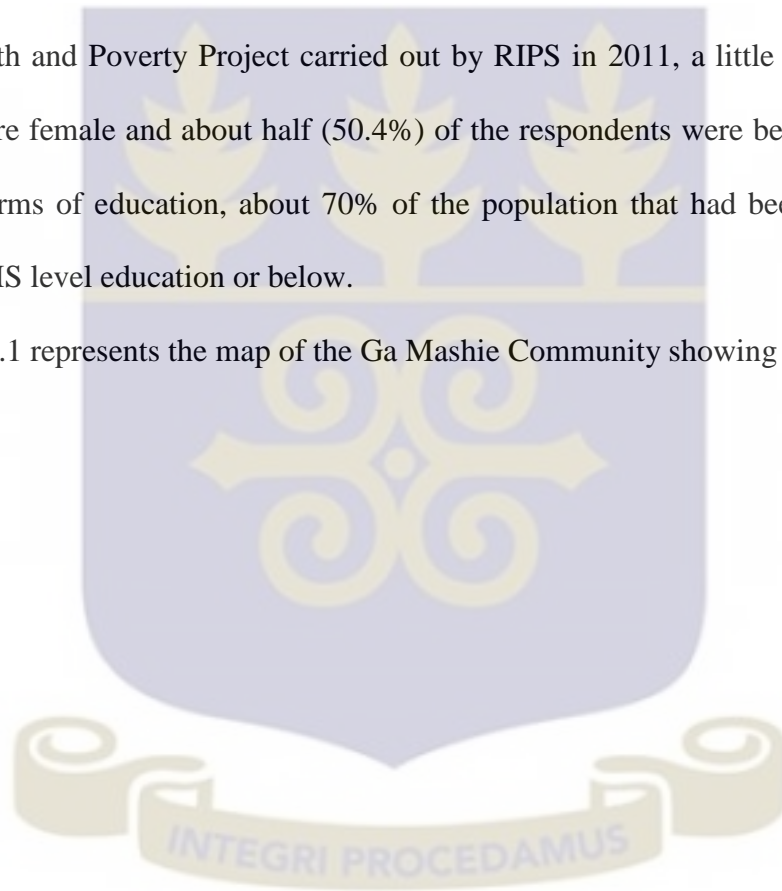
The study site for the project was three urban poor communities in Accra (James Town, Ussher Town and Agbogbloshie). On the whole, looking at both James Town and Ussher Town, James Town is relatively more developed than Ussher Town. Ussher Town is more congested and has poorer sanitary conditions than James Town. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), James Town and Ussher Town together has a population of about 43,850. Agbogbloshie, on the other hand, is more of a migrant community and looks more like a slum than the other two communities.

The main languages spoken in Accra are Ga, Twi, English and Hausa. Ga Mashie (James Town and Ussher Town) is inhabited mainly by a very indigenous group; the Ga-

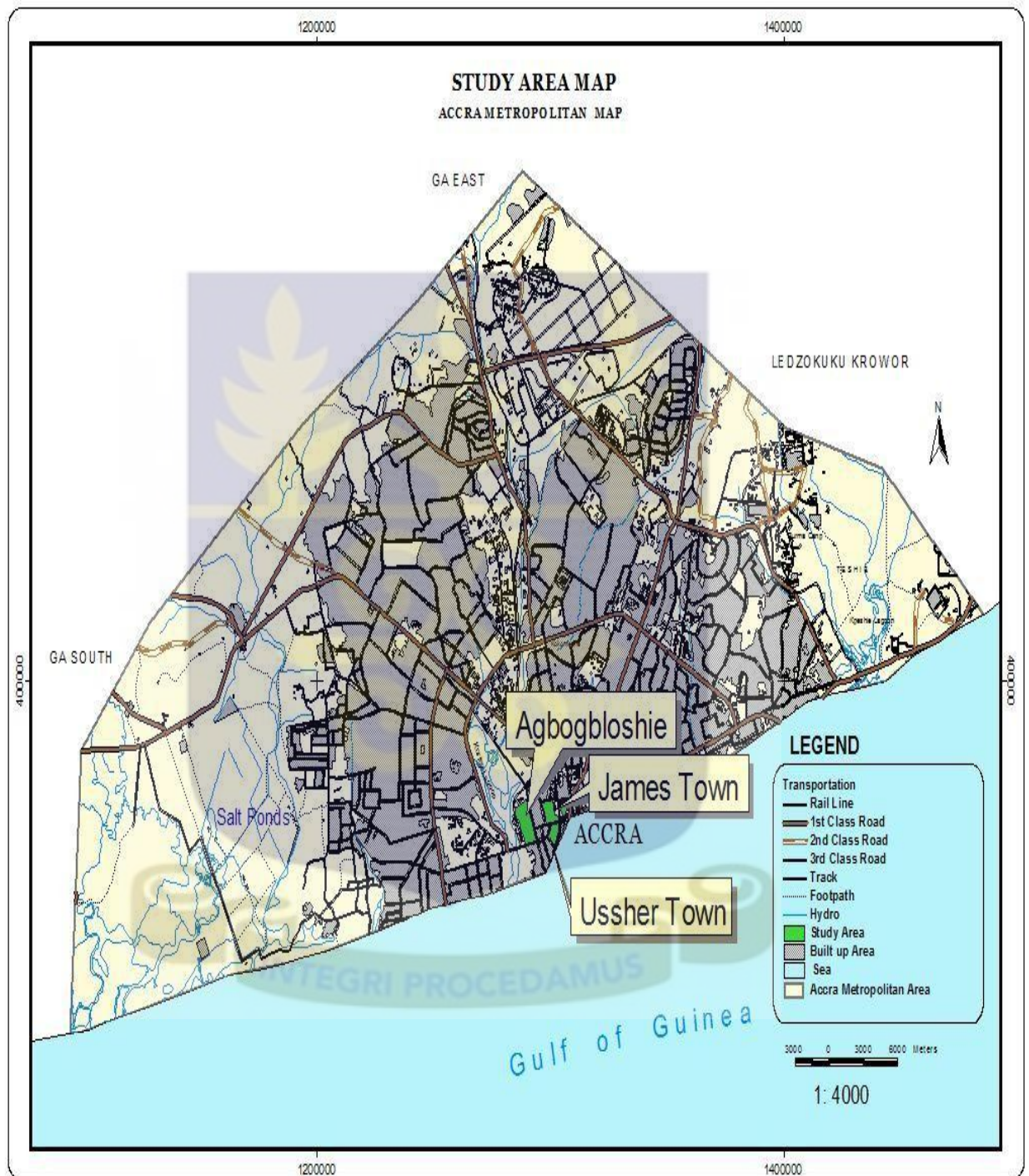
Dangme ethnic group. Agbogloshie, however, is more ethnically diverse and remains home to Ga inhabitants, but also people from several other ethnic groups from other parts of Ghana. The study site therefore, has migrants and non-migrants of diverse backgrounds within an urban-poor area, and is a suitable population for the study.

The main occupations of the residents in this area are fishing and trading. These three densely populated communities are characterized by low socio-economic status of residents, poor sanitary conditions and poor housing structures (Aikins et al, 2014). Again, according to the Urban Health and Poverty Project carried out by RIPS in 2011, a little over 56% of the respondents were female and about half (50.4%) of the respondents were between 15 and 29 years old. In terms of education, about 70% of the population that had been to school had attained only JHS level education or below.

Figure 3.1 represents the map of the Ga Mashie Community showing the study areas.



**Figure 3.1: The Ga Mashie and Agboghloshie Communities of Central Accra**



### **3.3 Data**

As stated earlier, the study was a mixed method study, using quantitative survey and focus group discussions. Eight focus group discussions among migrant and non-migrant males and females of two age groups (15 to 19 years and 20 to 24 years), involving six to eight individuals in each focus group. From the focus group discussions, a list of goals was obtained and included in the survey instrument of the second round of the PoPTRCD project to explore individuals' goals. Respondents gave a list of goals they want to attain, how they plan to attain these goals and the obstacles towards the attainment of these goals. The focus group discussions were further used in exploring goals, strategies and obstacles. The FGD and the survey were conducted at different periods, and the participants of the focus group discussions may or may not have been part of the survey.

### **3.4 Focus group discussions**

The qualitative aspect of the study was conducted on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of October 2011 in James Town and Agbogbloshie. Four field workers that spoke English, Ga and Twi were recruited and trained over a period of two days (on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2011) for the field work. The field workers had experience in qualitative work, and among them, could all speak English, Ga, Twi and Ewe. It was agreed by the team that focus group discussions (FGDs) among non-migrants be conducted in Ga, and the FGDs among migrants would be conducted in Twi because most migrants learn to speak Twi first, when they migrate to Accra. The field workers also discussed each question on the interview guide to ascertain the best way to translate each question that would: (i) have the same meaning and (ii) be easily understood by the participants. Members of the team were also paired up, and we discussed which pairs would be appropriate for which discussion group. There were eight discussion groups. The

grouping was done based on age, sex and migration status. The key areas in the discussion are found in Text Box 1. The questions on the interview guide can be found in Appendix 2.

Text box 1: Key areas for discussion in FGDs

- Push and pull factors for migration
- Associations
- Goals
- Goal differences
- Strategies
- Obstacles
- Assistance
- Respect

The interview guide (for migrants) started with questions on the reasons for their migrating to Accra, and the things they wanted to attain before coming to Accra. This was to examine possible push factors for their migration but also to help migrants distinguish between the things that caused them to move from their places of origin (to migrate) and the goals that they want to attain now. Due to the fact that some of the items in the Singelis Self-Constraint scale had to be altered to fit the Ghanaian/African context, questions 4, 16 and 17 were asked to examine issues of groups and associations and respect. The available literature also examine goals alongside efforts to attaining them. Some other studies only consider goals only when there are efforts towards attaining them. So question 8 was asked to examine the need to differentiate between goals that are being pursued. The rest of the questions were on issues relating to the goals they have set for themselves, including goal types, (awareness of) goal differences among various groups, efforts towards attaining goals, support in goal attainment, obstacles, and (awareness of) differences in obstacles among various groups.

The participants in the focus group discussions were purposively sampled. Although there are some non-migrants in Agbogbloshie, it is mainly a migrant community, while James Town and Ussher Town are typically native communities. For this reason, participants for the

non-migrant groups were selected from James Town and Ussher Town, and participants for the migrant groups were selected from Agbogbloshie, and were people that had lived there for not more than two years. A field worker that was also involved in the PoPTRCD project and was a member of the community was entrusted with the task of assisting with recruitment of respondents to fit into the eight different categories of the focus groups – migrant males 15-19, migrant males 20-24, migrant females 15-19, migrant females 20-24, non-migrant males 15-19, non-migrant males 20-24, non-migrant females 15-19 and non-migrant females 20-24. Since he lived in the community, he was in a good position to help locate and recruit the needed respondents for the study. Each focus group contained six to eight participants. In all, 56 participants were involved in the focus group discussions.

Table 3.1 shows the number of participants in each focus group conducted. The number of participants in each focus group ranged from five to nine.

**Table 3.1 Age characteristics of participants in Focus group discussion**

Males	Number	Females	Number
15-19 year old Migrants	5	15-19 year old Migrants	6
20-24 year old Migrant	7	20-24 year old Migrant	6
15-19 year old Non-Migrants	8	15-19 year old Non-Migrants	7
20-24 year old Non-Migrants	8	20-24 year old Non-Migrants	9
Total for Males	28	Total for females	28

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

Beside the age and sex categories, individuals were selected and grouped for the interview based on how long they had been in the community. The non-migrants consisted of respondents that had lived in the community all their lives. The migrants in the focus group discussions were, however, individuals that had lived in the community for a period of up to two years.

The focus group discussions were conducted to get a sense of:

- i. the kinds of goals that different groups of young people set for themselves, especially after having migrated (for migrants), and
- ii. the feasibility of the attainment of their goals, that is, their challenges in attaining these goals (and how these challenges differ among different groups) and the kinds of support that individuals have or need for the attainment of their goals.

This was done on the whole, to examine the range of goals and how they overcome their challenges to attain these goals.

### **3.5 The Survey**

After the focus group discussions were carried out in October 2011, a list of goals was obtained from the qualitative data. This list of goals was then included in the second round of the PoPTRCD survey questionnaire. This section of the questionnaire explored, among other things, the goals that individual respondents had and the order of importance of their selected goals. It also explored their strategies for attaining those goals and the obstacles in trying to attain their goals. A copy of the 'Goal' portion of the PoPTRCD survey questionnaire can be found in Appendix 10. In all, 1,160 households were selected from 29 Enumeration Areas across the three localities, and 1,010 respondents were interviewed. For this study, the unit of analysis is the individual male and female between the ages of 15 and 24 years living in Ga-Mashie and Agboghloshie, and this comprised of 326 respondents.

### **3.6 The Self-Construal Scale**

A 24-item self-construal scale was included in the survey instrument to measure individuals' independence or interdependence. For each item, individuals were asked to state whether the statement was never, sometimes, often or always like them. According to Markus

and Kitayama (1991), the images of self that reflect connectedness and relations (interdependence) and separateness and uniqueness (independence) both co-exist in an individual. The terms ‘independent’ and ‘interdependent’ self-construals introduced by Markus and Kitayama led to several other studies including that by Singelis (1994) to develop a scale to measure the extent of an individual’s interdependent and independent self-construal.

The scale used in this study was a slightly modified version of the Singelis (1994) self-construal scale. Five of the items were modified either for the respondents to better relate to what is being measured or for the item to read better. The items that were modified are found in Appendix 1. Below is a list of the self-construal scale as used in the questionnaire.

### **The Singelis self-construal scale (modified)**

#### Interdependent items

1. *I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact*
2. *It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group*
3. *My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me*
4. *Even when an adult is rude to me, I am never rude to them*
5. *I respect people who are modest about themselves*
6. *I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in*
7. *My relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments*
8. *I should take into consideration my parents’ advise when making education/career plans*
9. *It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group*
10. *I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I’m not happy with the group*
11. *If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible*
12. *Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument*

Independent items

13. *I'd rather say No directly than risk being misunderstood*
14. *Speaking up among my group is not a problem for me*
15. *Having a lively imagination is important to me*
16. *I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards*
17. *I am the same person at home that I am among my group of friends.*
18. *Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me*
19. *I act the same way no matter who I am with*
20. *I feel comfortable having a lengthy conversation with someone soon after I met them, even when they are much older than I am.*
21. *I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met*
22. *I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects*
23. *My personal identity independent of others, is very important to me*
24. *I value being in good health above everything*

The final Self-construal scale that is used in the study is found in the Appendix 1.

The scale was used to measure if an individual has a dominant dependent or interdependent self. To do this, a computation rule used in prior research (Hannover, Birkner, & Pohlmann, 2006; Pahlmann, Carranza, Hannover, & Iyengar, 2007; van Horen et al., 2008) was used. A z-score was computed for each respondent first on the independent section of the scale, and then on the interdependent section of the scale. Then the z-score on the interdependence of each respondent was subtracted from their independent z-scores. A positive score meant that a person had a dominant dependent self, and a negative score meant that a person had a dominant interdependent self.

By Markus and Kitayama's (1991) definition, 'self-construal' refers to the perceptions individuals have about their thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to others, and there are 'independent' and 'interdependent' self-construals. As explained by Grace and Cramer (2003), a person with a dominant independent self-construal separates himself or herself from others and gives higher priority to personal goals than to group goals. A person with a

dominant interdependent self-construal defines himself or herself in terms of his/her relationship to others and gives priority to group goals than to personal goals.

The Self-Construal Scale by Singelis (1991) was developed to measure the extent of an individual's independent or interdependent self-construal. There are 24 items on the scale, 12 measuring dependence, and another 12 measuring interdependence. The scale had dependence and interdependence measures because both construals exist in a person, and the purpose of the scale is to measure which construal is more dominant in a person. Five of the items were modified to either read better or better communicate what was being discussed.

*Item 4- "I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor"* was modified to read *"Even when an adult is rude to me, I am never rude to him/her"*.

This item was modified because not all the respondents were expected to be students and so some would not be able to relate to the item. Also, the very common transport system involving a bus (trotro) is not big enough to connote the 'standing up for a professor to sit down' idea. The current modification was chosen because the item seemed to reflect a person showing respect in spite of being in a situation where he/she seems to have earned the right NOT to show respect.

*Item 7 - I often have the feeling that my relationship with others is more important than my own accomplishments* - was modified to read *"My relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments"* because it is simpler and reads better that way and still communicates the idea being represented in its previous form.

In items 14 and 17, 'school' was replaced with 'among my group of friends', once again because not all the respondents were expected to be in school, and also it was found in the focus group discussions that young people tend to form groups or belong to a group of

friends. Also, Item 20, *'I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am'* was modified to read *'I feel comfortable having a lengthy conversation with someone soon after I meet him/her, even when he/she are much older than I am'*. This was because the Ghanaian culture usually frowns on a young person calling an adult by his/her first name. The modification was done because the original item seemed to connote how one can easily familiarize himself or herself with an adult soon after meeting him/her.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

The transcripts were analysed manually using thematic analysis. Different global themes were developed from the transcripts. These were then analysed based on the themes that were derived from them, and/or literature (in the case of the goal types). The transcripts were analysed based on the different topics that were explored in the interviews – Goal types, Association, Strategies and Obstacles. These were treated as global themes for the analysis. The transcripts were read through and analysed and codes were developed from the transcripts. The codes were then grouped into clusters, and the transcripts were then organized according to these grouped codes or basic themes. Seventeen basic themes were developed under goal types, four under association, eight for strategies and 11 for obstacles, making a total of 40 themes for the various topics analysed.

The 17 basic themes under goal types were re-grouped into five organizing themes based on Emmon's (1998) groupings of goal types. The basic themes under associations, strategies and obstacles were put into similar groups on the basis of content. Three grouped themes evolved for association, three for strategies and four for obstacles. The global themes, with their various organizing themes and basic themes were then illustrated as four separate thematic networks. The coding frame is presented in Appendix four.

Univariate and bivariate analyses are used to examine respondents' background and individual characteristics, which are migration status, age, sex, level of education, duration of stay in the community (migration status), work status and self-construal. Bivariate analysis is also used to examine the relationship between migration status and background characteristics, and migration status and goal types.

### **3.8 Limitations of the study**

The study recognises that some of the respondents may not have migrated by choice or on their own, but doesn't take into consideration that some of the respondents may, for instance, have migrated with family. The study, however, argues that, in spite of this, migrants that moved with their families (or whose migration statuses were not driven by their desire to achieve something) may not have the same leverage as non-migrants and therefore share similar difficulties with migrants that had moved either on their own or with the desire to attain something, and these difficulties differ from those of non-migrants. The study, therefore, conceptualizes a person's migration status simply by their duration of stay in the community.

Another limitation of the study is how migrants and non-migrants are conceptualized. Migrants are classified as respondents that were not born in their current communities and moved there after birth. This means that Gas who were born outside their communities and moved there soon after birth will also be classified as migrants. Non-Gas who were born in the communities and second generation migrants could be classified as non-migrants. This definition was to help factor in the effect of duration of stay in a community in the analysis.

Finally, the sample size for the study (326) may not be enough to explore the statistical significance of various analysis made in this study.

## CHAPTER 4

### Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Migrants and Non-migrants

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first objective of the study, which is to examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Exploring the socio-demographic characteristics facilitates the interpretation of the findings. In doing so, background characteristics, mainly age, sex, education, duration of stay in locality of residence, self-construal and work status were explored.

#### 4.2 Age

Table 4.1 represents the distribution of the respondents by age and migration status. In all, 326 respondents were interviewed, made up of 45.7 percent (149) in the 15 and 19 years age group, and 54.3 percent (177) aged 20-24 years. Among the migrants, about 45 percent belong to the younger age group while 55.6 percent belong to the older age group. The non-migrant group had a closer proportion, with about 47 percent within the younger age group, and 52 percent in the older age group.

**Table 4.1** Percent distribution of respondents by age and migration status

	15-19		20-24		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Migrant	75	44.4	94	55.6	169	100
Non-migrant	74	47.1	83	52.9	157	100
Total	149	45.7	177	54.3	326	100

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 4.3 Sex

As shown in Table 4.2, with respondents that have stayed in the community since birth (non-migrants), there is just about the same number of males as females. Of the total number of

respondents, 157, representing about 48 percent, were non-migrants. Of this number, 49.7 percent are female and 50.3 percent are male.

Forty-nine respondents (representing 15 percent of the total number) have lived in the community for a period of up less than two years. Among these respondents, just about a third is male, compared to two-thirds that is female. The smallest migrant group is the group of respondents that have been in the community for a period of between 2-5 years, consisting of 14 percent (46). With this group, about 48 percent of them are males and about 52 percent females.

The final migrant group comprises those that have lived in the community for a period of more than five years. Among the 74 respondents in this group, three-fifths are female and two-fifths are males.

**Table 4.2** Percent distribution of respondents' by sex and migration status

	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Since birth/non-migrant	78	49.7	79	50.3	157	100
<2	33	67.3	16	32.7	49	100
2-5	24	52.2	22	47.8	46	100
Over 5 years	44	59.5	30	40.5	74	100
Total	179	54.9	147	45.1	326	100

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

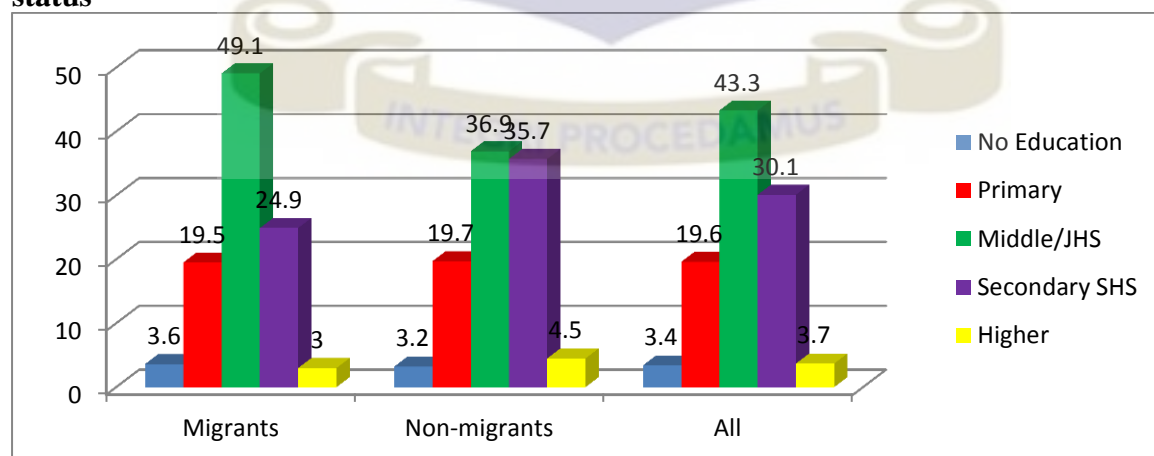
#### 4.4 Educational Status

A person's level of education may influence his/her aspirations and how they explore their options to attain those objectives. As shown in Figure 4.1, the proportion of migrants that had not been to school was just about the same as the proportion of non-migrants that have had no education (3.6 percent and 3.2 percent respectively).

Also, the proportion of migrants that had primary education as their highest level of education is just about the same as non-migrants with primary education (19.5 percent and 19.7 percent respectively). When it comes to middle/JSH level, almost half of the migrants have this level of education, compared to a little over a third among the non-migrants. However, while over a third of non-migrants had secondary/SHS education, a little less than a quarter of non-migrants had secondary education. This may be an indication of the fact that for many young people, formal education ends with middle/JHS level education, and non-migrants with possible familial and environmental support, have a greater chance of being able to afford the next level of education (secondary education). Generally, while many migrants end education at middle/JHS level, many more non-migrants are able to move on to secondary level. As seen in Figure 4.1, 49.1 percent of migrants have Middle/JSS level education compared to about 37 percent of non-migrants.

Finally, three percent of migrants and 4.5 percent of non-migrants have higher education. The proportion of non-migrants that had higher education is more than the proportion of migrants that have had higher education.

**Figure 4.1** Percent distribution of respondents by educational status and migration status

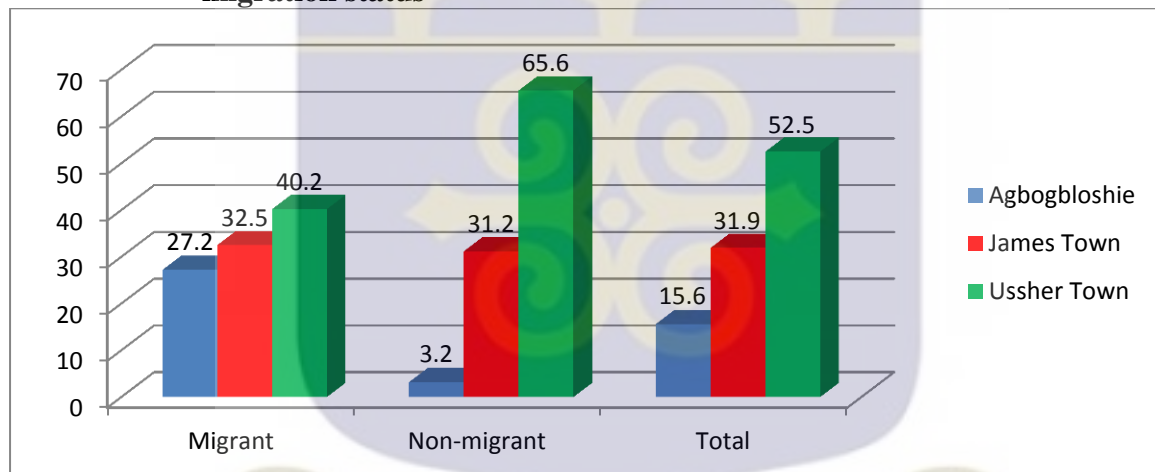


Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 4.5 Community of Residence

A person's environment could influence the goals he or she sets for himself or herself. According to Figure 4.2, more than half of the respondents (52.5 percent) were residents of Ussher Town, and among non-migrants, again more than 65 percent of the respondents were residents of Ussher Town compared to about two-fifths of migrants that live in Ussher Town. Finally, while almost 30 percent of the migrants live in Agbogbloshie, only 3.2 percent of the non-migrants live in Agbogbloshie. In all, just about 15 percent of the respondents lives in Agbogbloshie.

**Figure 4.2** Percent distribution of respondents by community of residence and migration status



Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 4.6 Self-Construal

Studies by Markus and Kitayama (1991) have shown that Africans generally have a stronger interdependent self-construal compared to Westerners. According to the information in the Table 4.3, among all the respondents, and also among both migrants and non-migrants, the proportion of respondents with an interdependent self-construal is higher than the proportion of independents, all being a little over 55 percent. In other words, there appears to be no variation between migrants and non-migrant groups relative to their self-construal.

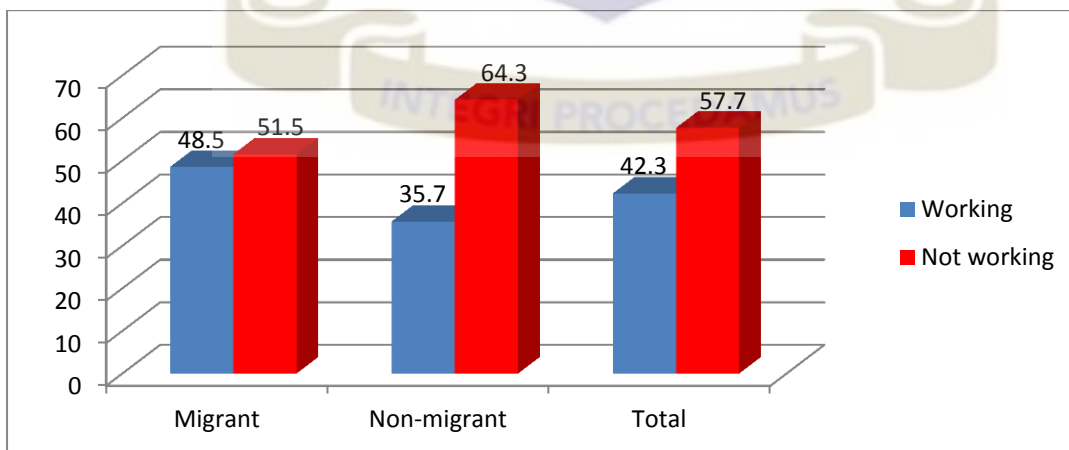
**Table 4.3** Percent distribution of respondents by self-construal and migration status

	Independent		Interdependent		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Migrant	73	44.8	90	55.2	163	100
Non-migrant	67	44.7	83	55.3	150	100
All	140	44.7	173	55.3	313	100

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 4.7 Work Status

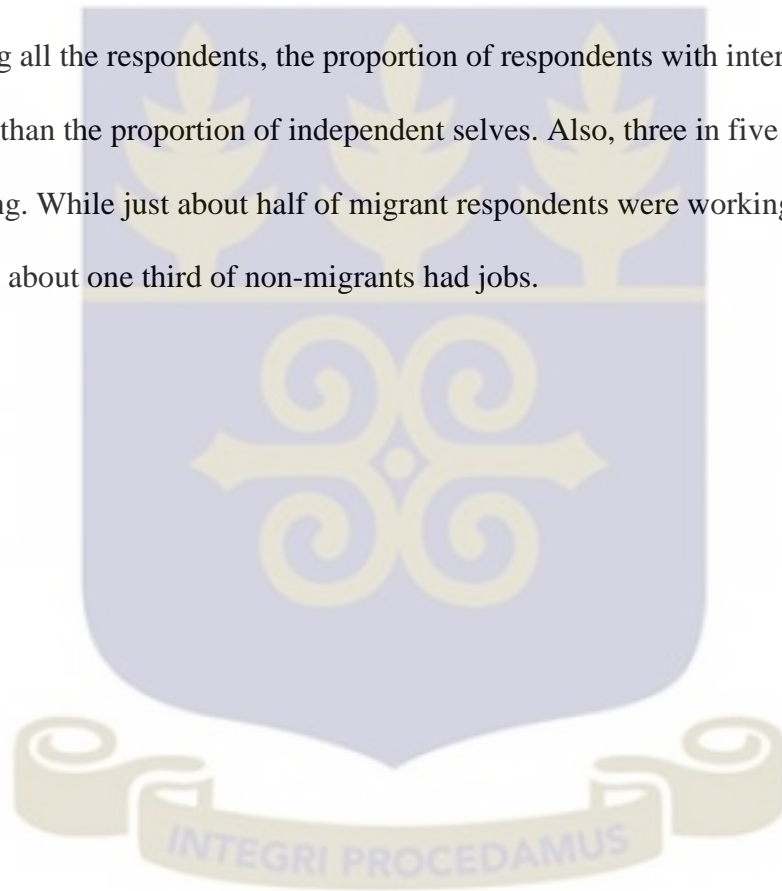
Considering the fact that a person's work status can affect the things that he or she plans to attain, the study examined respondents by their work status. According to Figure 4.3, almost three-fifths of the respondents reported that they did not have any work doing at the time of the survey. Furthermore, a higher proportion of non-migrants than migrants do not have jobs. While about half of migrant respondents were working at the time of the survey, only about one-third of their non-migrant counterparts had a source of livelihood at the time of the survey. This may be because most people migrating to Accra come out of strong desire to find work and money, and may, therefore, be willing to take up almost any kind of job, even those non-migrants may reject.

**Figure 3.3** Percent distribution of respondents by work status and migration status

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 4.8 Summary

The age, sex, education, locality of residence, self-construal and work status of respondents are presented in this chapter. The sample size was 326 respondents aged 15 to 24 years. Fifty-five percent of the respondents were females and 45 percent were males. A slightly higher proportion of the respondents belonged to the 20-24 year age group. Also, there were about the same number of younger migrants as younger non-migrants. There appeared to be some variation among the migrants and non-migrants with respect to level of education. As expected, among all the respondents, the proportion of respondents with interdependent selves is higher than the proportion of independent selves. Also, three in five respondents were not working. While just about half of migrant respondents were working at the time of the survey, only about one third of non-migrants had jobs.



## CHAPTER 5

### Goal types and their relationship with duration of stay

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an exploration of goal setting among the young people within the study area. It answers the first research question by examining goal types by duration of stay in the locality. For migrants, the goals referred to the things they want to attain, in their current statuses as migrants, and not the push factors that brought them to Accra.

‘Goals’ have been used interchangeably with ‘meanings’ in many studies. A number of studies have tried to categorize individual goals. Emmons (2003) compared studies by Ebersole (1998), Wong (1998) and Emmons (1999), and concluded that all three studies came out with similar groupings. These categories of goals are referred to as the Big 4, according to Gabrielsen et al (2012) and are as follows: Relations/intimacy (defined as close reciprocal relationships), generativity/transcendence (defined as giving of oneself to others and a concern for the future), religion/spirituality (defined as relationship with God, transcending self) and achievement/work. These categories by the different studies are presented in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1 A Consensual Taxonomy of Life Meaning**

<b>EBERSOLE (1998)</b>	<b>EMMONS (1999)</b>	<b>WONG (1998)</b>
Life narratives	Personal strivings	Personal meaning profile
Life work	Achievement	Achievement
Relationships	Intimacy	Relationship
Religious beliefs	Religion/spirituality	Religion
Service	Generativity	Self-transcendence

Source: Emmons 2003

The qualitative aspect of the study also identified a different set of goals which is not identified in Ebersole (1998), Wong (1998) and Emmons (1999)’s ‘Big Four). These are

Avoidance goals. Though these may be examined under different groups of goals, it is also important to let this goal type stand out because it is these types of goals that tell that a future has been thought of critically, and the obstacles to that attainment of this future has been identified and being avoided. This last set of goals is therefore identified in Table 5.2 below.

However, for the sake of analysis, Avoidance goals in this study are examined under the other goal types.

**Table 5.2 A Consensual Taxonomy of Life Meaning (Emmons, 2003) Extended**

<b>EBERSOLE (1998)</b>	<b>EMMONS (1999)</b>	<b>WONG (1998)</b>	<b>BOAKYE 2014</b>
Life narratives	Personal strivings	Personal meaning profile	Adolescent life goals
Life work	Achievement	Achievement	Achievement
Relationships	Intimacy	Relationship	Relation/Intimacy
Religious beliefs	Religion/spirituality	Religion	-
Service	Generativity	Self-transcendence	Generativity/ Transcendentivity
-	-	-	Avoidance goals

Source: Emmons 2003

The list of goals included in the individual questionnaire is shown in Appendix 3.

Though the list of goals in Appendix 3 is longer, it is similar to the list of goals attained in Kabiru et al's (2013) study. In this study, the goals that were attained from the participants in the focus group discussions and the respondents in the survey were grouped into the categories described by the three studies mentioned in Table 5.1. The 'Achievement' category was divided into school/work and other, because the former is usually part of a person's expectations as they grow up. Table 5.3 shows the adapted and modified categories of goals for the study, with the goals that fall under them.

**Table 5.3: Goal categories (adapted from Ebersole (1998), Emmons (1999) and Wong (1998))**

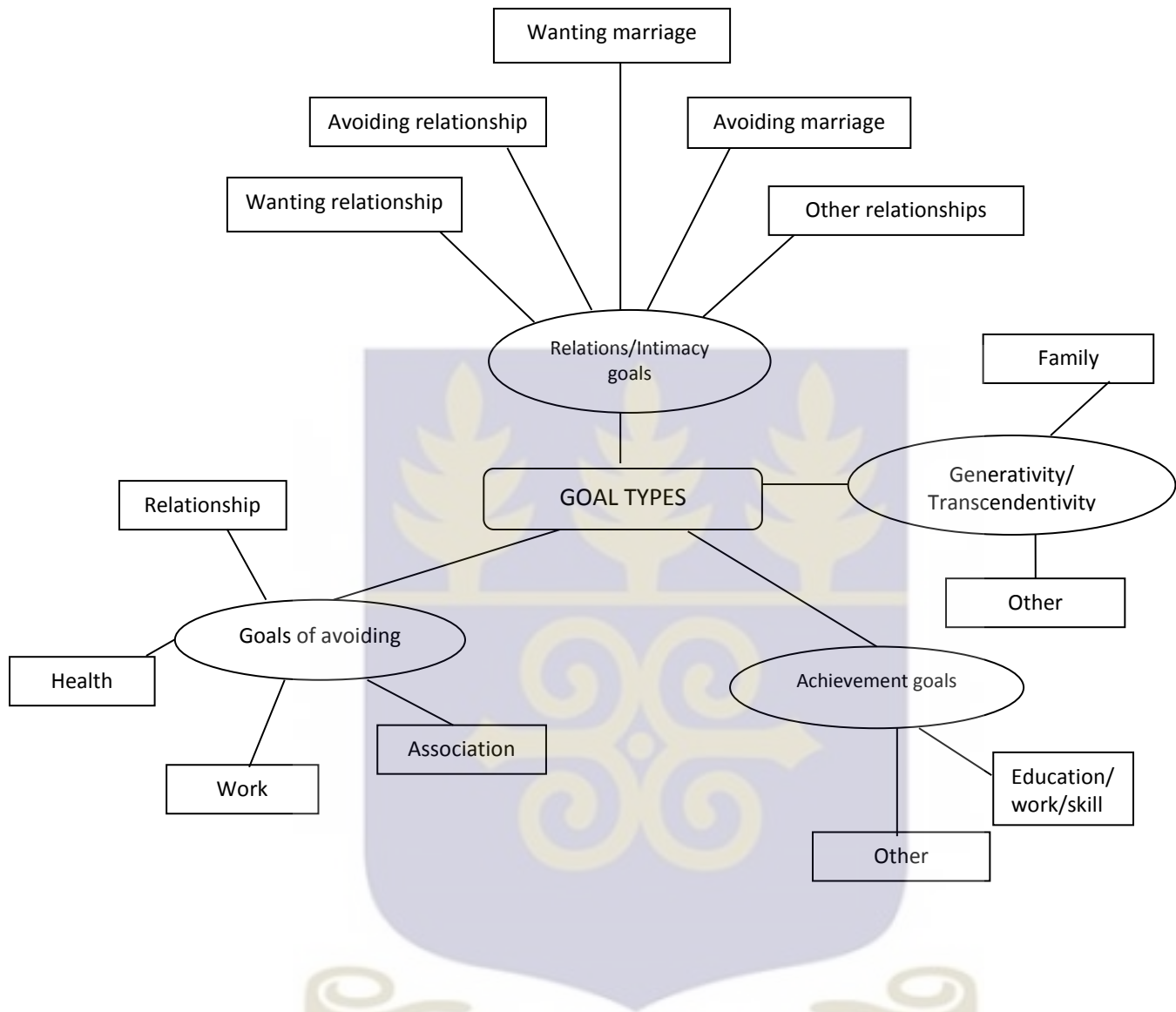
Relations/ Intimacy	Generativity/ Transcendentivity	Religion/ Spirituality	Achievement (sch/work)	Achievement (material)
To have a child	To take care of family	To become a pastor	To continue/finish school	To get money
To get married	To save money for future	To be able to pray and win souls	To get a job	To own a house
To avoid pregnancy	To educate children		To save money to continue schooling	To travel
To avoid bad company	To be a responsible person in society		To save money to learn a skill	To buy a car
To become independent	To do charity		To start my own business	To be well established in life
To avoid getting into a relationship before marriage	To be a future leader		To find accommodation	To get a nice grade
			To learn a skill	To attain a scholarship
			To become a footballer	
			To own a shop	
			To get another job	
			To expand business	
			To become a boxer	
			To become an army commander	
			To become a lawyer	
			To become a policeman	

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

## 5.2 Goal Types

In the qualitative analysis of this study, the 'goal types' theme comprised of four organizing themes and 13 basic themes. This thematic network examined the (type of) goals that young people set for themselves. Figure 5.1 reflects the various dimensions of goal types (relations/intimacy, Generativity/trancendentitivity, Achievement goals and Goals of Avoiding) grouped by five organising themes based on Emmons's (2003) classification of goals.

**Figure 5.1 Thematic Network on Goal Types**



The study examined the distribution of each goal mentioned by duration of stay (migration status) in the localities. Goals that were included in the quantitative analysis were those that were selected by at least ten respondents. These were analysed by their goal types and further explained by the qualitative analysis. The goals analysed under Relation/Intimacy goals were ‘having a child’, ‘getting married’, ‘avoiding pregnancy’, ‘becoming independent’ and ‘avoiding bad company’. The goals analysed under Generativity goals were ‘saving’ and ‘taking care of family’. Finally, the study analysed Achievement goals. These are ‘continuing/finishing school’, ‘getting a job’, ‘getting money’, ‘starting a business’ and

‘finding accommodation’. The duration of stay was characterized into ‘non-migrant’ (respondents that had lived in the locality since birth), ‘<2 years’, ‘2-5 years’, and ‘>5 years’. Based on the literature, it was expected that respondents that have stayed in the locality for a period of more than five years would have similar traits as the non-migrants (those that had lived in the locality since birth). Since studies have shown that when migrants live in a community after a while, they begin to behave in ways similar to the non-migrants in those communities, it was also expected that, for the most part, ‘recent migrants’ (migrants that have lived in the localities for a period of less than two years) would behave quite differently from intermediate migrants.

### **5.2.1 Relation/Intimacy goals**

Emmons (2003) defined Relation/Intimacy goals as ‘*close reciprocal relationships*’. In the qualitative analysis part of the study, it was reflected by sexual relationships, marriage and childbirth.

#### **5.2.1.1 Having a child and duration of stay in community**

Of the 326 respondents, about one-fifth of them, have ‘having a child’ as a goal. As can be seen from Figure 5.2a, 21 percent of the non-migrants wanted to have a child. This proportion is higher than those of the migrant groups. This may have several explanations. This may be because the non-migrants may be in their familial settings and have family members who are willing to help them in the raising of their children. Migrants on the other hand may not have that opportunity. Also, according to respondents in the non-migrant female focus groups, among the Ga communities, if a woman had a child, there was a double benefit. First, the man is considered her husband (regardless of whether he is married or not) and secondly, that is a form of financial security for her. The participants also pointed out that many young

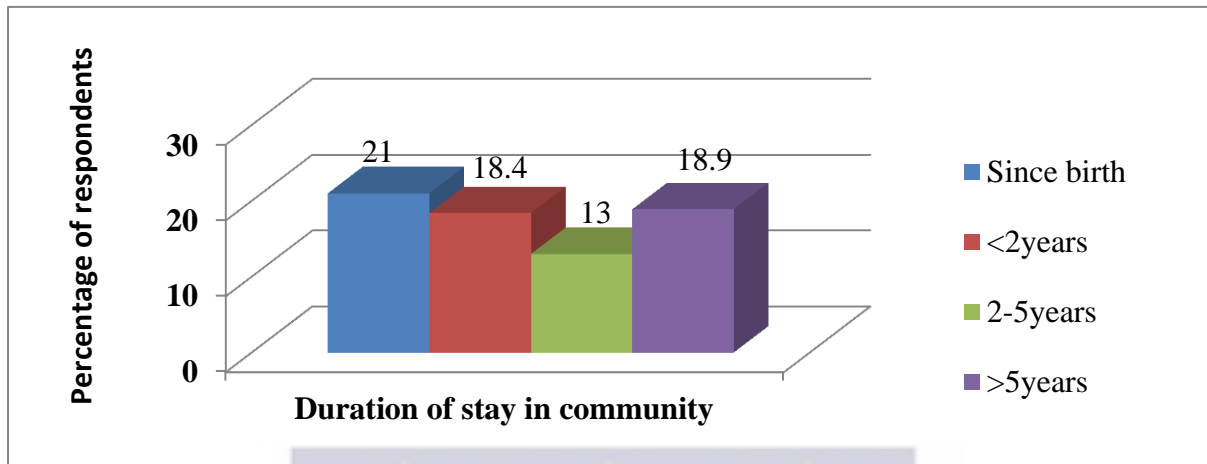
women are pressured by societal expectations to have a child. In the focus group discussions, it was explained:

*As you have given birth with a man, he is your husband....our problem too is that if all your friends have given birth you will also be expected by the society to also give birth (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

Migrants on the other hand, pointed out that children were only a hindrance and men that had children with them hardly took responsibility of their children.

*....it will be difficult if you are holding a child. You may be able to gather some money but maybe the week you want to start learning a skill, your child may get sick. (female migrant, 20-24)*

In addition, about 18 percent of recent migrants and again about 18 percent of long-term migrants have a goal of having a child. Both of these groups have a higher percentage with this goal than does those who have resided in the locality for between 2-5 years (as seen in Figure 5.2a). This may be because, while migrants that have been in the communities for a period of more than five years may begin to act as non-migrants, recent migrants may on the other hand be influenced by their immediate past statuses as non-migrants and the goals they had as non-migrants, or by their desire to save up and start a family. The proportion of intermediate migrants with the goal of having a child is lower compared to that of recent migrants (Figure 5.2a). This may be the effect of adjusting from how they initially perceived the circumstances of place of destination to be, before migration, to one based on a person's actual environment and current realities.

**Figure 5.2a Having a child and duration of stay in community**

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 5.2.1.2 Getting married and duration of stay in community

With regard to wanting a relationship, intimate/sexual relationships among young people have a negative connotation in the Ghanaian culture, and perhaps that explained why participants in the focus group discussions either spoke of it as a negative practice or something they wanted to avoid. Participants that spoke about avoiding relationships, and even marriage, did not only speak of it in terms of something they had to avoid, but also something that could get in their way of achieving the things they wanted to achieve. As articulated by one of the male migrants:

*“Until I get what I want I will not get married now. Marriage is not compulsory neither is giving birth. As for me I want to achieve my aim; I want to get four to five shops, which means I’m a big boy... but if I give birth right now.... My uncle is a contractor he will not help me again. Some people will not help you if you have a girlfriend. If I take a girlfriend she will only spend my money” (male migrant, 20-24)*

The older non-migrant females hardly mentioned marriage as a goal for people of their age. This may be explained by the cultural perception of what marriage is among the Gas. For them, having a child was synonymous with being married. For instance, they explained:

*...So far as you have given birth with a man, he is your husband (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

As explained by the respondents, young women in the community used childbearing therefore as a survival strategy. They would have a child with a man and be considered his wife, and he would provide for her and the child.

The older female migrants were the only group that indicated wanting relationships, and often spoke of this in relation with actually getting married. However, unlike the non-migrants, migrant females did not find the men so dependable, and even when they had conceived a child with the men, the men seldom took responsibility for their children. As stated by a migrant female:

*... Everyone wants marriage, who doesn't want to get married...these days, many of the men are deceptive....when they impregnate you, they either send you away or run away. (Female migrant, 20-24)*

But more importantly, due to the fact that many migrants made very little money at the end of the day, there was a lot of dependence on men for economic support. Their relationships also reflected their dependence on men for economic support, and the exploitation and violence the female migrants often faced as a result of this dependence.

*This one is my own child...but the man, he doesn't mind us at all. Sometimes he gives us 500 (5 pesewas), sometimes he gives us 5000 (50 pesewas). The day he is in a good mood, not that he doesn't have money, he really has some, but he will give you one cedi. If I complain, he will beat me up and send me off. (female migrant, 20-24)*

*...and you put up with it because you sell things and they are not buying them. If your things were being bought, you wouldn't even mind them. (Migrant female, 20-24)*

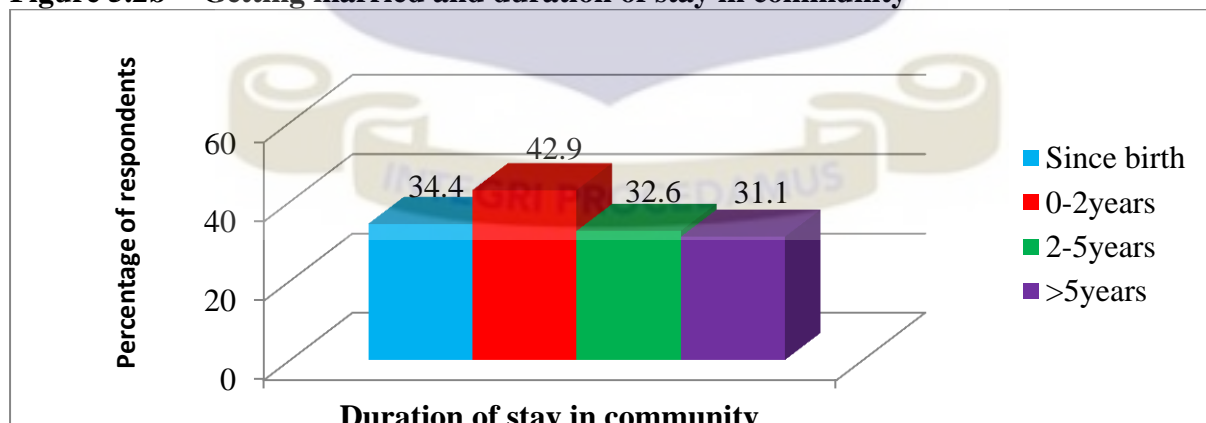
Most of the 15-19 year olds (both male and female, migrants and non-migrants) do not have marriage as a goal. Furthermore, the 20-24 males, both migrant and non-migrants, seemed to see marriage as an obstacle to the things they wanted to attain. On the whole, marriage for young people of these ages seems more of a goal for older female migrants than for any of

the other groups. This may be because the younger ones may be in school. For instance, a male migrant explained:

*My opinion is, as for me I'm not ready to marry because I am a soccer player...  
(migrant male, 20-24)*

In all, a little over one-third of the respondents had a goal of getting married. This is slightly reflected in Figure 5.2b. As can be seen, recent migrants have the highest proportion of people with the goal of getting married compared to the other migration groups. This may be explained by the findings from literature and the focus group discussions. As mentioned earlier, among the non-migrant females, once a person has a child, they are considered married. One may be right therefore in saying that between having a child and getting married, a person may choose having a child as a goal. Again, some migrants migrate with the view of earning money to prepare for marriage. It may therefore explain why the proportion of respondents that have a goal of getting married among recent migrants is higher than that of their counterparts.

**Figure 5.2b Getting married and duration of stay in community**

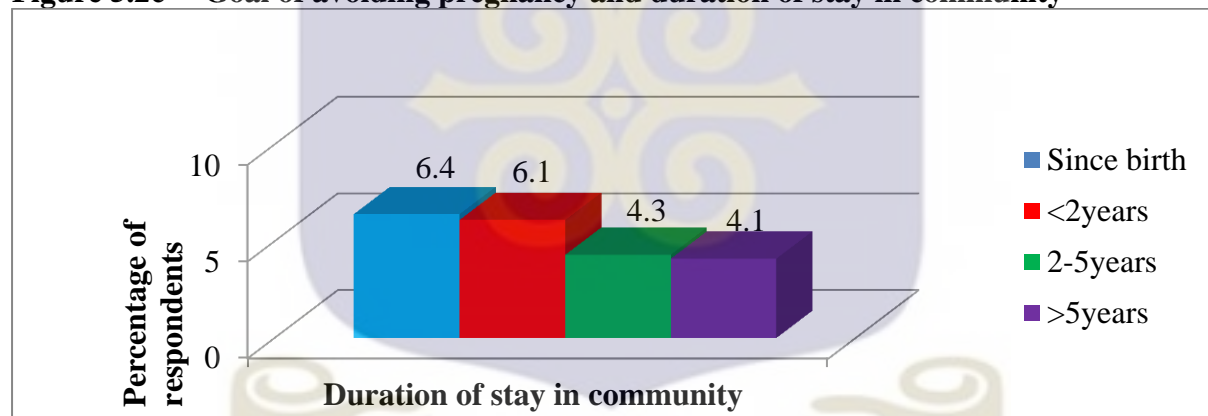


Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 5.2.1.3 Avoiding pregnancy and duration of stay in community

Only 5.5 percent of the respondents indicated that they had a goal of avoiding a pregnancy. Considering the fact that non-migrants may find it more convenient to care for children than migrants, it is quite surprising that a higher proportion of the non-migrants mentioned that they had a goal of avoiding pregnancy, than the proportion among the various groups that had a goal of avoiding a pregnancy, as can be seen in Figure 5.2c. However, this may be explained by the fact that some non-migrants may still be in school, and may be consciously preventing pregnancies in order to stay in school. This may be because, for those in school, there is often education on the importance of prevention of pregnancy. In-school respondents may benefit from this much better than individuals who are not in school.

**Figure 5.2c Goal of avoiding pregnancy and duration of stay in community**

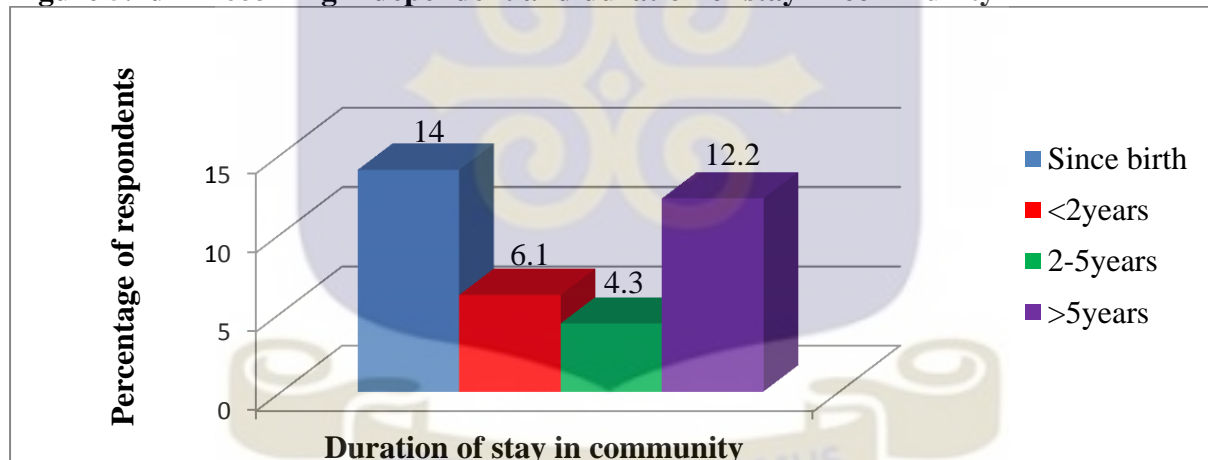


Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 5.2.1.4: Becoming independent and duration of stay in community

Eleven percent of the respondents had independence as a goal they wanted to attain. Migrants depend on each other a lot for survival especially during the period of adjustment. It is therefore understandable that recent migrants and intermediate migrants had the lowest percentage (6.1 and 4.3 respectively) stating that they wanted to be independent, as seen in Figure 5.2d. However, among the non-migrants, 14 percent said they wanted to be independent. Being independent could mean living on their own, providing their own means, being accountable only to themselves instead of someone else, among others. Also, after five years, migrants have adjusted to their new environments and would more likely lean towards independence like the non-migrants.

**Figure 5.2d** Becoming independent and duration of stay in community

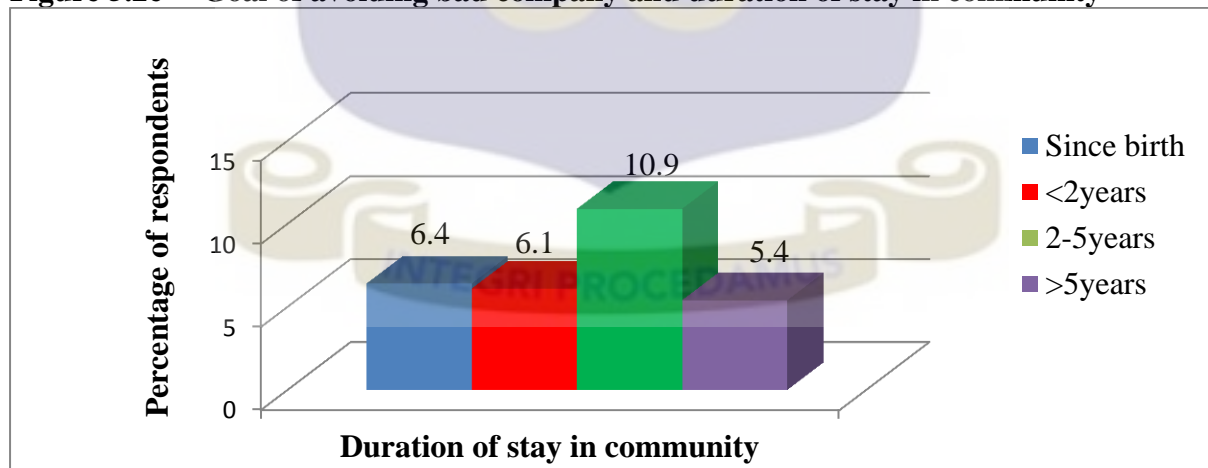


Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 5.2.1e: Avoiding bad company and duration of stay in community

It was found from the focus group discussions that, many of the young people are easily influenced into bad habits by joining bad company. Seven percent of the respondents stated that they had ‘avoiding bad company’ as a goal. This percentage was similar for non-migrants and the other groups of migrants as shown in Figure 5.2e. However, for respondents that had been in the community for a period of 2-5 years, about 11 percent of them said that they had a goal of avoiding bad company. The higher percentage that this group has may be because non-migrants have always been in the communities and probably have friends they have known for years and grew up with. Long-term migrants are again behaving similar to non-migrants. Also, ‘recent’ migrants may still be adjusting and may not have learned yet, how much negative influence may come from the groups they join. Between two and five years, it is possible that migrants would have adjusted to the strategies for survival within their new environments.

**Figure 5.2e Goal of avoiding bad company and duration of stay in community**



Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 5.2.2 Generativity/Transcendentivity goals

Emmons (2003) defined Generativity/Transcendentivity these goals as goals of giving of oneself to others and a concern for the future. In the qualitative analysis, this was explained by two basic themes, 'family' and 'other', and reflected the kinds of support that young people want to give, either to their families (both people they are related to or have close ties with) or to groups/other people (possibly unrelated to them) within their society.

#### 5.2.2.1 Taking care of family and duration of stay in community

In the focus group discussions, migrants spoke of generativity goals more than non-migrants did. This should be expected, since studies by Ansell (2000), Riisøen et al. (2004), Yaqub (2007) among others indicate that many migrants migrate for economic reasons, to be able to support their families at their place of origin. However, it was interesting to note that, it was the older female migrants that spoke of generativity goals related to family. A migrant female explained:

*As for me, the goal I have is that I want to get money to look after my children and my family members (female migrant, 20-24).*

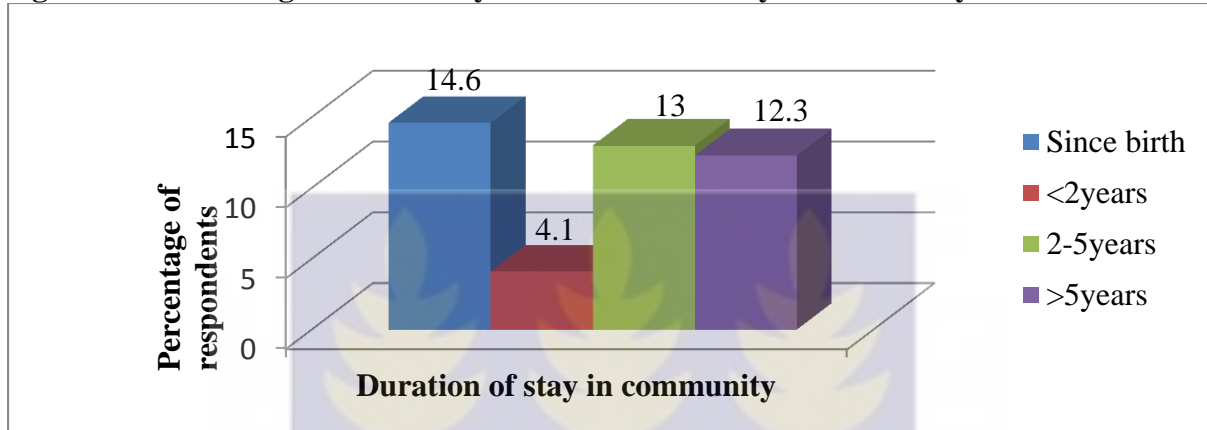
Another also stated:

*I came here to find money to look after my children so that they can grow up and become important people as I never had the chance to be (Migrant female, 20-24).*

Just about 12 percent out of the total number of respondents had a goal of taking care of family. This proportion was very similar to the proportion of respondents in the various groups having that goal, except for recent migrants. For the non-migrant group in this study, due to the fact that they live in an urban poor community, it is expected that individuals will wish to contribute to the household budget/income by taking care of other members of the family. The reason why recent migrants may have such a low proportion with a goal of taking care of family, even compared to other migrant groups may be that this group of individuals,

for the first two years, may have to adjust to life as a migrant, and stabilize themselves before reaching out to other members of the family. This may explain the differences seen in Figure 5.3a. The true generativity goals of Recent migrants may be seen in Figure 5.3b.

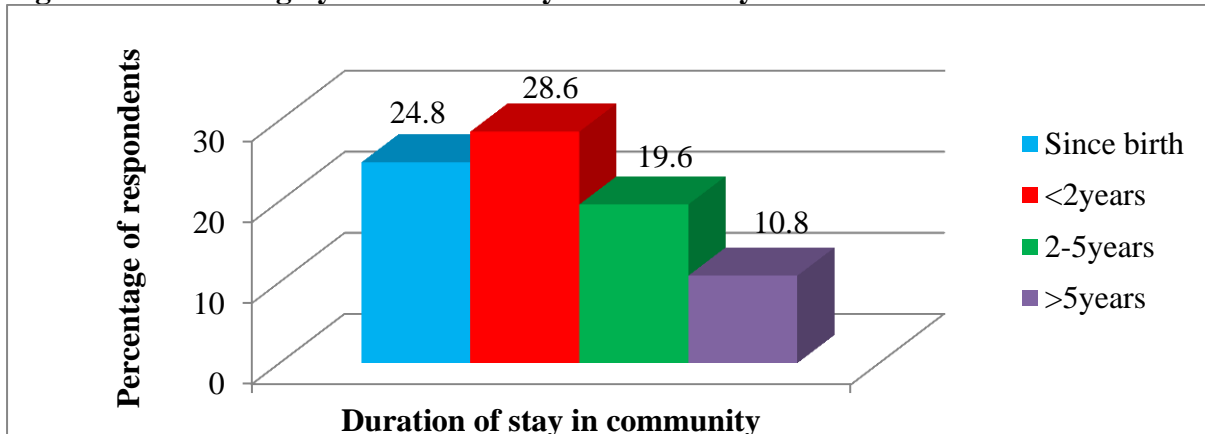
**Figure 5.3a Taking care of family and duration of stay in community**



Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 5.2.2.2 Saving and duration of stay in community

In the focus group discussions, other groups of migrants beside the older female migrants were more focused on self-betterment goals like acquiring a skill or getting an education. Young people usually want to save as a way of mobilizing funds towards their future. Over one fifth of the respondents stated that they have a goal of saving money. In Figure 5.3b, again, a higher percentage of recent migrants than the other migration groups had a goal of saving money. Many migrants come to urban cities with a goal of bettering themselves. In this regard, ‘recent’ migrants are most likely more aggressive and more ambitious than migrants that have stayed in the cities for longer. The proportion of respondents who have a goal of saving money within the group decreased as the duration of stay in the community increased, that is, about one-fifth for respondents that have been in the community for 2-5 years, and about one-tenth for respondents that had been in the community for over five years.

**Figure 5.3b Saving by duration of stay in community**

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

‘Other’ generativity goals were indicated by higher proportion of non-migrants, probably because they are attached to the community that they come from. According to a participant,

*I realised that I was a very young girl and I sort of wanted them (other young girls) to be like me. Not like me per se but they should forget about the things of this world. So I thought that if you occupied them with singing, but not the worldly songs, rather gospel songs it will turn their minds from going astray in their lives. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

This was usually done by setting up organized groups with particular aims or purposes, as official or friendly as it may be. One of the participants reported:

*I have started an NGO that supports poor children and the less privileged. It's a young charity which supports children in James Town, Bukuom and Ussher Town. I started on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 2011. I have twenty children I support. Out of the twenty I support, only six are in school. The remaining fourteen, my aspiration is to take them to school if I get the funds (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

### 5.2.3 Achievement goals

Achievement goals are described in the study as goals of attaining something for oneself (as opposed to the previous types described above which had to do with relations with others.

These goals were described in the qualitative analysis by two basic themes –

educational/work (that is, goals related to one's education, learning a skill or finding a job) and 'other' goals.

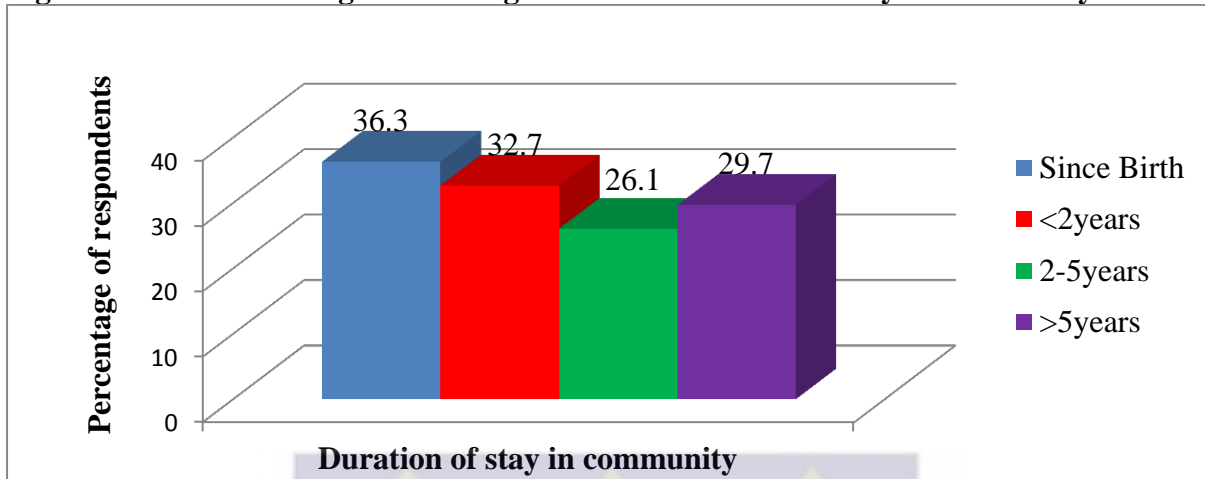
### 5.2.3.3 Continuing or finishing school and duration of stay in community

The picture that was created by the non-migrants in the focus group discussions is that most 15-19 year old non-migrants are already in school. Therefore, educational goals among these groups were in relation to schooling after completing their current levels of education. This was reflected in statements like:

*I have decided that when I complete school I will attend a computer school and an accounting school (female non-migrant, 15-19)*

This may explain why (Figure 5.4a) the non-migrant group reported the highest percentage for educational goals compared to the other groups. About one-third of all the respondents had a goal of continuing or finishing school. Among the various groups, non-migrants had the highest proportion within a group that had a goal of continuing or finishing school. It is also known that some people migrate to urban cities with the goal of earning some money to go back to school. Therefore, as reflected in the <2year duration group or the recent migrants, over 32 percent of them had a goal of continuing or finishing school, which is higher than the other migrant groups.



**Figure 5.4a Continuing or finishing school and duration of stay in community**

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

The 15-19 year old male and female migrants were more focused on personal goals that would lead to self-betterment. While younger non-migrant males and females had both educational goals as well as goals of learning skills, educational goals were never mentioned among the younger migrant females. They were more focused on goals of learning a skill. Educational goals were indicated among both male and female 15-19 year old non-migrants, and among 20-24 year old male non-migrants. However, while the females spoke of their educational goals in relation to further educational goals, the males linked their educational goals to future careers. For instance, one participant from the FGDs commented:

*I want to continue my education so that I can go to the army (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

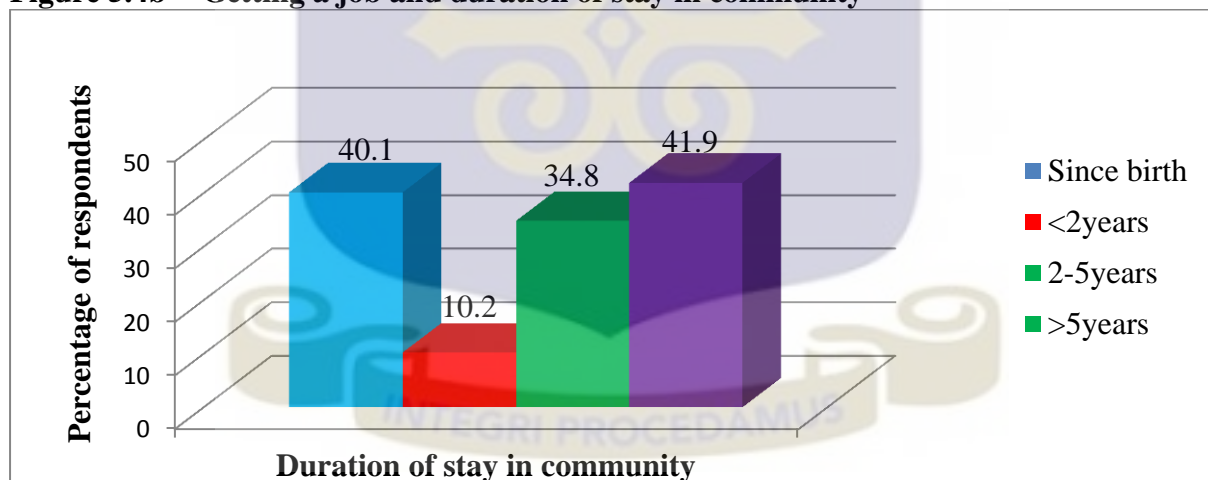
From the focus group discussions, many male migrants have educational goals – either as a reason for migrating to Accra, that is, to attain an education while working alongside, or to save to go back to school. However, there was no mention of education among any of the female migrant groups in the FGDs. It is therefore assumed that the recent migrants with educational goals described in Figure 5.4a are mostly male migrants. However, the

quantitative data indicates that there are just about the same proportion of male migrants as female migrants who had the goal of continuing/finishing school.

### 5.2.3.2 Getting a job and duration of stay in community

Generally, about one-third of the respondents said they were looking for a job. From Figure 5.4b, it can be seen that more than 40 percent of the non-migrants said they had a goal of getting a job. Only about 10 percent of the ‘recent migrants) said they had a goal of getting a job. This may be because of the zeal and aggressiveness characteristic of migrants as described in the theory of migrant selectivity. It is possible that recent migrants may be far more aggressive and settle for whatever job is available for them to do. As their duration of stay increases, the proportion of the migrant groups that have a goal of getting a job increases.

**Figure 5.4b** Getting a job and duration of stay in community



Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 5.2.3.3 Getting money and duration of stay in community

As can be seen from Table 5.4, a little less than one-fifth of the respondents have a goal of getting money, and just about the same proportion among the non-migrants also had that goal. However, recent migrants reported the highest proportion of respondents that had a goal

of getting money (22.4 percent). This may again be explained by the fact that young people often move to urban cities like Accra with the impression that Accra is a place to make money to better their lives. Migrants who have only recently arrived are, therefore, more likely to have a goal of getting money

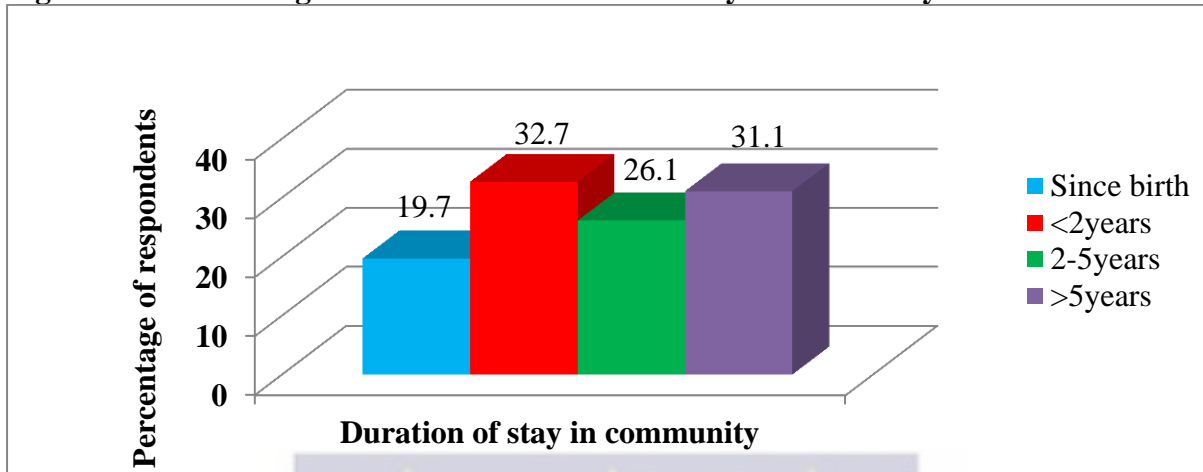
**Table 5.4 Getting money and duration of stay in community**

Duration of stay in community	Frequency	Percent	Total (N)
Since birth	30	19.1	157
Less than 2 years	11	22.4	49
2-5 years	7	15.2	46
Over 5 years	13	17.6	74
Total	61	18.7	326

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### **5.2.3.4 Starting a business and duration of stay in community**

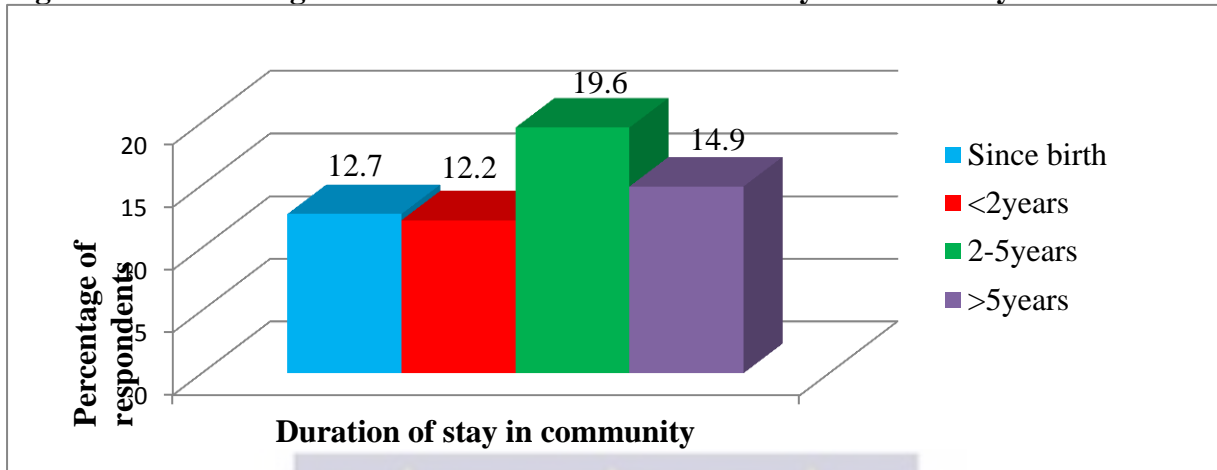
In all, about a quarter of the respondents had a goal of starting a business. In Figure 5.4d, over 32 percent of the recent migrants had a goal of starting a business, compared to less than 26 percent of those that had been in the community for a period of 2-5 years. However, for migrants that had been in the community for a period of more than five years, over 31 percent had a goal of starting a business. This may be because ‘recent’ migrants may settle for any kind of work or livelihood to sustain themselves when they adjust, while after a few years, they are more focused on adjusting and stabilizing themselves and may have preferences. After that period, they may start aiming towards more sustaining livelihoods of interest. Also, a little less than one-fifth of the non-migrants had a goal of starting their own business.

**Figure 5.4d Starting a business and duration of stay in community**

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 5.2.3.5 Finding accommodation and duration of stay in community

A little over 14 percent of the respondents said they had a goal of finding accommodation. Non-migrants and recent migrants had the lowest proportions of respondents that had a goal of finding accommodation, as seen in Figure 5.4e. This may be because, for non-migrants, many of them may live with family or in family homes and may not have an urgent need to move out. For recent migrants, many people migrate to join others or find themselves in groups and may, therefore, share in whatever sleeping arrangements that people in their groups have. After a duration of stay of two years (that is, between 2-5 years), the proportion of respondents seeking accommodation increased to about 20 percent. This may be because, after migrants have adjusted to their environments, they may finally want to get a place for themselves. Beyond five years, migrants may already have settled/be on their own, and are less likely than intermediate migrants to want to find accommodation.

**Figure 5.4e Finding accommodation and duration of stay in community**

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

#### 5.2.4 Avoidance goals

The goals of avoiding (something or a situation) were explained in the qualitative component only. The basic themes (for the ‘avoidance goals’ organizing theme) were relationship, health, work and association. The relationship theme referred to the goal of avoiding an intimate relationship (a boy-girl relationship). This goal was mentioned among all the groups apart from the 20-24 year old non-migrants. In spite of their financial/economic dependence on men for survival, some migrant women expressed a desire to avoid a relationship in order to avoid the exploitation that comes with being in a relationship.

*What I want to avoid is, that a man will make a fool of me. As for me, a man has made a fool of me before so I do not want to go for someone who will make a fool of me again (female migrant, 20-24)*

Another explained:

*When you go to him, you will find him lying down with your fellow woman. If you go and say anything, he will beat you. If you ask him for money, he will not give you. But in a day when he is in a good mood, if it's one cedi, he will put it in your hands and send you off (female migrant, 20-24)*

The male respondents of both age groups, both migrants and non-migrants also explained that intimate relationships are very common among people of their age. However, they also spoke of 'women' as a distraction towards attaining one's goal. As one migrant male stated earlier:

*My uncle is a contractor. He will not help me again. Some people will not help you if you have a girlfriend. If I take a girlfriend, she will only spend my money (male migrant, 20-24)*

Both migrant and non-migrant females aged 15-19 expressed the need to avoid sexual relationships. However, the 'older' female migrant group (aged 20-24) described the younger female migrant group as very sexually promiscuous.

*Maybe out of ten, three people will be good, or out of ten, two will be good. So out of ten, about two go out to sell things, but 8 sleep around...some of them will go round all day and come and throw themselves out here at night....It's the lack of money that makes them do that when they come (female migrant, 20-24)*

Being in poor urban communities, many young people have to work to support themselves for their education, in spite of some support they may receive from their parents. In view of the negative consequences of working at young ages, some non-migrant groups expressed the need to avoid work so as to focus on their studies.

*Even though we are in school and we need money to support ourselves, we should leave the idea of working for now to finish our education first. There are some who sell ice-water to get money but they are at risk of getting knocked down by a car. Because their parents will not give them money, they need to work. (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

"Avoiding association" was defined as avoiding certain relationships with certain (groups/kinds of) people. This was brought up in discussions concerning how much of an influence friends can make on a person. For the females, this was mainly sexual (relationships, pregnancy, abortion), while for males, it was relationships, but also involved other wrongful activities such as doing drugs and smoking. A female non-migrant recounted:

*Sometimes bad company can affect you. If for instance your friends give you bad advice it can affect you. And also some parents are harsh that you cannot tell them things that bother you. So when you join a group that does not give good advice it can be a problem (female non-migrant, 15-19).*

One of the migrant men explained:

*I have been here for one year. And things have changed in this society. Young guys are taking alcohol so I want to avoid that, taking girlfriends and smoking. So I want to avoid such things so that I can achieve my future. (male migrant, 15-19)*

### **5.3 Summary**

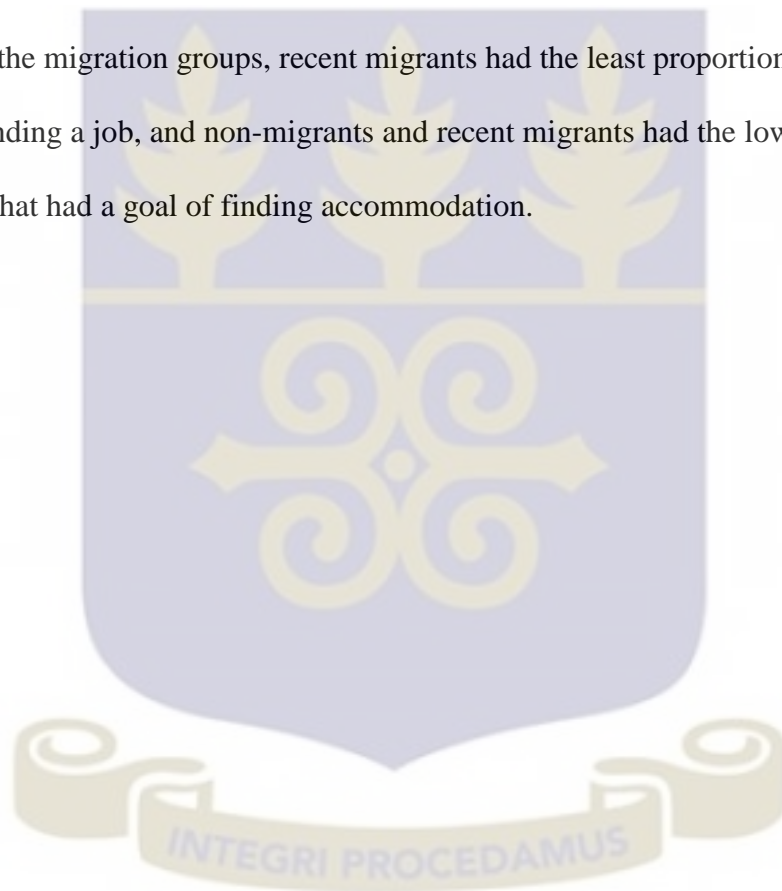
The study adapted three of the four goal categories of Ebersole (1998), Emmons (1999) and Wong (1998) which are relations/intimacy goals, generativity/transcenditivity goals and achievement goals. The study again divided achievement goals into school/work achievement goals and material achievement goals. Avoidance goals were also examined among the participants at the focus group discussions.

A higher proportion of non-migrants than any other migration group had a goal of having a child. Recent migrants also demonstrated a desire to have a child and this maybe because of their immediate past statuses as non-migrants. This proportion, however, decreases with increased duration of stay in the community. In addition, intimate relationships were spoken about as something negative. Even though male participants admitted to be sexually active, they saw intimate relationships as a hindrance. Also, even though older migrant females experienced a lot of exploitation in intimacy relationships due to their economic dependence on men, they showed a desire for marriage and childbirth.

The goal of avoiding pregnancy was not common among the migrant groups or older female non-migrants. The need for migrants to depend on other migrants for survival is reflected in the fact that recent migrants and intermediate migrants had the lowest proportion of respondents with the goal of being independent. Furthermore, intermediate migrants seemed most streetwise, as a higher proportion of this group than the others had a goal of

avoiding bad company. The results also showed that a high proportion of intermediate migrants than recent migrants had goals of taking care of family. As expected, the non-migrant group had the highest proportion of respondents with educational goals compared to the other migration groups. However, educational goals were not mentioned among the younger migrant females in the FGDs. The results also showed that females spoke of their educational goals in relation to further educational goals while the males linked their educational goals to future careers.

Finally, among the migration groups, recent migrants had the least proportion of respondents with goals of finding a job, and non-migrants and recent migrants had the lowest proportions of respondents that had a goal of finding accommodation.



## CHAPTER 6

### **Exploring the relationship between Interacting Systems, Control variables and individual goals of migrants and non-migrants**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter addresses the second objective which is to describe the relationship between migration status and goals. In doing so, it explores the relationship between interpersonal systems (organizational membership), personal systems (migration status, self-construal) and social system (community of residence) on the one hand, and individual goal of migrants and non-migrants. By so doing, it explores the relationship between some background characteristics of respondents (namely age, sex and self-construal) and goals of respondents, for different durations of stay in the community.

For each goal, the study described the proportion of each migration group with that goal, and compared these proportions among the four different migration groups (non-migrants, recent migrants, intermediate migrants and long-term migrants). Also, each of these comparisons was done differently based on three background variables – age, sex and self-construal. The presentation of the comparisons was done by goal types – relation goals, achievement goals and generativity/transcendentivity goals. A set of tables containing the tabular form of the figures, together with the chi-squares and p-values are found in appendix 10.

## 6.2 Age and goals

**6.2.1: Age and Intimacy goals** – the study examined the relationship between respondents' background characteristics and the goals that they had set. These were grouped by goal type and duration of stay in a community. From the examination of all four migration groups, Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.2.1.b, Figure 6.1c and Figure 6.1d, it appears that recent migrants are very similar to non-migrants in their desire for relation goals, probably due to the fact that they have only recently migrated. Also, migrants that have lived in the community for a period of more than five years tend to act as non-migrants.

The first relation goal examined was the goal of having a child. Within each migration group, the proportion of the older age group that had a goal of having a child was higher than the proportion of younger people in the same group. This is expected since they are older and more likely to be ready to start a family.

Among non-migrants (Figure 6.1a), about 20 percent of younger respondents and about 22 percent of the older respondents had a goal of having a child. These proportions for older and younger respondents were higher than the proportions for the three other migration groups (Figure 6.1b, Figure 6.1c and Figure 6.1d). This may be because, as described earlier, the Gas have a traditional culture that encourages childbearing, and young women used childbearing as a form of economic security. The long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d) recorded the second highest proportions of older and younger respondents that had a goal of having children (19.4 percent of younger respondents and 18.9 percent of older respondents). This may be because, having lived in the communities for so long, they may have adjusted to the culture and are acting as non-migrants.

Among recent migrants (Figure 6.1b), about 17 percent of younger migrants and 18 percent of older migrants had the goal of having a child. However, for intermediate migrants,

(Figure 6.1c), the proportions are the lowest among the four migration groups (about nine percent and 16 percent for younger and older respondents respectively).

The difference between recent migrants and intermediate migrants may however be because after two years when they have adjusted to their new environments, they may also re-adjust and re-prioritize their goals, shifting from goals of building a family to ones of survival. The relationship between age and the goal of having a child was however not statistically significant.

For the goal of getting married, the proportions among non-migrants (Figure 6.1a) were similar to those among long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d). For these two migration groups, a higher proportion of the younger group than the older group have a goal of getting married. In the Ghanaian society, it is expected that a person gets married before having children. Even though the qualitative analysis showed that this is not necessarily the case among the Ga, it showed that a desire to get married could be synonymous to the desire of having a child. The fact that the proportions with the goal of getting married are higher among the younger groups for non-migrants and long-term migrants may be an indication of early marriage or childbirth in the community. Here also, the relationship between the goal of getting married and age was not statistically significant.

The discussions by the FGDs also showed that it was mostly older migrants that showed an interest in marriage. As indicated in Figure 6.1b, for recent migrants, about 47 percent of 20-24 year olds had a goal of getting married. This proportion is higher than the proportions of the respondents that had this goal in the other migration groups (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1c and Figure 6.1d). The difference between this proportion of recent migrants (Figure 6.1b) and the 32.9 percent among older non-migrants (Figure 6.1a) may be an indication of the culture of 'marriage before childbearing' that is more familiar among other cultures than the Ga culture.

Thus among non-migrants (Figure 6.1a) and long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d), a higher proportion of the younger age group had a goal of getting married, compared to the older age group. However, among recent migrants (Figure 6.1b) and intermediate migrants (Figure 6.1c), a higher proportion of the older age group had a goal of getting married.

The relationship between the goal of avoiding pregnancy and age was only statistically significant for non-migrants. With regards to the goal of avoiding pregnancy, a much higher proportion of the older age group have a goal of avoiding pregnancy compared to the younger age group. This may simply be due to their being more mature, and perhaps ‘pregnancy’ here refers to unwanted pregnancy. The proportion (2.7 percent) of younger non-migrants (Figure 6.1a) with this goal was about the same as the proportion (2.8 percent) of younger long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d) with this goal. This group is also more likely to be in school and more likely to receive messages on avoiding pregnancy. None of the younger recent migrants had a goal of avoiding pregnancy. This may be a result of them being a bit naïve and not as streetwise as they need to be. For instance, 4.5 percent of the younger intermediate migrants (Figure 6.1c) had a goal of avoiding pregnancy, and this may be due to their experiences and observations, and subsequently, being streetwise over time, as explained in the focus group discussions.

Among all four migration groups, a higher proportion of the older age group had a goal of being independent, except for the intermediate migrants (Figure 6.1c). Here again, long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d) act very similarly to non-migrants (Figure 6.1a). For non-migrants, about 18 percent of the older age group and 11 percent of the younger age group had a goal of becoming independent. For the long-term migrants (Figure 6.1d) also, about 19 percent of the older group and six percent of the younger group had a goal of being independent. However, the proportions among the other two migration groups were much less even for both age groups, and this may be because migrant groups use dependence as a

survival tool. The relationship between the goal of becoming independent and age were however only significant for long-term migrants.

Finally, the proportion of older non-migrants (Figure 6.1a) that had a goal of avoiding bad company is similar to the proportion of older recent migrants (Figure 6.1b). This may simply be because they are older and know better. However, for all younger age groups, it is only among the recent migrants that none of the respondents had a goal of avoiding bad company (Figure 6.1b). Contrary to this, among younger intermediate migrants, 18.2 percent had a goal of avoiding bad company (Figure 6.1c). This again is explained earlier in focus group discussions that after being on the streets for a while, migrants often learn about the importance of avoiding bad company. Also, this may be due to the environments in which they have grown up. While recent migrants have grown up in environments with relatively less risky social vices, non-migrants have had the opportunity to learn at a much younger age from their environments. At 2-5 years duration of stay when migrants have had time to know their environments better, a much higher proportion of the younger group have a goal of avoiding bad company. The relationship between avoiding bad company and age was however not statistically significant.



Figure 6.1a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Relation goals by Age

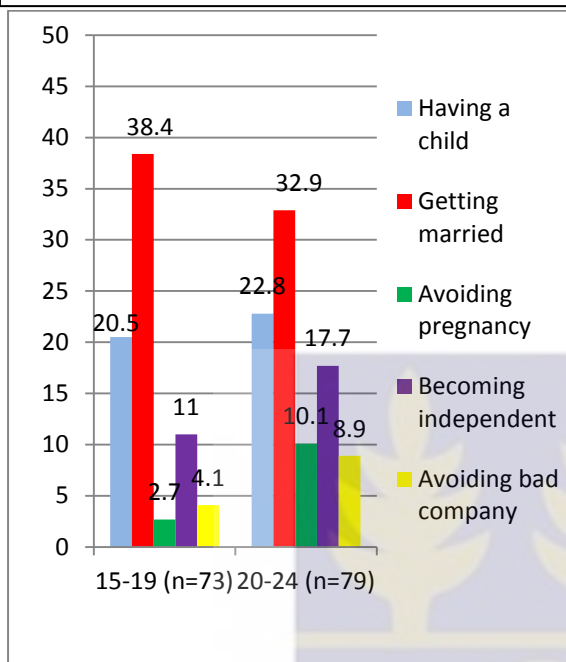


Figure 6.1b Percent distribution of Recent migrants' Relation goals by Age

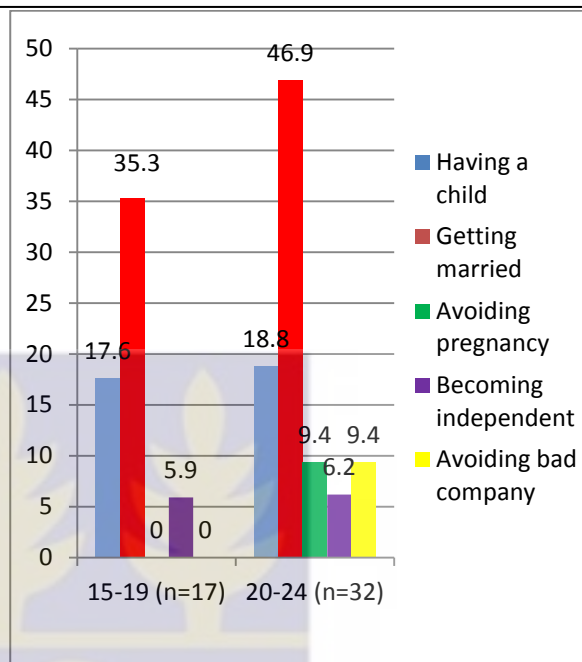


Figure 6.1c Percent distribution of Intermediate migrants' Relation goals by Age

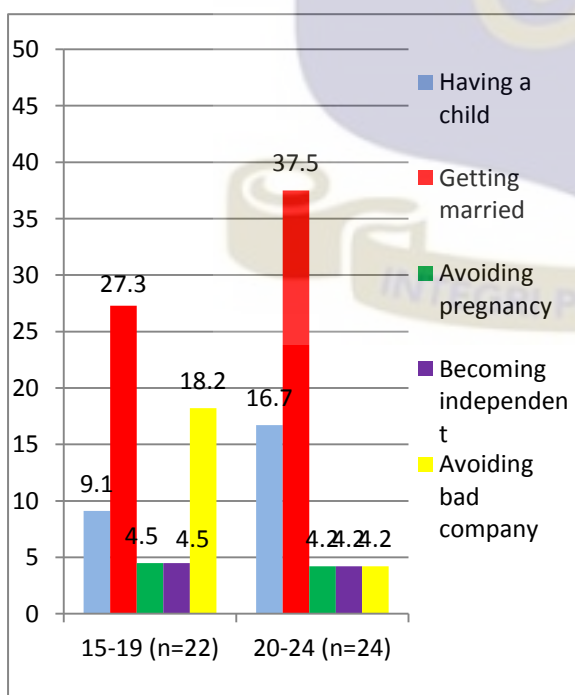
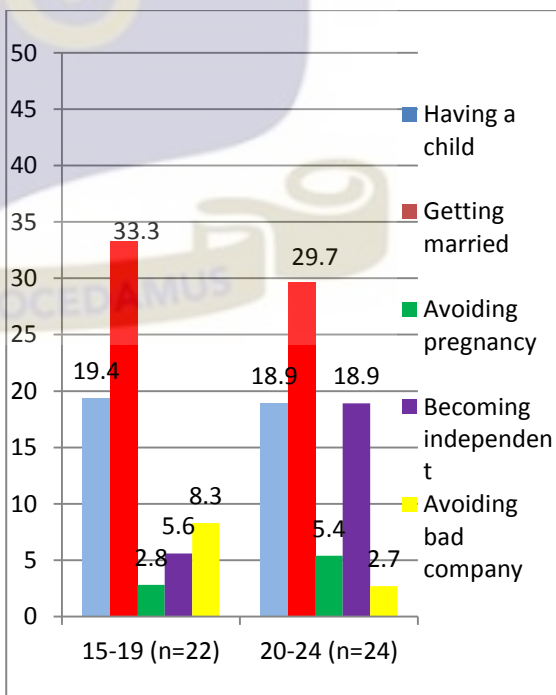


Figure 6.1d Percent distribution of Long-term migrants' Relation goals by Age



**6.2.2 Age and Achievement goals** – the relationship between the goal of continuing school and age was only significant for non-migrants. Comparing the goal of finishing school among both age groups, the proportion of the younger age group that had a goal of continuing or finishing school was about twice the proportion of the older group, for all four migration groups represented in Figure 6.2a, Figure 6.2b, Figure 6.2c and Figure 6.2d.

This may be because the younger group is more likely to be in school, and possibly, while younger people are in school, they are more likely to have educational goals of going on to the next level of education, especially at their age. Also, the proportion of younger recent migrants (Figure 6.2b) that had an educational goal is almost as high as that of younger non-migrants (Figure 6.2a). This may be an indication that a lot of younger migrants still have a desire to be in school. The proportion is however lower with intermediate migrants (Figure 6.2c).

The relationship between the goal of getting a job and age was statistically significant for recent migrant and long-term migrants. With the goal of getting a job, the proportion of younger recent migrants (Figure 6.2b) with this goal is lower than younger respondents in all other migration groups. Again, the proportion of older recent migrants with this goal is lower than the proportion of older respondents in the other migration groups with this goal. This may be because recent migrants, being new and out of desperation, may be more prepared to take up any kind of job. It could also be that while recent migrants may be complacent with having certain jobs, migrants that have stayed in their communities for a longer period of time may begin to search for ‘better’ jobs. Therefore, while 3.1 percent of older recent migrants had a goal of getting a job (Figure 6.2b), 37.5 percent of older intermediate migrants had this goal (Figure 6.2c).

For the goal of getting money, the younger recent migrants (Figure 6.2b) reported the highest percentage of respondents compared to the older or younger respondents in the three

other groups with this goal. This may be a reflection the ‘zeal’ with which young migrants migrate to urban cities. However, for each of the other migration groups (Figure 6.2a, Figure 6.2c and Figure 6.2d), including non-migrants, a higher proportion of the older age group has this goal, and the difference may be because, as seen in the focus group discussion, people of the older age group may have comparatively more responsibilities. In all, over 16 percent of the older age group had this goal compared to about 13 percent. This relationship was however not statistically significant for any of the groups.

With the goal of starting a business, non-migrants (Figure 6.2a) have the lowest proportions of respondents that have this goal, for younger respondents, and also for older respondents. This may be consistent with literature that migrants are relatively more ambitious than similar individuals in their places of destination. The relationship between the goal of starting a business and age was however only statistically significant for recent migrants and long-term migrants. For all four migration groups (Figure 6.2a, Figure 6.2b, Figure 6.2c and Figure 6.2d) however, a higher proportion of the older age group has this goal compared to the younger age group.

Next is the goal of finding accommodation. The relationship between this goal and age was only statistically significant for non-migrants and recent migrants. The desire to be on one’s own grows with age, and so expectedly, a higher proportion of 20-24 year olds compared to 15-19 year olds have a goal of getting accommodation, for all four migration groups (Figure 6.2a, Figure 6.2b, Figure 6.2c and Figure 6.2d). The proportions of intermediate migrants (Figure 6.2c) that had a goal of finding accommodation (about 14 percent for 15-19 year olds and 25 percent for 20-24year olds) are higher than the proportions of recent migrants (Figure 6.2b) that had this goal (about six percent for 15-19year olds and 16 percent of 20-24year olds). This may be because, as seen in the focus group discussions, recent migrants often depend on other migrants for many things including accommodation.

However, at duration of stay of 2-5 years (Figure 6.2c), higher proportions of intermediate migrants have a goal of finding accommodation probably because they may have adjusted to their new environment and find the need to be more independent.



Figure 6.2a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Achievement goals by Age

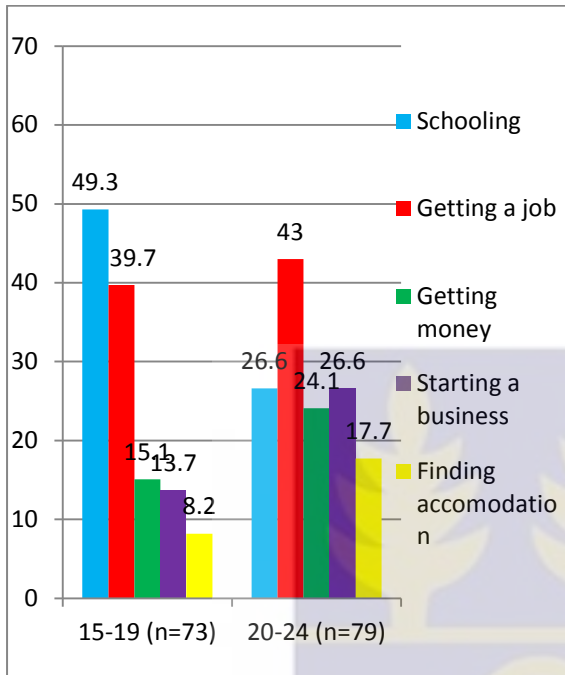


Figure 6.2b Percent distribution of Recent Migrants' Achievement goals by Age

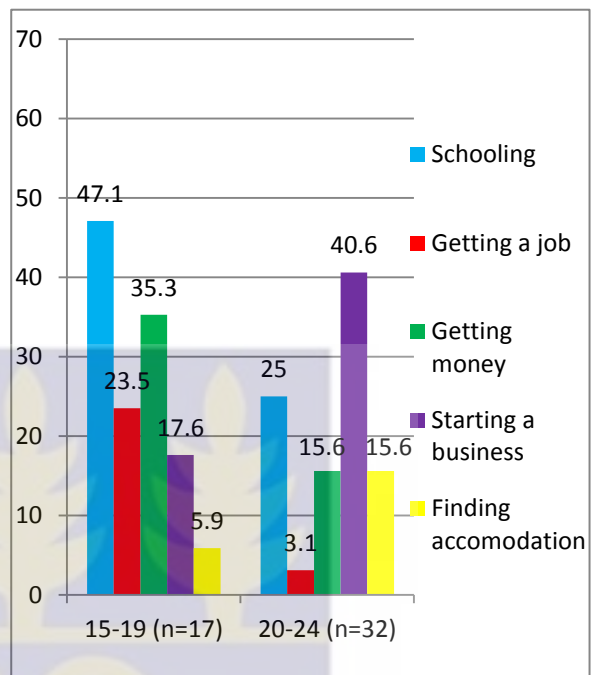


Figure 6.2c Percent distribution of Intermediate Migrants' Achievement goals by Age

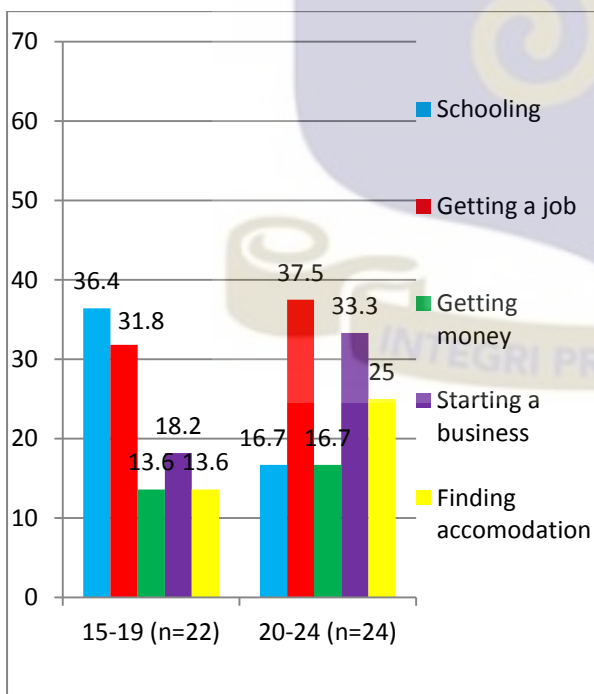
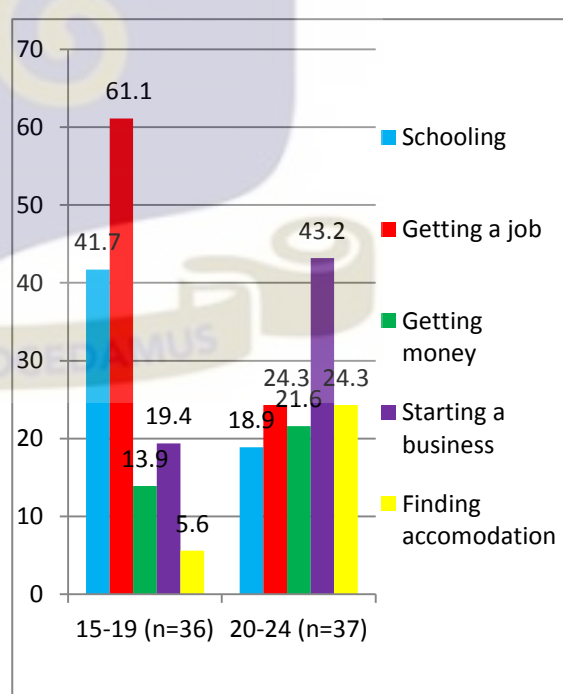


Figure 6.2d Percent distribution of Long-term Migrants' Achievement goals by Age



**6.2.3 Age and Generativity/Transcendentivity goals** – The first generativity goal examined was the goal of saving, and the relationship between this goal and age was only statistically significant for non-migrants and recent migrants only. Comparing younger respondents in all four migration groups, younger intermediate migrants (Figure 6.4c) had a higher proportion of respondents with the goal of saving. The advantage this group has over the other groups (Figure 6.4a, Figure 6.4b and Figure 6.4d) is that they have stayed in the communities as migrants, long enough to gain experience, and yet are younger and presumably have fewer responsibilities than the older groups. Older recent migrants (Figure 6.4b) had a higher proportion of respondents with the goal of saving. This may be because at age 20-24, their goal is often to come to Accra, save money and go back to their places of origin, as seen in the focus group discussions. However, the difficulty of saving is perhaps reflected among intermediate migrants (Figure 6.4c) when only about 16 percent of respondents had this goal.

The relationship between the goal of taking care of family and age was not statistically significant for any of the groups. For the goal of taking care of family, just about three percent of older recent migrants (Figure 6.4b) had a goal of taking care of family compared to over 15 percent of the older respondents in the other groups. Among the younger age group, recent migrants again had the lowest proportion of respondents with the goal of taking care of family. This is unexpected considering that migration is known to be a survival strategy with young people moving with the aim of sending money home. However, this may also be a reflection of the distinction between a push factor for migration and the things that migrants want to attain for themselves. It could be that migrants see remittances as a responsibility not a desire, and are instead preoccupied with the goal of self-betterment, probably saving.

The goal to take care of family comes in much later. Also, apart from recent migrants (Figure 6.4b), a higher proportion of older respondents than younger ones have a goal of taking care of family, and this may be either because being older, they feel a greater need to be responsible for their families, or because they may have families of their own.



Figure 6.4a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Generativity goals by Age

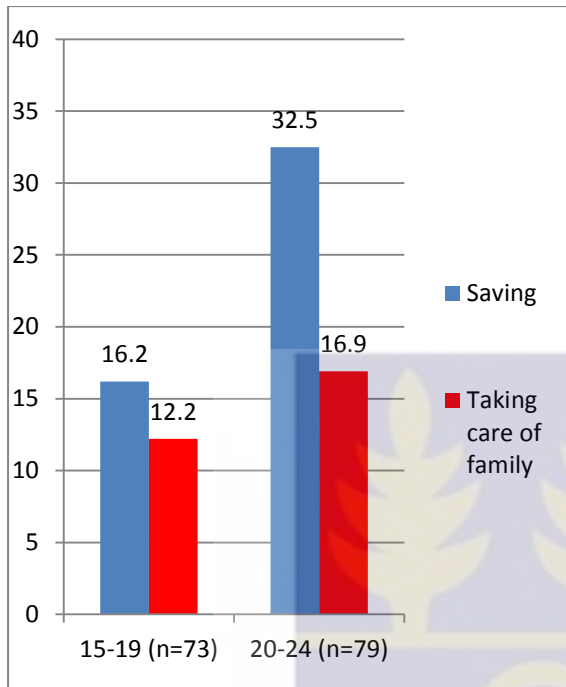


Figure 6.4b Percent distribution of Recent Migrants' Generativity goals by Age

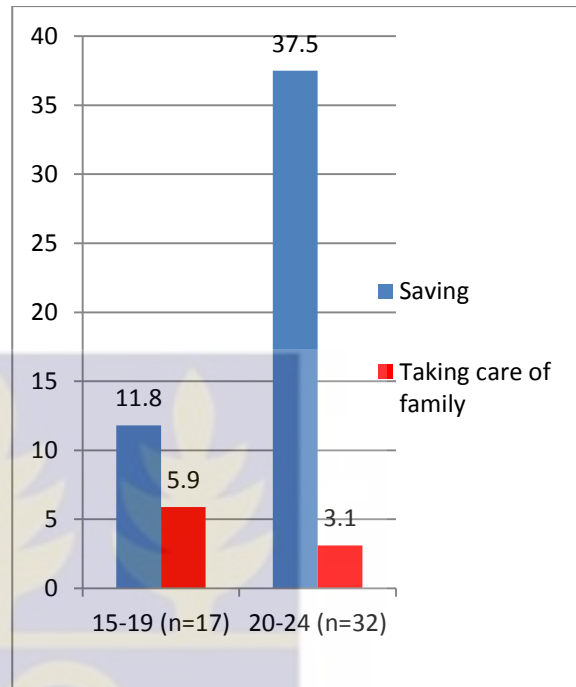


Figure 6.4c Percent distribution of Intermediate Migrants' Generativity goals by Age

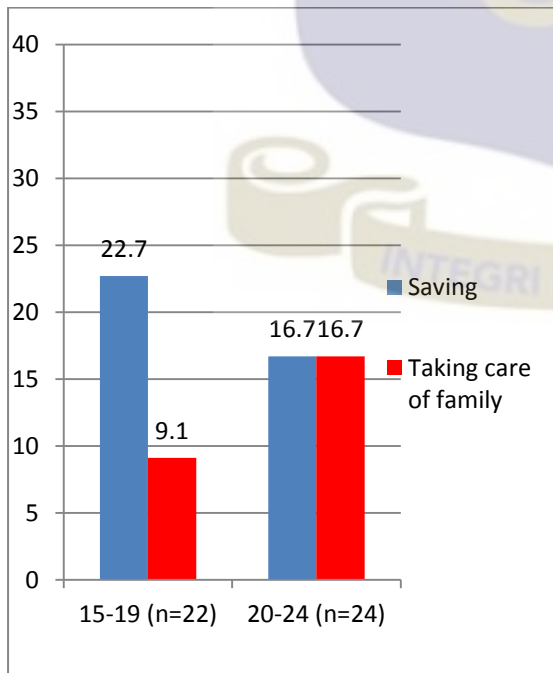
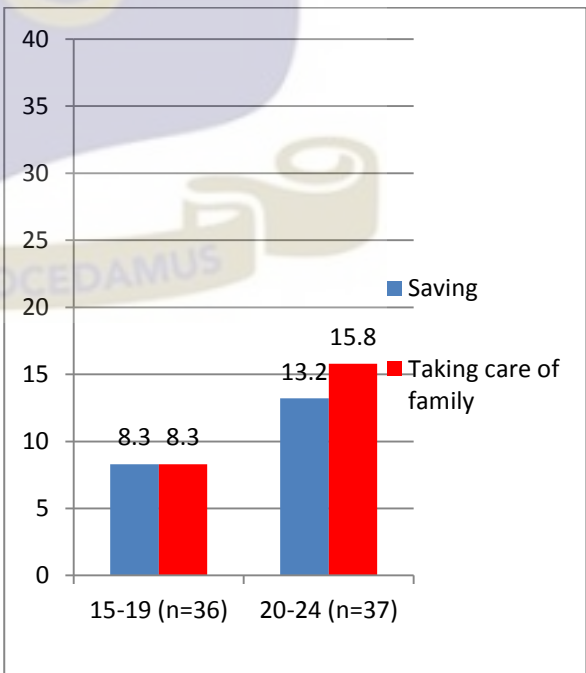


Figure 6.4d Percent distribution of Long-term Migrants' Generativity goals by Age



### 6.3 Sex and goals

**6.3.1 Sex and Relation goals** – As explained earlier, it is generally expected in Ghana, that a person married before having a child. Therefore, for both males and females in all migration groups (shown in Figure 6.5a, Figure 6.5b, Figure 6.31c and Figure 6.5d) the proportion of respondents with the goal of getting married is higher than the proportion with the goal of having a child. However, for recent migrants (Figure 6.5b), there is a high and almost equal proportion of males and females with a goal of getting married, and this may be the effect of former (rural) residence. In more rural areas, people tend to get married earlier. The findings in the focus group discussions, however, showed that it was mainly females that spoke of the goal of getting married, but especially female migrants. For intermediate migrants (Figure 6.5c) while over 40 percent of females had a goal of getting married, 25 percent of the males had this same goal. The goal of having a child and sex was not statistically significant. However the relationship between the goal of getting married and sex was not statistically significant for long-term migrants.

With the goal of avoiding pregnancy, because it is the girl who carried the pregnancy and often the one who bears the consequence of an unwanted pregnancy more, it is expected that a greater proportion of females will have the goal of avoiding a pregnancy than the proportion of males that have that goal. This was exactly the case for non-migrants (Figure 6.5a), recent migrants (Figure 6.5b) and long-term migrants (Figure 6.5d). None of the male recent migrants had a goal of avoiding pregnancy (Figure 6.5b) and it is just about four percent of non-migrants that have this goal (Figure 6.5a). However, it appears that after a while, migrants become more aware of the things they need to avoid. Though for intermediate migrants (Figure 6.5c) (often thought to be relatively more streetwise), the proportions that wanted to avoid pregnancy was just about four percent, and this was the same for both males and females. This relationship was however not statistically significant.

However, with the goal of becoming independent and avoiding bad company, a higher proportion of males than females had that goal, except for the long-term migrants (Figure 6.5d). This may be because while becoming independent is a sign of maturity especially among males, since Ghanaian culture encourages dependence of women on men. This is also supported by the results in the focus group discussions where avoiding bad company was a topic extensively discussed in the male focus groups. The relationships between each of these goals and sex was not statistically significant.

In the focus group discussions, both sexes mentioned the importance of avoiding sexual relationship with the opposite sex, while trying to attain one's goals. However, the males indicated avoiding bad company in relation to taking drugs, drinking and armed robbery, which are often more associated with males than with females.

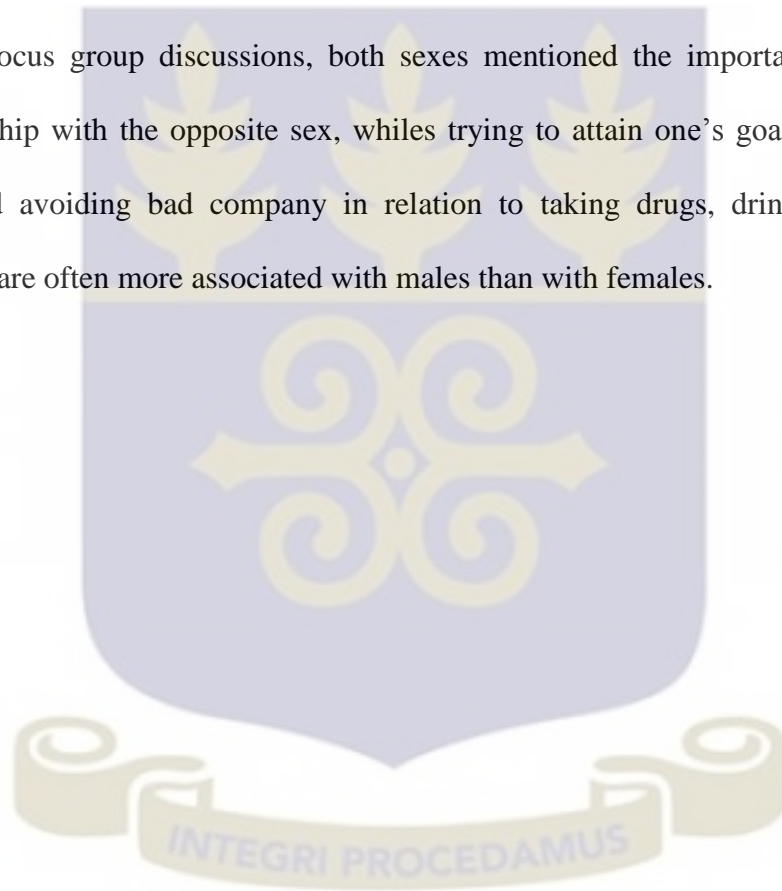


Figure 6.5a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Relation goals by Sex

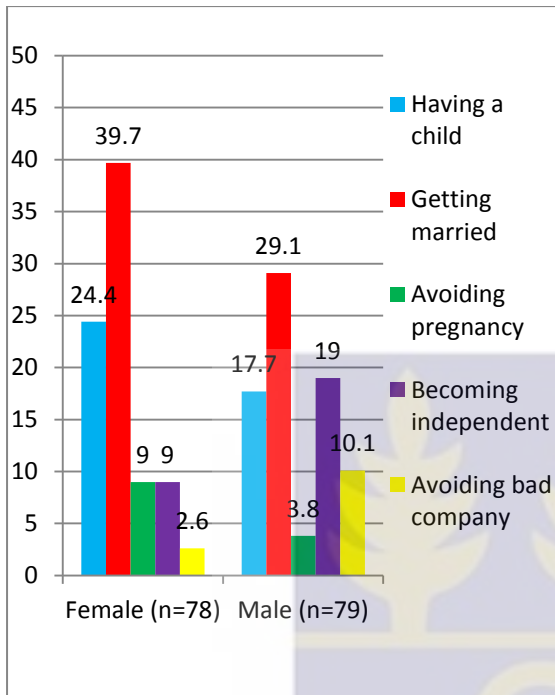


Figure 6.5b Percent distribution of Recent Migrants' Relation goals by Sex

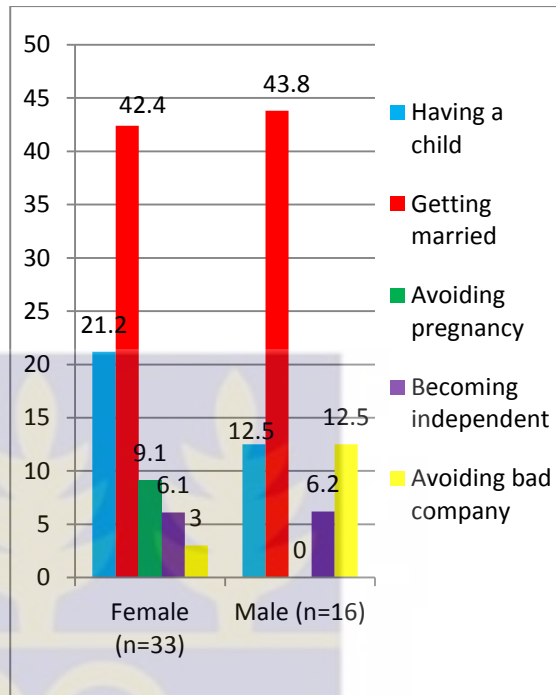


Figure 6.5c Percent distribution of Intermediate Migrants' Relation goals by Sex

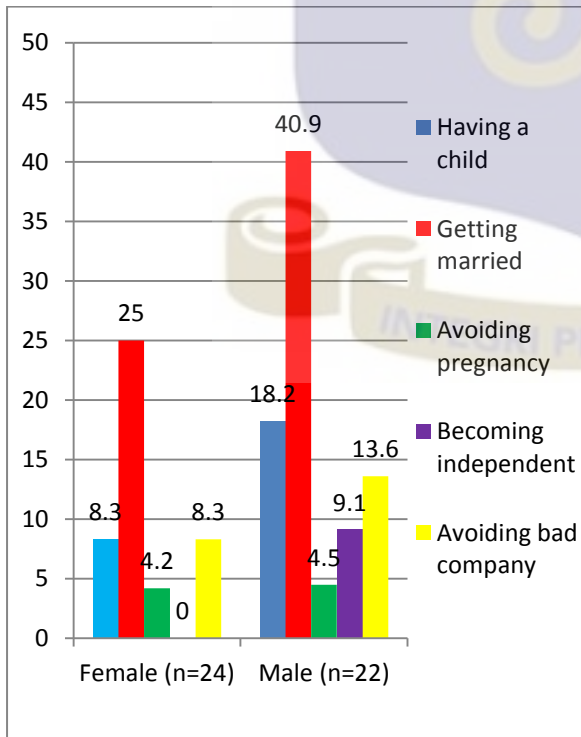
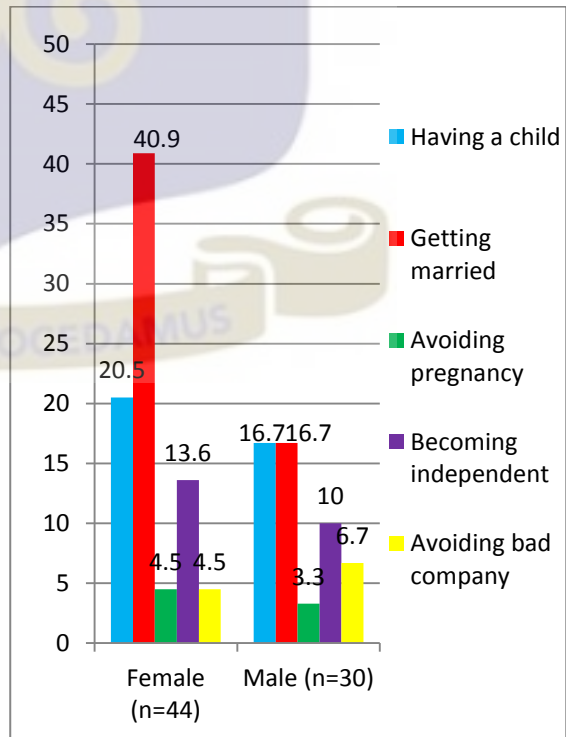


Figure 6.5d Percent distribution of Long-term Migrants' Relation goals by Sex



**6.3.2 Sex and Achievement goals** –For recent migrants (Figure 6.6b) and intermediate migrants (Figure 6.6c) there was a higher proportion of females than males that had a goal of continuing or finishing school. This was contrary to what was found in the focus group discussions. In the focus group discussions, while all four groups of males discussed their educational goals, for females, it was mainly non-migrant females that spoke of educational goals. That is probably because they are most likely still in school. As shown, the proportion of males that had the goal of continuing or finishing school was higher than that among females with the same goal for non-migrants (Figure 6.6a) and for long-term migrants (Figure 6.6b). The relationship between the goal of continuing school and sex was not statistically significant.

For the goal of getting a job, for all four migration groups (Figure 6.6a, Figure 6.6b, Figure 6.6c and Figure 6.6d), a higher percentage of males than females had a goal of getting a job. Among recent migrants (Figure 6.6b), about 13 percent of males and nine percent of females had a goal of getting a job. However, among intermediate migrants (Figure 6.6c), over 45 percent of males and 25 percent of females had this goal. This difference in proportions between the recent migrants and intermediate migrants may be due to the fact that, recent migrants may settle for certain menial jobs on arrival, but may seek ‘better’ jobs after a while as explained earlier. For intermediate migrants, perhaps after living in the migrant community for a while, they begin to seek ‘better’ jobs later. The difference in proportions between males seeking a job and females may be due to the fact that females have more options with work (in terms of sales) than males. It is easier for females to go into petty trading than males. For non-migrants (Figure 6.6a), there are about as much males as females with the goal of getting a job. The relationship between the goal of starting a business and sex was however not statistically significant.

For the goal of starting a business, for all four migration groups (Figure 6.6a, Figure 6.6b, Figure 6.6c and Figure 6.6d) the relationship was not statistically significant. For all four migration groups, a higher proportion of females than males have a goal of starting a business. This appears contradictory to findings in the focus group discussion. In the focus group discussions, males were the group that appeared more business-minded. In the focus group discussions, males (both migrants and non-migrants) discussed starting their own business while the females often expressed the desire to learn a skill. This may however be explained by the fact that in the focus group discussions, it was revealed that while males often turned friendship groups into business groups, females expressed the desire to learn a skill so as to start their own business (usually hairdressing and sewing), and this may be reflected in the goal of starting a business.

Finally, with the goal of finding accommodation, for all four migration groups (Figure 6.6a, Figure 6.6b, Figure 6.6c and Figure 6.6d), a higher proportion of males than females had a goal of finding accommodation. This may be because in the Ghanaian culture, a woman moves into a man's home after marriage, and so males may find it more urgent to find their own accommodation. Also, in the Ga culture, it is quite normal for a woman to remain in her family house even after marriage. Female migrants are also known to sleep in groups in order to protect each other from assault and theft. The relationship between the goal of finding accommodation and sex was however not statistically significant.

Figure 6.6a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Achievement goals by Sex

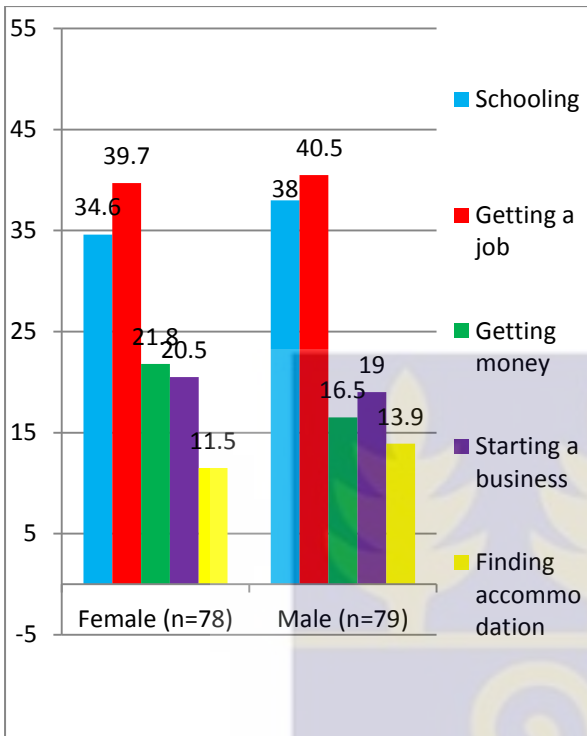


Figure 6.6b Percent distribution of Recent Migrants' Achievement goals by Sex

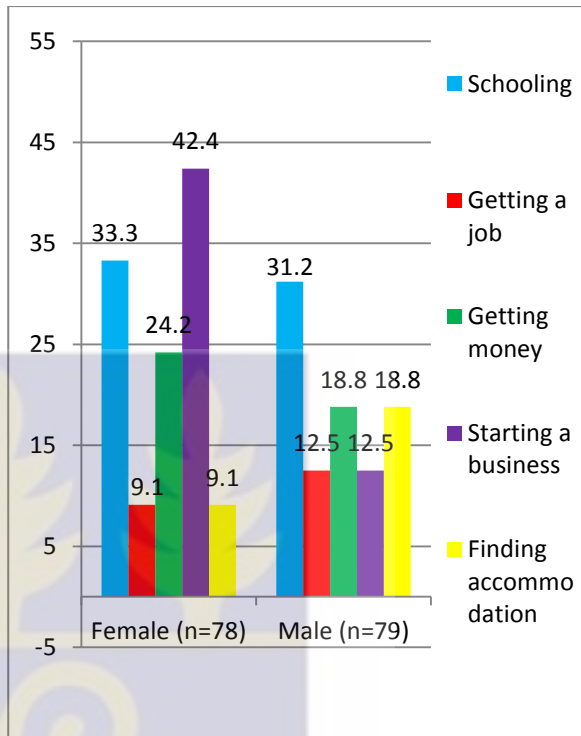


Figure 6.6c Percent distribution of Intermediate Migrants' Achievement goals by Sex

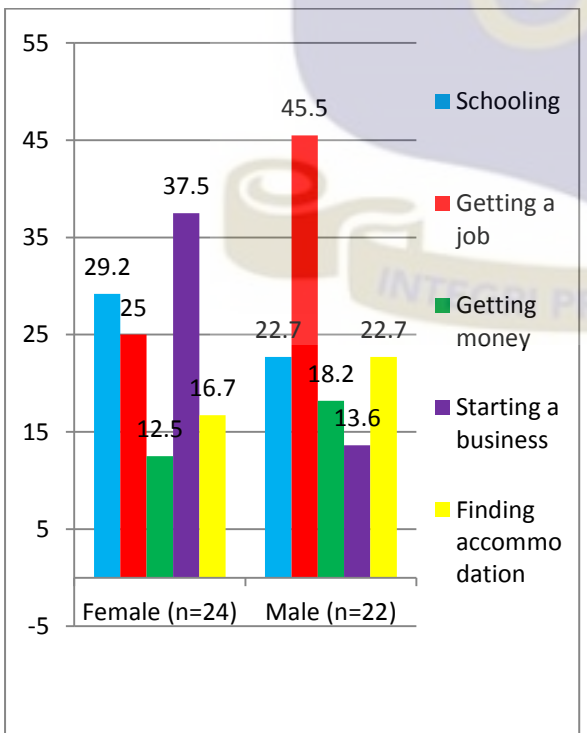
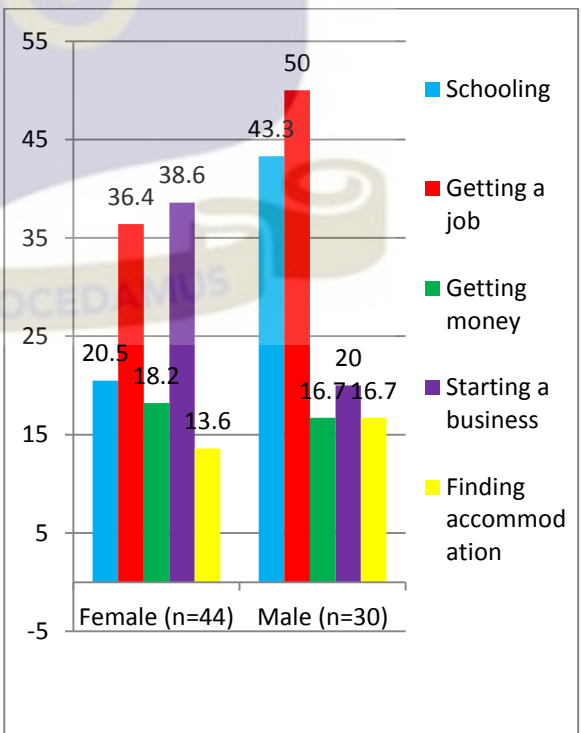


Figure 6.6d Percent distribution of Long-term Migrants' Achievement goals by Sex



**6.3.3 Sex and Generativity/Transcendentivity goals** – The relationship between the goal of saving and sex was statistically significant only for recent migrants (Figure 6.7a) and intermediate migrants (Figure 6.7d). While a higher proportion of males than females among recent migrants had a goal of saving, a higher percentage of males than females among intermediate migrants had a goal of saving money. This may mean that it takes female migrants a longer time to settle in before they think of saving money.

For taking care of family, non-migrants (Figure 6.7a) and long-term migrants (Figure 6.7d) once again tend to act similarly; and have a higher proportion of females than males with this goal. This may be because the females may already have children to take care of. With recent migrants (Figure 6.7b) and intermediate migrants (Figure 6.7c), however, a higher proportion of males than females had this goal. For recent migrants (Figure 6.7b), none of the female respondents had a goal of taking care of family, and this could mean that young females may be more focused on self-betterment than focusing on (taking care of) others. It could also be that young people see ‘taking care of family as a duty, and that a stronger goal is self-betterment, which is reflected in the goal of saving. The relationship between the goal of taking care of family and sex was however not statistically significant for any of the migration groups.

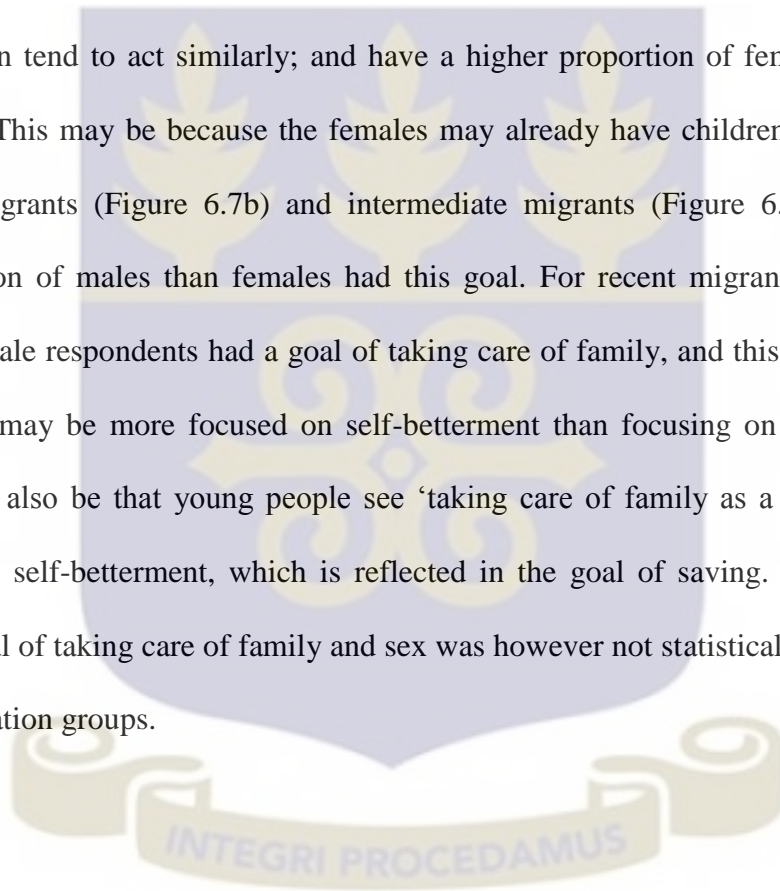


Figure 6.7a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Generativity goals by Sex

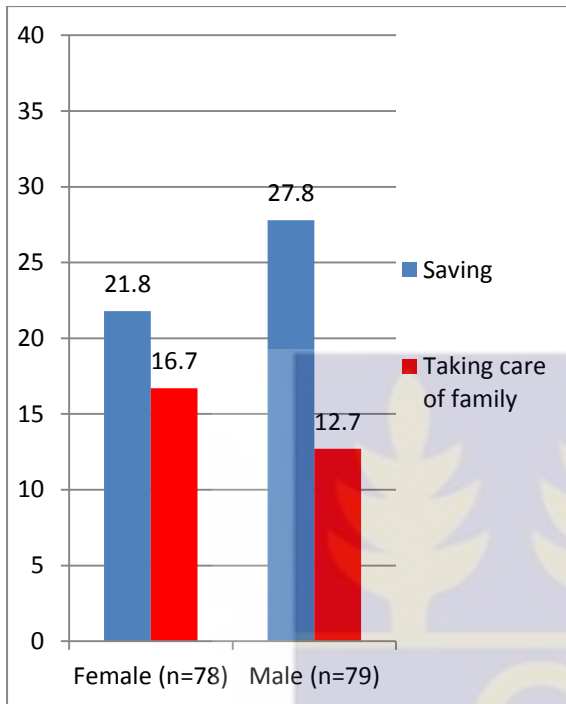


Figure 6.7b Percent distribution of Recent migrants' Generativity goals by Sex

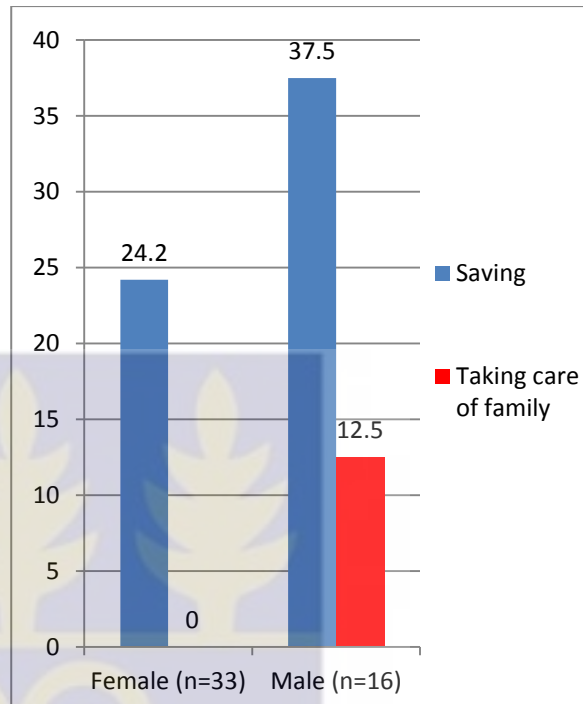


Figure 6.7c Percent distribution of Intermediate migrants' Generativity goals by Sex

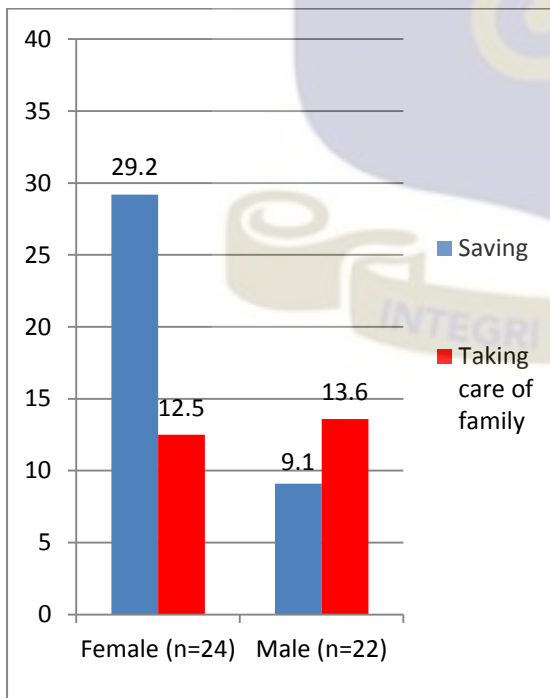
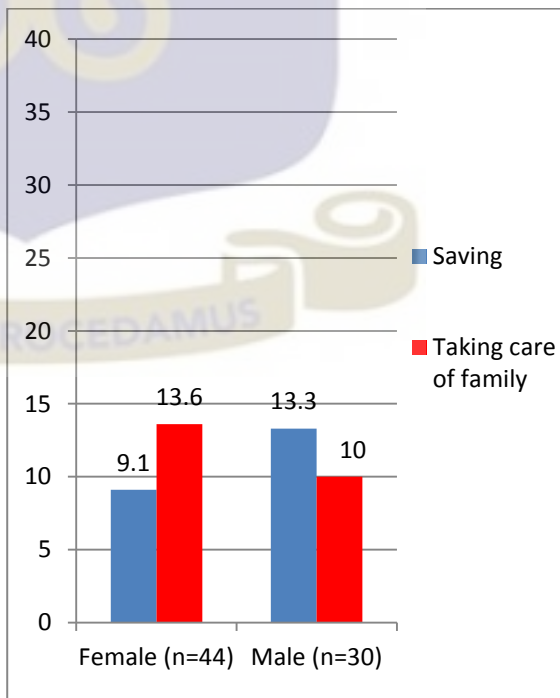


Figure 6.7d Percent distribution of Long-term migrants' Generativity goals by Sex



## 6.4 Self-construal and goals

**6.4.1 Self-construal and Relation goals** – The relationship between having a child and self-construal was statistically significant for the non-migrant group (Figure 6.8a). While 25% of the interdependents had a goal of having a child, only 14.9 percent of the independents had this goal. The goal of getting married was statistically significant for non-migrants, intermediate migrants and long-term migrants. For non-migrants, a greater proportion (44.6 percent) of interdependents had a goal of getting married (Figure 6.8a) than independents (22.4 percent). Also, for long-term migrants, 42.1 percent of the interdependents had a goal of getting married compared to 20.6 percent of independents. However, for intermediate migrants, 47 percent of independents had a goal of getting married compared to 21.4 percent of interdependents.

The goal of becoming independent was statistically significant for non-migrants and recent migrants. For non-migrants (Figure 6.8a), a greater proportion of independents (17.9 percent) than interdependent (10.8 percent) had a goal of becoming independent, which is expected. However, for recent migrants, this is the reverse. While 12.5 percent of interdependents had a goal of becoming independent, no independent had this goal. This may be due to being in a new environment and the already established difficulties that recent migrants may face. This result is similar for the goal of avoiding bad company. While 12.5 percent of interdependents had a goal of avoiding bad company, no independent had this goal. However, for the non-migrants, a greater proportion of independents than interdependents had a goal of avoiding bad company.

Figure 6.8a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Relation goals by Self-construal

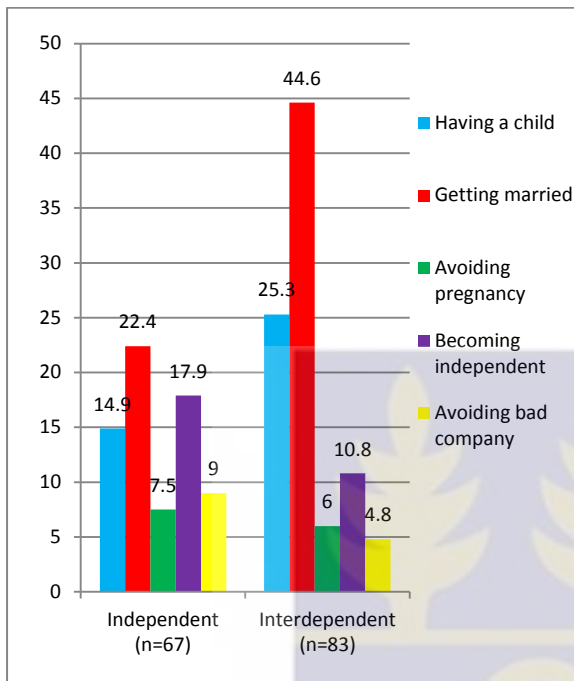


Figure 6.8b Percent distribution of Recent migrants' Relation goals by Self-construal

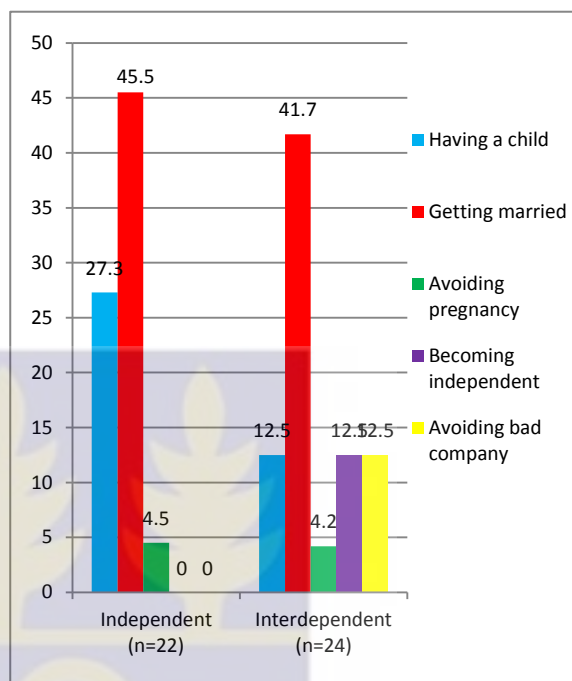


Figure 6.8c Percent distribution of Intermediate migrants' Relation goals by Self-construal

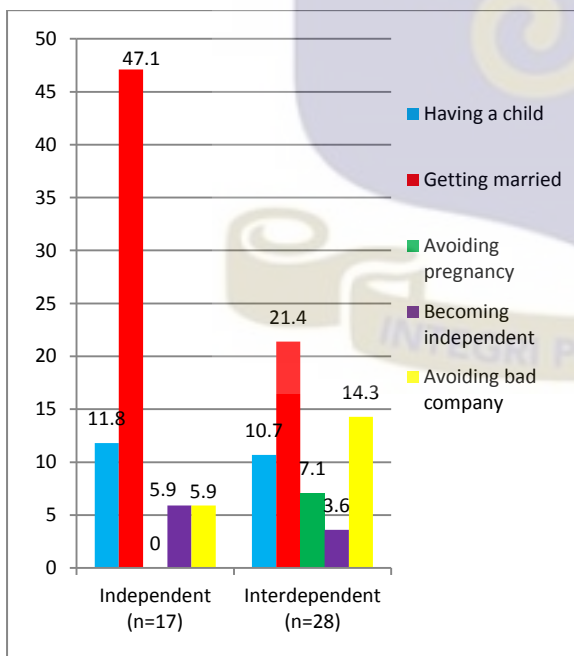
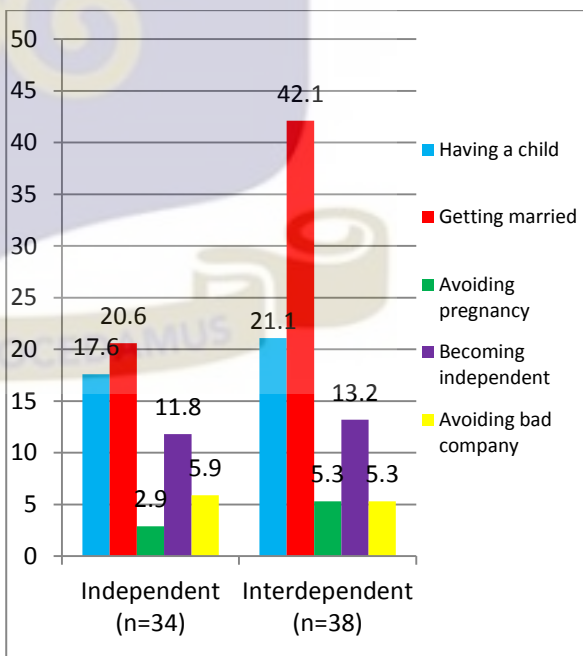


Figure 6.8d Percent distribution of Long-term migrants' Relation goals by Self-construal



**6.4.2 Self-construal and Generativity goals** – the goal of saving and the goal of taking care of family were only statistically significant for the non-migrant group. While 28.4 percent of independents had a goal of saving, just about 22.9 percent had this goal. This is expected since independents are likely to put themselves first. This is reflected in the results for the goal of taking care of family. A higher proportion of interdependents (18.1 percent) had a goal of taking care of family compared to 11.9 percent of independents. This is also expected since independents tend to put themselves first above others.



Figure 6.9a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Generativity goals by Self-construal

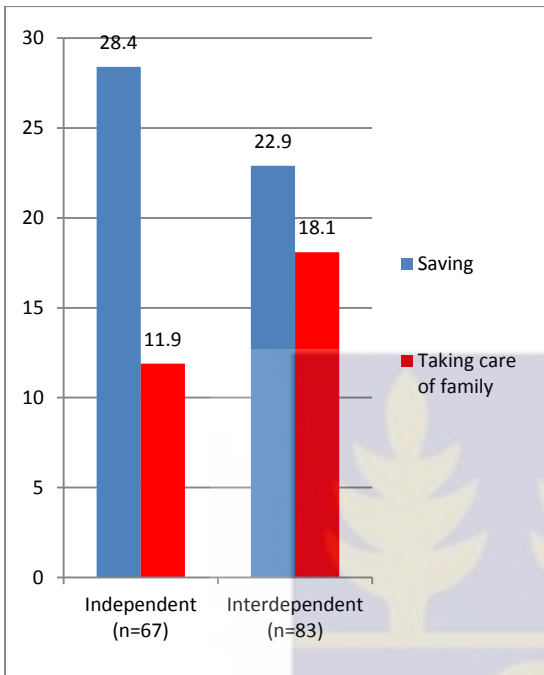


Figure 6.9b Percent distribution of Recent migrants' Generativity goals by Self-

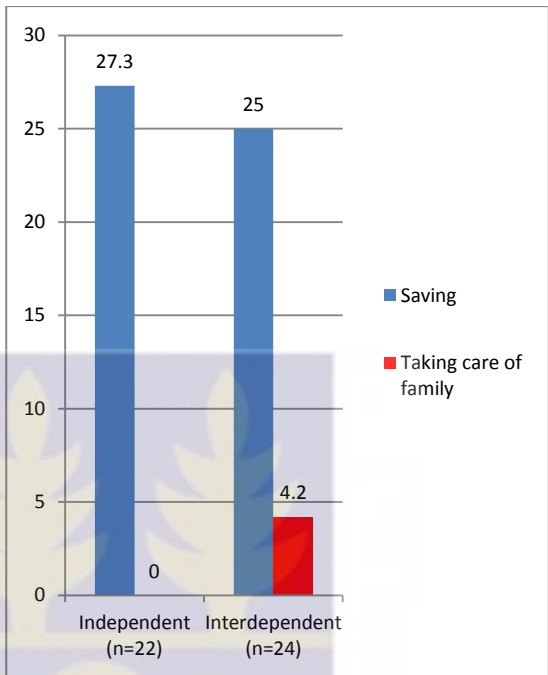


Figure 6.9c Percent distribution of Intermediate Migrants' Generativity goals by

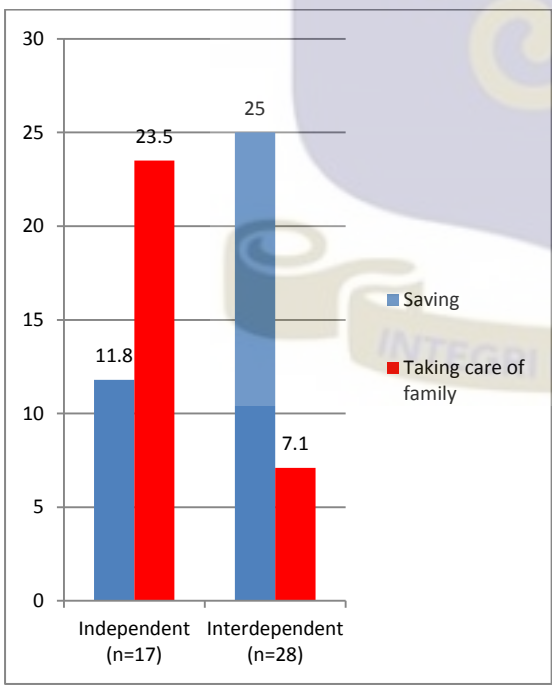
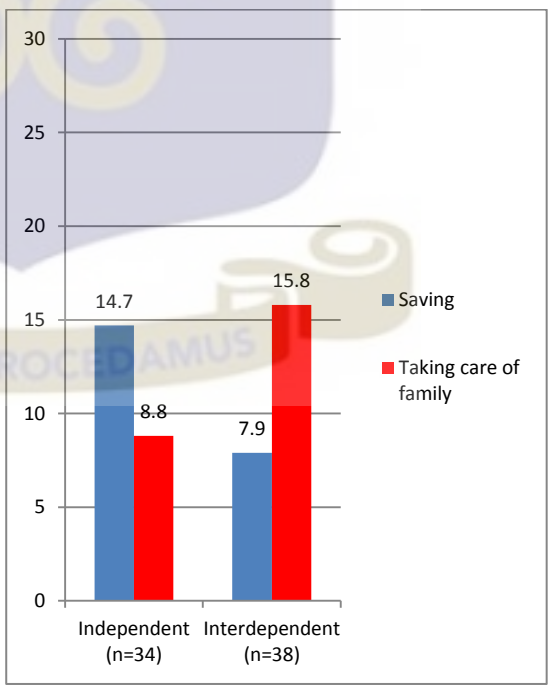


Figure 6.9d Percent distribution of Long-term Migrants' Generativity goals by Self-



**6.4.3 Self-construal and Achievement goals** – The relationship between the goal of continuing or finishing school and self-construal was statistically significant for intermediate and long-term migrants. Among intermediate migrants, 39.3 percent of interdependents had a goal of continuing school, only 5.9 percent had this goal. For long-term migrants also, 42.1 percent of interdependents had a goal of continuing or finishing school compared to 17.6 percent of independents. This may be an indication that interdependents are more likely to push harder to attain higher levels of education compared to independents.

The relationship between the goal of getting a job and self-construal was only statistically significant for non-migrants. Forty-seven percent of interdependents had a goal of getting a job compared to 34.3 percent of independents. The goal of finding accommodation was statistically significant for non-migrants only. While 16 percent of interdependent non-migrants had a goal of finding accommodation, nine percent of independents had this goal.

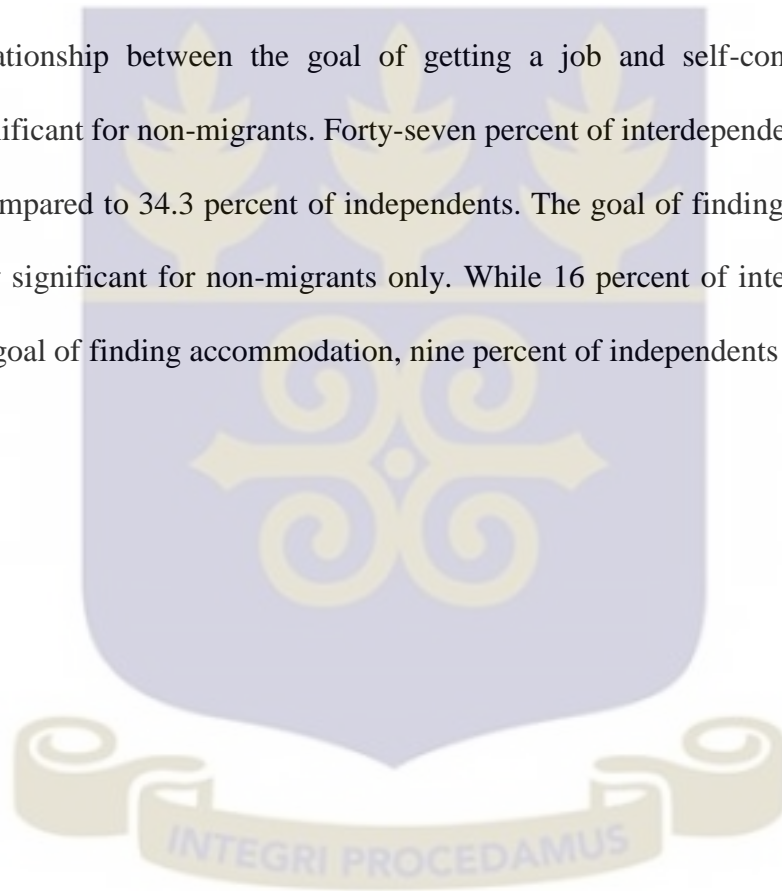


Figure 6.10a Percent distribution of Non-migrants' Achievement goals by Self-construal

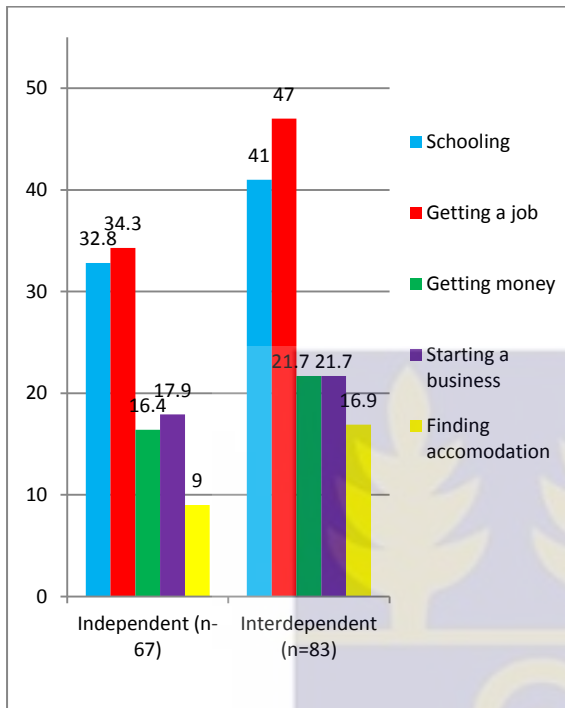


Figure 6.10b Percent distribution of Recent migrants' Achievement goals by Self-construal

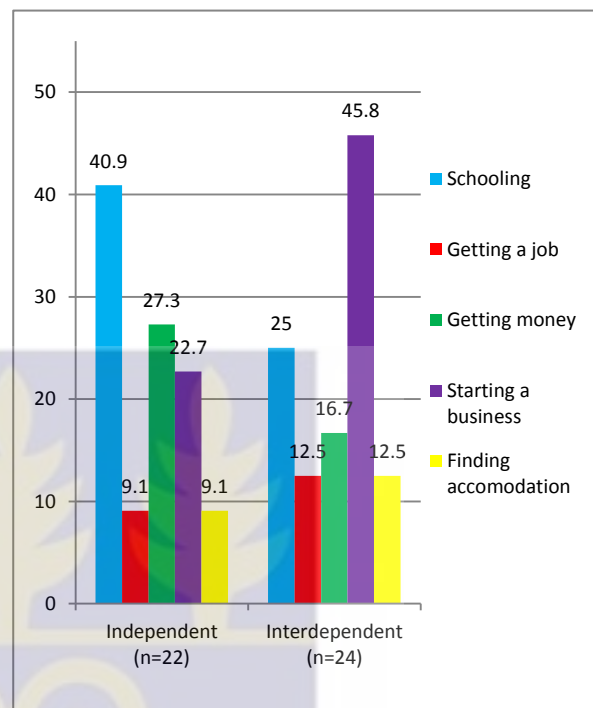


Figure 6.10c Percent distribution of Intermediate migrants' Achievement goals by Self-construal

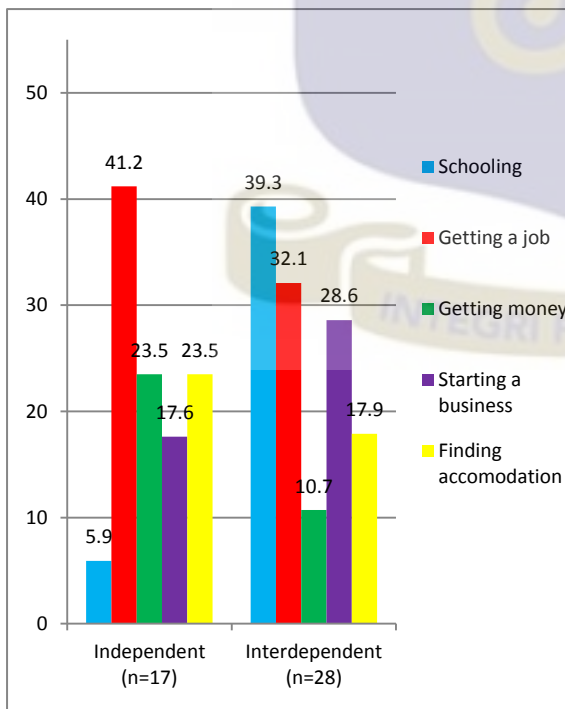
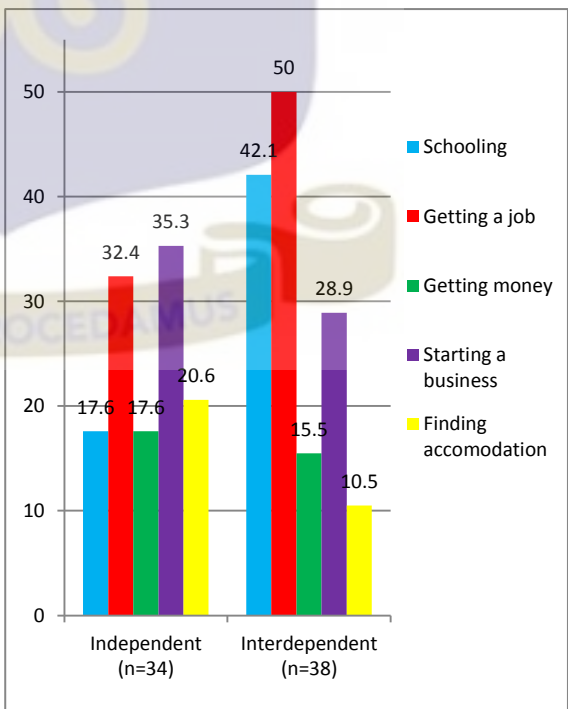


Figure 6.10d Percent distribution of Long-term migrants' Achievement goals by Self-construal



## 6.5 Social system - Associations

The study examined the kinds of groups and associations that individuals belonged to and their social capital. Different groups of individuals associate with different kinds of groups in the way they see them to best assist them in several ways such as building themselves, keeping company or learning new things. Examining this topic would allow one to see which options for assistance were available for young people and which groups of individuals were taking advantage of what kinds of assistance. In the survey, individuals were asked if they were members of any organization in their communities. Out of the 326 respondents, only 72 said that they were members of at least one organization.

According to Table 6.1, out of the 72 respondents, 33 of them, representing about 46 percent of respondents with organizations and 10 percent of the respondents belonged to religious groups. These were mostly groups found within the church. According to the focus group discussions, these associations included the choir, youth fellowship, prayer groups, among others. However, others mentioned the churches themselves as the group they belonged to, meaning that the survey may not have fully captured individuals' organizational membership since Ghanaians tend to be quite religious. According to the GDHS 2008, 78 percent of women and 72 percent of men were Christians, and 15 percent of women and 17 percent of men were Muslims. The proportion of respondents in the GDHS 2008 survey that did not belong to any religion was less than six percent. Even though having a religious affiliation does not necessarily mean that one belongs to a religious organization, a proportion often does. Beside religious groups, all the other groups, being the 'Mothers' club', 'Fathers' club', 'Credit Association', 'Market Group' and 'Business co-operative' all had less than four people indicating that they belong to them.

This may be because the categorized groups are mostly groups that are not likely to be joined by young people within the ages of 15 and 24 years.

This is perhaps reflected in Table 6.1 where (beside the ‘Religious group’ that was mentioned by about 46 percent of the respondents) almost half of the respondents belonging to some organizations mentioned that they belonged to a group other than the above mentioned ones.

**Table 6.1 Percent distribution of respondents’ Organizational Membership**

Group	Number	Percentage of respondents belonging to groups (72)	Percentage of total respondents (326)
Religious group	33	45.8	10.122
Mothers’ club	2	2.8	0.006
Father’s club	2	2.8	0.006
Credit Association	1	1.4	0.003
Market Group	1	1.4	0.003
Business co-operative	3	4.2	0.009
Other groups	35	48.6	10.736

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

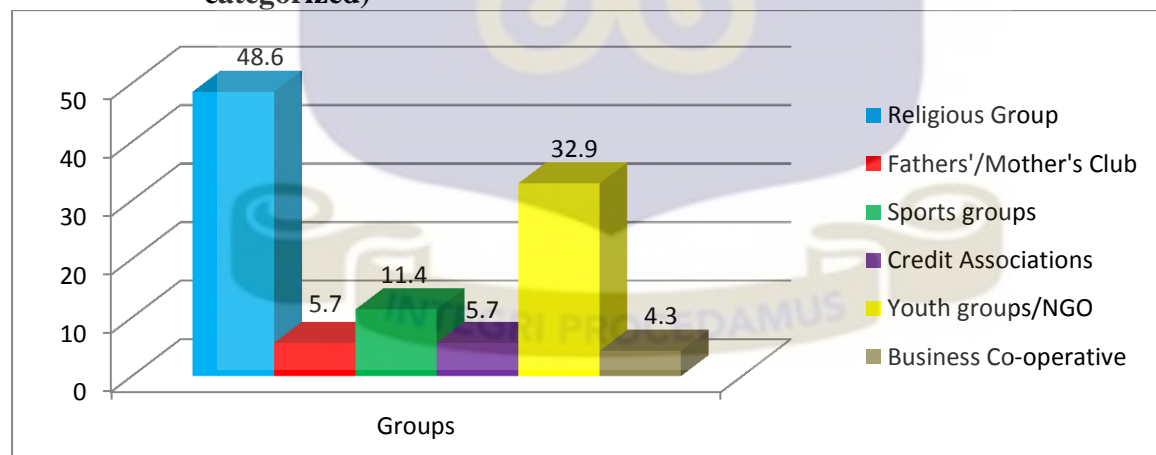
Since respondents were asked to specify their ‘other’ groups they belong to, this category was examined and the variable re-categorized to examine better, group membership among respondents within the ages being studied in this study (that of 15 and 24). The new categories were Religious group, Father/Mother’s club, Sports group, Credit Association, Youth group/NGO and Business co-operative. As shown in Figure 6.11, about half of the respondents who belonged to an association were in a Religious group, and about a third belonged to Youth groups/NGOs.

**Table 6.2** Percent distribution of respondents' Organizational Membership (2)

Group	Number	Percent of respondents belonging to groups (72)	Percent of total respondents (326)
Religious group	34	48.6	10.429
Fathers'/Mothers' Club	4	5.7	0.012
Sports groups	8	11.4	0.024
Credit Association	4	5.7	0.012
Youth group/NGO	23	32.9	0.071
Business Co-operative	3	4.3	0.009

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

As can be seen from Table 6.2, of the respondents that belong to an association, about half belonged to a religious group. Again, about one-third belonged to youth groups/NGOs, and almost 12 percent belonged to sports groups. Membership of father/mother club, the credit association and the Business co-operatives are the least reported.

**Figure 6.11** Percent distribution of respondents by Organization membership (re-categorized)

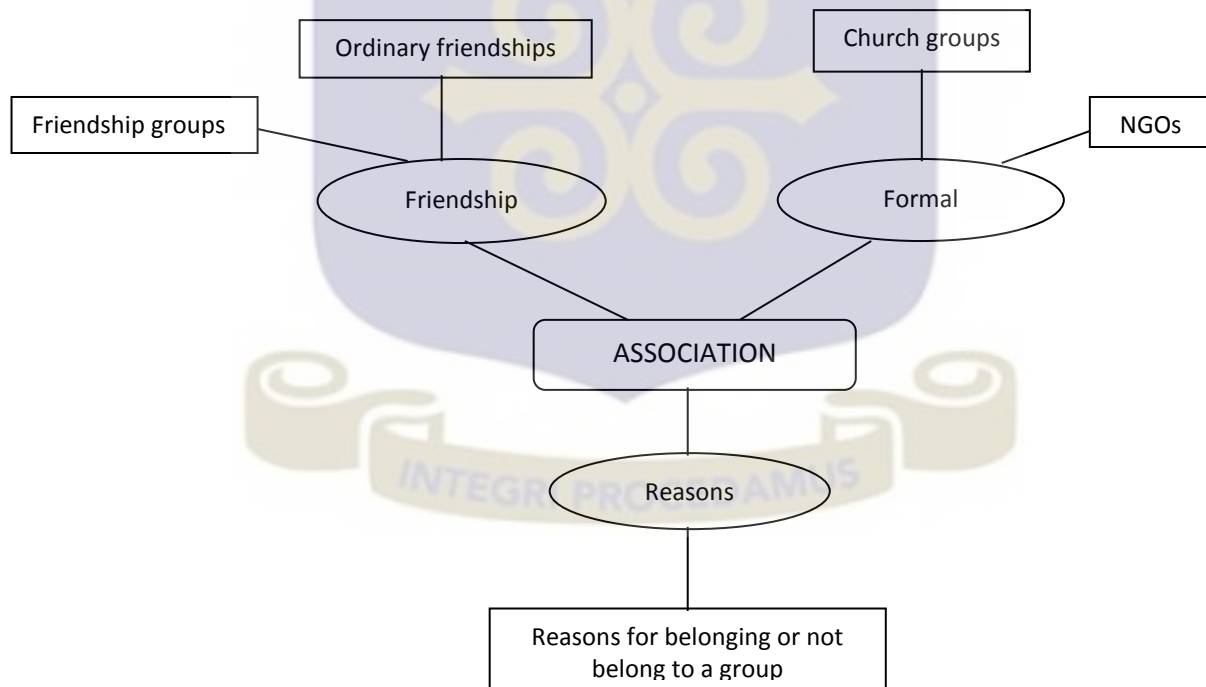
Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

The study further used qualitative analysis to examine the groups and associations that individuals join or form. This was done to further analyse the reported organizations and also

to examine what ‘informal’ groups may exist among individuals, and to examine the ways in which different groups of individuals benefit in one way or another from these groups.

In the qualitative analysis, the ‘Association/group’ theme comprised of three organizing themes and five basic themes. The ‘Association’ network explores the kinds of groupings, friendships and linkages that individuals form with individuals or groups around them, and the effects of joining these groups. The thematic network (Figure 6.12) shows the associations that individuals belonged to and the reasons for being or not being a part of such groupings and associations. The three organizing themes were ‘friendship’, ‘formal’ and ‘reasons’.

**Figure 6.12 Thematic Network on Association**



**6.5.1 Friendship:** The organizing theme ‘friendship’ was explained by two basic themes; ordinary friendships and friendship groups. Ordinary friendships meant identifying with friends as people they associate with, not necessarily seeing themselves as part of a defined group. This kind of association was evident among the younger female migrant group. According to one of them:

*I do not have any friends. These are my only friends. (female migrant, 15-19)*

‘Friendship groups’, on the other hand, referred to groups that were specially formed among friends. This kind of association was only evident among the males, both migrants and non-migrants. In some cases, the young men actually gave the group a name. As explained by some non-migrant males:

*We are in an association called the “Dons” (migrant non-migrant, 15-19)*

Others simply recognized that they were part of a group of friends that depended on one another, but did not necessarily define their friendship with names. As put by a male migrant:

*We are not in any group. We are boysboys [a term used in the Ghanaian context to mean a group of young boys who share activities of common interest] (male migrant, 15-19)*

As was realised later, these groups were not merely for friendships and companionships but also offered some sort of support for each other, be it financial or other, and often set up business ventures among themselves. One non-migrant male explained.

*We are in an association called the “Dons” ....we help people (at a fee). Even the last time when our friend’s mother died, we helped him. (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

A migrant also explained:

*As for me I am in a group... “Piport” during your “out-dooring” or engagement or if your relative dies we assist you or we escort you to do things and go to places (male migrant, 20-24)*

Migration weakens external family ties and so for many non-migrants, these groups directly or indirectly form an important source of support.

**6.5.2 Formal:** ‘Formal’ referred to groups that were (more) recognized in the society, often run by an organization that the individual had joined and often had to register to become a member, attend meetings, among other things. These were defined by the basic themes ‘church group’ (that is, joining associations in churches) and ‘NGOs’ (that is, belonging to a non-governmental organization). The church groups were mostly joined by the female non-migrants of all ages. They often belonged to prayer warrior groups, the youth fellowship, the praise team, among others. Some also belonged to formal groups within and outside the church. As explained by one non-migrant female:

*In the church, I am in the choir and youth fellowship. In the neighbourhood I am in “theatre for a change” and “great thinkers club.” (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

There were a few non-governmental organizations in the community such as Art for Change, Theatre for Change, Great Thinkers, among others. These organizations help young people in various ways to better themselves and be more knowledgeable about the issues concerning them and their environment. According to a respondent:

*In the community I am in an NGO group called ‘Art for Change’. We are taught to go into the neighbourhood to look at problems that affect the youth (female non-migrant, 15-19)*

**6.5.3 Reasons:** Few reasons emerged as to why individuals choose to either belong or not belong to groups. The migrant females started by making it clear that they were aware of the existence of groups. They, however, explained that very few of the migrant females were members of these groups. They explained that joining these groups involved time and financial commitment which they could not afford.

*You won't have time for it. As for the groups, it involves time. And if you play with it, you shall be removed from the group. Everything you have paid will be lost. You understand? (female migrant, 20-24)*

The younger female non-migrant group explained that some groups take too much from you and there was no benefit to be attained from joining a group. To the question “and what about the church? Do you go to church? Is there not any group in the church that helps you?” they explained:

*They have never even asked us such a question before....the church I go to, they need a helper themselves.....and you pay all the plenty church things (female migrant, 15-19)*

They explained that the groups that were usually formed among the women in the community were mostly among the much older female traders that had mutual benefits from joining groups and their contributions. One non-migrant explained:

*It's like the women who sell things, women groups and things like that....those women that sell and have decided together that if this person is pregnant, we will give her an outdooring ceremony, if this person's father dies or this person's family, if something happens to this person, we will go and help them. The women in the market, that's what they do. (female migrant, 20-24)*

It appears that males both migrants and non-migrants of all ages hardly joined formal associations. They however like to form friendship groups and take advantage of their association with their peers to better themselves through communal help and business ventures. Many female migrants believed that joining church groups and other formal organizations was financially draining. The female non-migrant groups on the other hand

mostly joined formal groups, especially church groups, and explained that the church is often a good source of help for its regular members. They explained:

*There are some organisations and churches that have something like a developmental fund to help people. They are there to help anyone. When you attend church frequently you stand a chance to ask for help from the church.....someone who has seen your activeness and seriousness can decide to help you. People do not want to help unless you are active. They do not want to waste their money (female non-migrant, 15-19)*



## CHAPTER 7

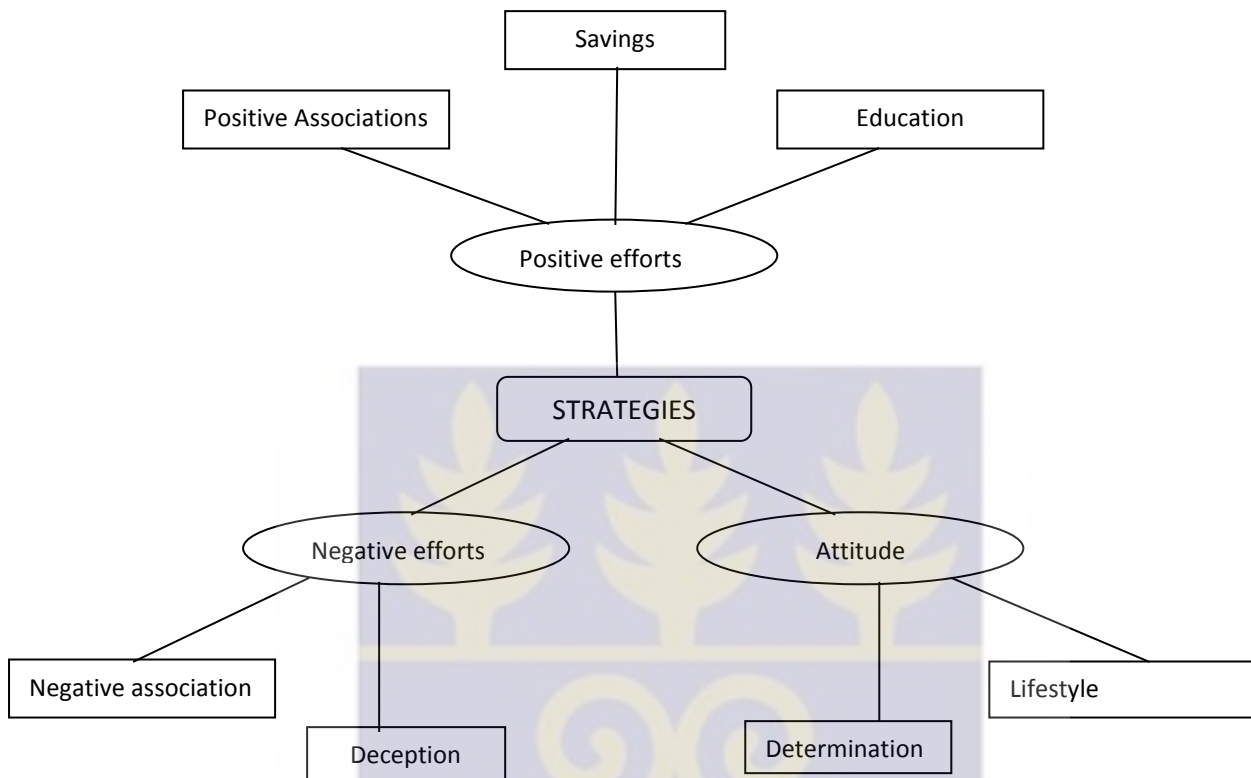
### **Exploring the Strategies and Obstacles of migrants and non-migrants in trying to attain their goals**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter addresses the third objective of the study which is to examine the strategies used in the attainment of goals, the obstacles faced in the attainment of goals, and how these strategies and challenges vary across the various migration groups. The assumption is that, with varying goal priorities, resources and life challenges comes varying strategies for the attainment of goals, and varying challenges towards their attainment.

#### **7.2 Goal Strategies**

The third objective of the study was to examine respondents' strategies used in the attainment of goals, and the challenges in trying to attain them, which this chapter answers. In the qualitative analysis, the global theme 'Strategies' comprised of three organizing themes – Attitudes, Negative efforts and Positive efforts- and eight basic themes – Negative associations, Deception, Positive Associations, Savings, Education, Preparation, Determination and Lifestyle. This is represented in the thematic network shown in Figure 7.1. It explored the ways in which both migrants and non-migrants attain the goals set for themselves.

**Figure 7.1: Thematic Network on Strategies**

**7.2.1 Attitude:** Attitude was defined in terms of ‘determination’, that is, being strong-minded and ‘aggressive’ in one’s efforts to attain a goal, and ‘lifestyle’, that is, habits that have to be worked on or adopted for the attainment of goals. According to some participants in the focus group discussions who are traders, this involved looking out for sales of new items that are being sold on wholesale and retailing it while it is still being rushed for.

According to a migrant female:

*You have to be ‘aggressive’...for instance if a ‘donkomi’ (goods that are usually not common on the market, and whose prices have usually been considerably reduced in order to clear them) comes and you do not get involved you will lose out. (female migrant, 20-24)*

Others explained that attaining one’s goal was just a matter of being determined and hardworking. They often compared the migrants to non-migrants, stating that while non-

migrants did not have to pay much for livelihoods (accommodation, using a bathroom, among others), migrants had the added burden of covering these expenses, and also trying to attain something before going home. Two non-migrant females remarked:

*For those (migrants) who want to go to school, they work hard, unlike the non-migrants. For them (non-migrants), they take life easy. And that makes them lazy (non-migrant male, 15-19)*

*... when they (migrants) get here they remain focused in order to attain their goals (male non-migrant, 20-24)*

Therefore, it appeared that migrants tend to show a lot more determination in the pursuit of their goals. This may be because of the mind-set with which most migrants travel to the city, that is, to attain something and support their families back home. As explained by a migrant female:

*Right now it's all about prayers and hard work, and disciplining yourself and not misbehaving...focusing on your work, putting your mind and everything into the work. (female migrant, 20-24)*

The respondents also spoke of people's lifestyles getting in the way of attaining the things they want to attain. The men mentioned that women could often be a great distraction. Some related it to habits that they knew they had, that they had to change in order to attain the things they want to attain. Some male migrants commented:

*As for me I like sex.....so I have to stop. I like entertainment. But now I have stopped. I used to be late for work so my boss advised me. So I decided to stop such things (male migrant, 20-24)*

*All I have to do is to watch my lifestyle and stop doing things which are not right (male migrant, 20-24)*

Others believed that after one had done all that they physically could, all one could do is show humility and pray.

*Right now, the only solution is prayer, because the men are few and the women are many. So you have to pray and humble yourself (female migrant, 20-24)*

**7.2.2 Negative efforts:** In trying to attain their goals, individuals may take decisions that may be morally right or wrong. The morally wrong ones are here classified as ‘negative efforts’. Negative associations refer to linking up with the wrong people or in the wrong ways and sometimes for the wrong reasons. It mostly involved wanting to attain the things one wants, but using the wrong means. Among the younger females (15-19 year olds, both migrants and non-migrants) and also among the older non-migrant females, this centred mostly on issues of sexuality, dating men or exchanging sex for money, getting pregnant among others. A young female migrant stated:

*Some people dress well to attract men and some also lie for money (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

From the interviews, it was shown that within the Ga society, or at least in the study community, so long as a woman had a child with a man, he was considered her husband. The respondents from the female non-migrant group explained that some people use this as a strategy to attain financial security from men. As recounted by a female non-migrant:

*There are some ladies who have decided to have babies with different men so that they will get money from all of them (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

**7.2.3 Positive efforts** – In the survey, for each goal mentioned, respondents were asked to mention their strategy for the attainment of that goal. These strategies were later categorized according to the goal for which they are meant to attain. Positive efforts included positive associations (associating with the right people for the right reasons and in the right ways) savings and education.

For the goal of having a child, as shown in Table 7.1, the things that people were doing towards the achievement of the goal of having a child included getting married, preparing financially, dependence on God, taking care of one-self and waiting. As mentioned earlier, in traditional Ghanaian society, having children outside marriage is often seen as

immoral and individuals are expected to marry before having children. Therefore, for each migration group, between 40 percent and 56 percent of the respondents with that goal had marriage as a strategy. However, the proportion among the non-migrants was lower than that for recent migrants (a group that was quite recently non-migrant themselves, being *recent* migrants).

Also, a higher proportion of non-migrants than any of the migration groups were preparing financially towards this goal. This may however be partly due to the fact that the Ga are known for expensive outdoorings ceremonies, as they explained,

*“our problem too is that if all your friends have given birth you will also be expected by the society to also give birth...there will be an outdooring for them” (non-migrant female, 20-24)*

Nine percent of non-migrants and 12.5 percent of recent migrant mentioned that they were ‘taking care of themselves’ which can often be loosely interpreted as being morally upright. These people were non-migrants and recent migrants. It can again be attributed to moral norms which may have been instilled in them, but may have faded off with time (among other migrants).

**Table 7.1 Percent distribution of goal of having a child by duration of stay**

Having a child	Non-migrant	< 2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Marriage	42.8	50	40	55.6
Prepare financially	23.8	12.5	20	22.2
God	23.8	25	20	11.1
Self-care	9.5	12.5	-	-
Wait	-	-	20	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

About getting married, women from the older migrant group spoke of preparation towards marriage. According to them, even though the norm has been that it is a man who ‘marries a woman’ into his home, it would be ideal for the woman to prepare for marriage by buying a few items and possibly meeting the man half way. One woman commented:

*Right now, money is hard to come by. So before he marries you, you will have to help yourself. You bring some, he also brings some. But if you say you are waiting for the man to provide everything... (female migrant, 20-24)*

The strategies that respondents had adopted towards the achievement of this goal are shown in Table 7.2. They included getting a job, preparing financially, being in a relationship, prayer and counselling, and self-care.

Almost half of recent migrants that had this goal had no strategy to attain it, compared to about a quarter or less among the other migration groups. This is understandable since they have moved into new environments and may have to re-socialize.

In the same way, none of the recent migrants mentioned getting a job as a strategy. Also, non-migrants and long-term migrants had the lowest proportions of respondents that had ‘been in a relationship’ as a strategy towards getting married. On the other hand about 45 percent of recent migrants and about 55 percent of intermediate migrants had these strategies. It is possible that the non-migrant group and the long-term migrants have lived in the community longer and stand a greater chance of being in relationships already. Recent migrants on the other hand, being in a new environment, may not already be in relationships. Intermediate migrants have an even higher proportion probably because they have had time to settle in and may be more ready to enter into relationships.

Also, about one-fifth of non-migrants and over one-third of recent migrants with the goal of getting married mentioned prayer and counselling as a strategy.

**Table 7.2: Percent distribution of goal of getting married by duration of stay**

Getting married	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Job	9.5	-	18.2	11.8
Preparing financially	21.4	18.2	9.1	17.6
Being in relationship	40.5	45.5	54.5	41.2
Prayer/ Counselling	23.8	36.4	9.1	11.8
Self-care	4.8	-	9.1	17.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

With the goal of taking care of family, only one recent migrant mentioned a strategy for achieving this goal. As shown in Table 7.3, this respondent had decided to use saving as a means to take care of family.

Over 15 percent of non-migrants and almost two-fifths of long-term migrants with this goal had no strategy of attaining it.

While recent migrants and migrants that have stayed in the communities a bit longer (intermediate migrants) had strategies that depended on they doing something by themselves to attain this goal (that is, getting a job and saving), over six percent of non-migrants and 40 percent of long-term migrants had ‘support from others’ as a strategy for taking care of family. This may be a reflection of dependence on migrants by their families to take care of them (the family).

**Table 7.3: Percent distribution of goal of taking care of family by duration of stay**

Taking care of family	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Get job	31.3	0	83.3	40.0
Saving	18.8	100.0	16.7	20.0
Support from others	6.3	-	-	40.0
Other	43.8	-	-	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

Very few of the respondents mentioned ‘avoiding pregnancy as a goal they wanted to attain, as seen in Table 7.4. Out of the six non-migrants that had this goal, two each mentioned abstinence, contraception and avoiding a relationship as strategies for attainment. Only migrants mentioned avoiding bad company as a strategy to attain this goal.

**Table 7.4: Percent distribution of goal of avoiding pregnancy by duration of stay**

Avoiding pregnancy	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Abstinence	33.3	33.3	-	-
Contraception	33.3	33.3	-	66.7
No relationship	33.3	-	-	-
Avoid bad company	-	33.3	100.0	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

Avoiding bad company was closely associated with becoming independent. The goal of avoiding bad company did not involve too many strategies since it only involves staying away from a person or group of people. Across all the migration groups, the strategies included ‘avoiding bad friends’, avoiding peer pressure and doing the right thing instead of listening to negative advice from peers. It was shown that the positive associations were for bettering one’s self in terms of skills, for protection and for assistance of some sort. For instance, a non-migrant female in describing the efforts of some migrants said:

*For example for the “kayaye” some of the girls marry the men so that they will protect them. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

Some migrants were very concerned about the strong influence that people have on others and the importance of looking out for and avoiding groups and friends with these influences.

A young male migrant said this about fellow young migrants:

*Some of them are good and others do not do anything meaningful. So I follow those who do the right thing, and I learn from them (male migrant, 15-19)*

In Ghana, many individuals become independent when they have married and moved out to start life on their own. According to Table 7.5, about 60 percent of non-migrants with this goal mentioned working or saving as a strategy towards being independent. In addition, about a third of non-migrants with this goal believed that getting an education was a strategy towards attaining independence. Recent migrants and intermediate migrants hardly mentioned strategies for the attainment of the goal of being independent. Only one recent migrant and two intermediate migrants mentioned strategies for the attainment of this goal, and all three people mentioned ‘working’ as their strategy.

**Table 7.5: Percent distribution of goal of becoming independent by duration of stay**

Becoming independent	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Education	29.4	-	-	14.3
Marriage	5.9	-	-	14.3
Working	35.3	100.0	100.0	57.1
Saving	23.5	-	-	-
Moving out	5.9	-	-	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

Continuing or finishing school was a goal that was mentioned by all migration groups. In Table 7.6, for all migration groups, between about half and two-thirds of respondents that had a goal of continuing or finishing school mentioned ‘studying hard’ as a strategy towards attaining this goal. Some non-migrants also mentioned staying focused, which also included being regular and punctual at school. Of all the respondents in the four migration groups that had a goal of continuing or finishing school, recent migrants had the highest proportion of respondents that had saving as a strategy towards this goal. Recent migrants and intermediate migrants did not mention that they were working to continue or finish school, contrary to what was seen in the focus group discussions. However this may be reflected in their

mentioning ‘savings’ as a strategy for continuing or finishing school. ‘Other’ strategies included enrolling in school for the next term, buying materials for school and praying.

**Table 7.6: Percent distribution of goal of continuing or finishing school by duration of stay**

Continue or finish school	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Studying hard	51.9	64.3	66.7	47.6
Staying focused	13.5	-	-	-
Working	11.5	-	-	14.3
Saving	9.6	14.3	8.3	-
Financial assistance	5.8	7.1	-	14.3
Other	7.7	14.3	25.0	23.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

In Table 7.7, strategies towards getting a job included schooling, starting a business, job-search, training, saving and praying. Apart from recent migrants, over one-third of all the other migration groups had schooling as a strategy towards getting a job. This may be because these other groups realise that a good education can get them ‘better jobs’ than they would get, while recent migrants, as discussed earlier, may settle for menial jobs out of desperation. In the focus group discussions, migrants were described as being very hardworking. According to a non-migrant group:

*“For example, for the ‘kayaye’ (head porters)....even though they have been raped and they give birth they put their babies at their back and continue their work. Nothing stops them.” (non-migrant female, 20-24)*

Also it was mentioned in the focus group discussions that some friendship groups, both among male migrants and non-migrants have formed small working ventures. However, as seen in Table 7.7, the strategy of starting one’s own business is only among non-migrants, and intermediate migrants, possibly after they have stayed long enough to know their new environment well and built strong trusted relationships. All the migration groups were doing

job-searches, though recent migrants with this goal had the smallest percentage of respondents with this strategy.

**Table 7.7: Percent distribution of goal of getting a job by duration of stay**

Getting a job	Non-migrant		<2 years		2-5 years		>5years	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Schooling	21	38.8	1	25.0	5	33.3	9	37.6
Start own business	2	3.7	-	-	1	6.7	-	-
Job search	17	31.5	1	25.0	8	53.3	8	33.3
Training	9	16.7	1	25.0	1	6.7	5	20.8
Saving	5	9.3	1	25.0	-	-	2	8.3
Total	54	100	4	100.0	15	100.0	24	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

With regard to the assistance others could have, the participants of the focus group discussion explained that a person may not have the money to go and learn a skill. Others were of the opinion that simply being around the right people and demonstrating the right attitudes will draw the right people to help you. They explained:

*You can volunteer to help someone who is in the skill. And they might decide to help. (non-migrant female, 15-19)... when someone observes that you are respectful, they will find your need and help you whether it is work or school. (female non-migrant, 20-24).*

Again, many young people work to save money to attain the things that they want to attain. In the focus group discussions, migrants than non-migrants were more particular about savings. It was also clear that those who mentioned that they were saving were not merely saving to build up for when they would need it. They had particular targets that they wanted to attain. For instance, a male migrant commented:

*I take care of someone's game centre so when I am paid at the end of the month I save the money so that I will go and learn a skill. (male migrant, 15-19)*

Another explained:

*Before I open the shop.... I save some money, without that I cannot say I am going to open my own shop. (male migrant, 20-24)*

There were others also that believed that education was the key to attaining the things they want to attain. This was either because they know education would make them better or because they need a certain educational level to attain the things they want to attain. As one non-migrant put it:

*When I went to the Army I was told to go and get myself an SHS certificate before I can enrol as a soldier in the Army. So I have returned to school. (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

A migrant also explained:

*When you finish JSS, you can do any job. When you finish JSS you can join the police service can't you? All you need is to be able to spell your name. (female migrant, 15-19)*

With regard to finding accommodation, the strategies used were finding a job (to be able to have enough to get a place of their own), finding land and building a place of their own, saving, searching for accommodation and seeking support (which involved finding financial support and getting approval from parents or partners), as shown in Table 7.8. All migration groups had saving and searching for accommodation as strategies. However, among intermediate migrants with an accommodation goal, about three-quarters chose saving as a strategy, compared to half or less of the other groups. Furthermore, it appeared building a place of their own was a strategy among non-migrants, and this may, for instance, be because it may be relatively easier for a non-migrant to acquire land.

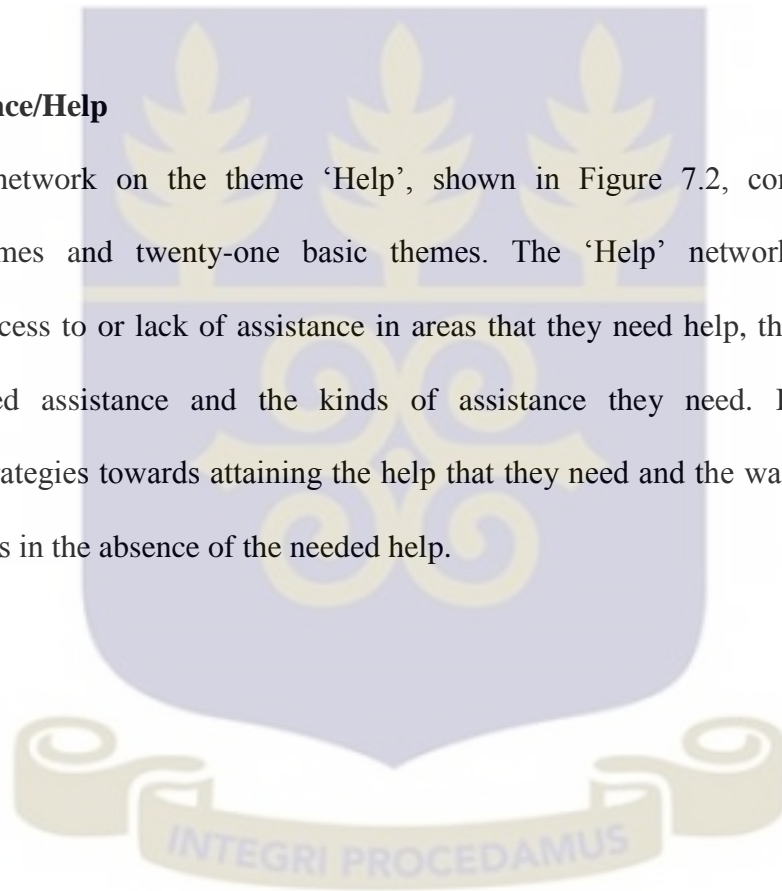
**Table 7.8: Percent distribution of goal of finding accommodation by duration of stay**

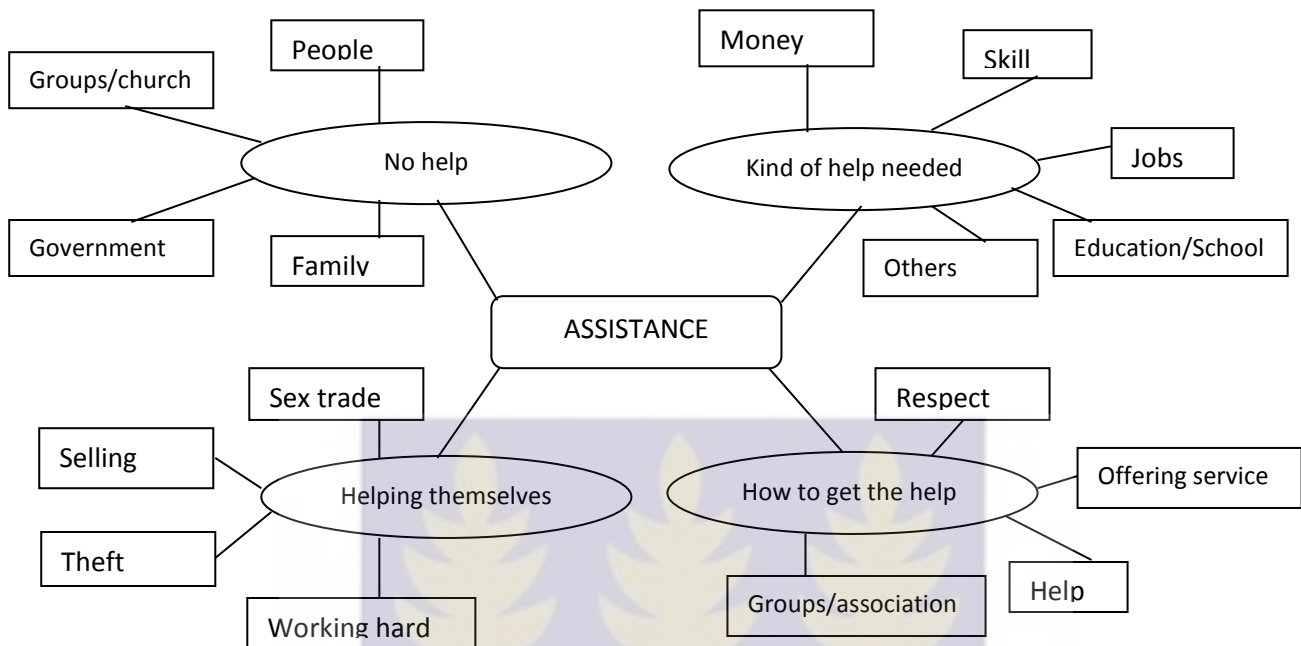
Finding accommodation	Non-migrant	<2 years	2-5 years	>5years
	%	%	%	%
Job	31.3	-	14.3	30.0
Land/started building	12.5	-	-	-
Saving	43.8	50.0	71.4	30.0
Searching	6.3	50.0	14.3	20.0
Seek support	6.3	-	-	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from EDULINK 2011 data

### 7.3 Assistance/Help

The thematic network on the theme ‘Help’, shown in Figure 7.2, comprised of four organizing themes and twenty-one basic themes. The ‘Help’ network examines the respondents’ access to or lack of assistance in areas that they need help, the areas in which individuals need assistance and the kinds of assistance they need. It also analyses respondents’ strategies towards attaining the help that they need and the ways in which they ‘help themselves in the absence of the needed help.



**Figure 7.2 Thematic Network on Assistance/Help**

7.2.1: **No help** - this organizing theme was explained by the basic themes ‘people’, ‘groups/churches’, ‘government’ and family. ‘People’ referred to the lack of help from other individuals who may or may not be related to them but might nonetheless offer some assistance in the form of accommodation, jobs, and do on. The Ga-Mashie and Agbogloshie area is typically an urban poor area. Therefore, people may not be in a position to offer the sort of help that other individuals need for themselves.

*This place, no one helps anyone.... apart from you who called us here, no adult has called us to talk to us about that. (female migrant, 15-19)*

Even though many individuals had confessed having attained some assistance through their joining groups and associations, other individuals also claimed that these sources had failed to provide the assistance that they need. Asked if they had received any form of assistance from the church, some respondents explained:

*They have never even asked us such a question before (female migrant, 15-19)*

Another explained:

*The church I go to, they need a helper themselves...and you pay all the plenty church things (female migrant, 15-19)*

There was also a discussion on the government's failure to provide the needed assistance.

Some respondents believed that it was better to lean on one's own effort rather than expecting government assistance. One explained:

*Some of us have realised that we have to help ourselves. I do not rely on the government for anything if I get something fine if not fine I will do something on my own. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

Some respondents also explained their inability to obtain help from other members of the family whom they believed were very capable of assisting them. Some actually believed it was the family's responsibility to give them some form of assistance, especially economically. A typical explanation was:

*....maybe there may be an important person in the family. A 'boga' (A Ghanaian who emigrated to a different country, lived there for years, and then moved back to Ghana, usually with some money earned abroad.) Some families may also have a 'boga' but that person may be very wicked. If you tell them you have one million and you want them to help you learn a skill, they will not mind you, but if you succeed in life, they will remember you. (Migrant female, 20-24)*  
*Nobody wants to help you but when you die they will come to your funeral. (male migrant, 20-24)*

**7.3.2 Kind of help needed:** this organizing theme explained the area of their lives in which respondents wanted assistance and was explained by the basic themes 'money', 'skill', 'jobs' 'education' and 'others'.

Some of the respondents explained that the root of all their problems was money, and that if they received some money as some form of assistance, their problems would be solved.

*When our financial problems are solved, everything will be okay. (male non-migrant, 20-24)*

On the other hand, others felt the same about jobs, and wanted to attain either jobs or skills to be able to work for themselves. Ironically, even though most of the women were into sales,

they seemed *not* to consider those as jobs or as sufficient but instead as something they had to do to survive.

*It is the job that we want. If by God's grace, we had jobs, on a Sunday like this, you can carry pure water to sell around, and then Monday you can go back to your life at work. Because, in Accra, they work even on Saturdays (female migrant, 20-24).*

Again, especially among the younger groups (15 to 19 year olds), respondents also mentioned a desire for some form of assistance to finish school or go back to school. This was not just a problem among young migrants but also among young non-migrants. For instance, a respondent stated:

*If I find someone who will help me finish my education at least to JHS level, I will appreciate it. (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

The respondents however also mentioned desired help with such goals as getting advice, acquiring knowledge and finding helpers.

**7.3.3 How to get the help:** this organizing theme was used in examining individuals' ways of attaining the assistance that they need in acquiring their goals. This was done through four main basic themes being 'respect', 'offering service', 'help' and through groups and associations.

By respect, respondents explained that by showing a respectful attitude towards people, especially elderly ones, people are often touched and reciprocate this by offering the kind of assistance that that person needs. According to them, showing respect and humility within one's environment and within the groups they are in draws helpers to a person. A migrant male explained:

*When you come to Accra whether you are good or bad if you respect people they will lend you a helping hand (male migrant, 15-19)*

*Another explained:*

*If you show respect and help people by doing things for them they will help you. They will give you food to eat and take care of you (male migrant, 15-19)*

Others also suggested that it is possible to offer service (skilled or unskilled) in exchange for some sort of help that one may need in the attainment of their goals. This may, in a way, be an easier way to get assistance since the person that gives the assistance also actually benefits from giving that assistance. This approach was common among both migrants and non-migrants. A migrant male explained:

*Let's say when you come you do not have a place to stay, you can offer to work for someone for free so that they will give you a place to stay. So that later when you get money you pay (male migrant, 15-19)*

A non-migrant also added:

*If you want to learn pedicure and there is someone who doesn't know it but you know it already, you can get close to the person. Since she knows she will not waste money to learn from somewhere, she will employ you. (female non-migrant, 15-19)*

This is very similar to helping others in some form and hoping that one will be rewarded with assistance. As stated by a migrant:

*When I offer a helping hand to grownups they will also like to help me. They will ask me what I want then they will also help me. (male migrant, 15-19)*

Another way of obtaining assistance was by joining groups or associations within the community. The most common groups mentioned seemed to be the church groups such as the youth fellowship, the choir, among others. There were also NGOs and other formal groups. Some respondents also formed groups among themselves to help and support each other. Also, as found earlier, migrants do not join groups as much as non-migrants do, and so naturally more migrants benefit from 'group assistance' than non-migrants do. Concerning finding support *through groups*, a migrant stated:

*Getting support is difficult. Even if someone wants to help you it is not easy (male migrant, 20-24)*

A non-migrant on the other hand stated:

*There are lots of NGOs who help people so you can approach them and talk to them. The member of parliament of the area also normally announces the vacancy of jobs*

*available. So you will have to go to them and apply for help. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

Another also stated:

*I am in a certain group where we contribute money so that if any of us is in need we can use the money to help them. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

**7.3.4 Helping themselves:** This organizational theme was used to explore efforts that individuals make to help themselves in the absence of the needed help. The efforts involved negative ones such as sex trade and theft, and more positive ones such as sales and simply working hard.

Since sex trade and theft are negative acts, it is naturally hard to find people that will admit to using this as a means to earn income. The respondents, however, explained that it is common to see people do this as a way of earning money or topping up their earnings for the day. According to participants in the focus group discussions, even among the younger female migrants, sex trade was very common. Others also maintained multiple partners to increase their sources of income. They explained:

*Some sell things. Some are prostitutes. Some also go to town to do what they like.... the prostitution ..... everyone has a way of doing their things (female migrant, 15-19)*

Others also explained:

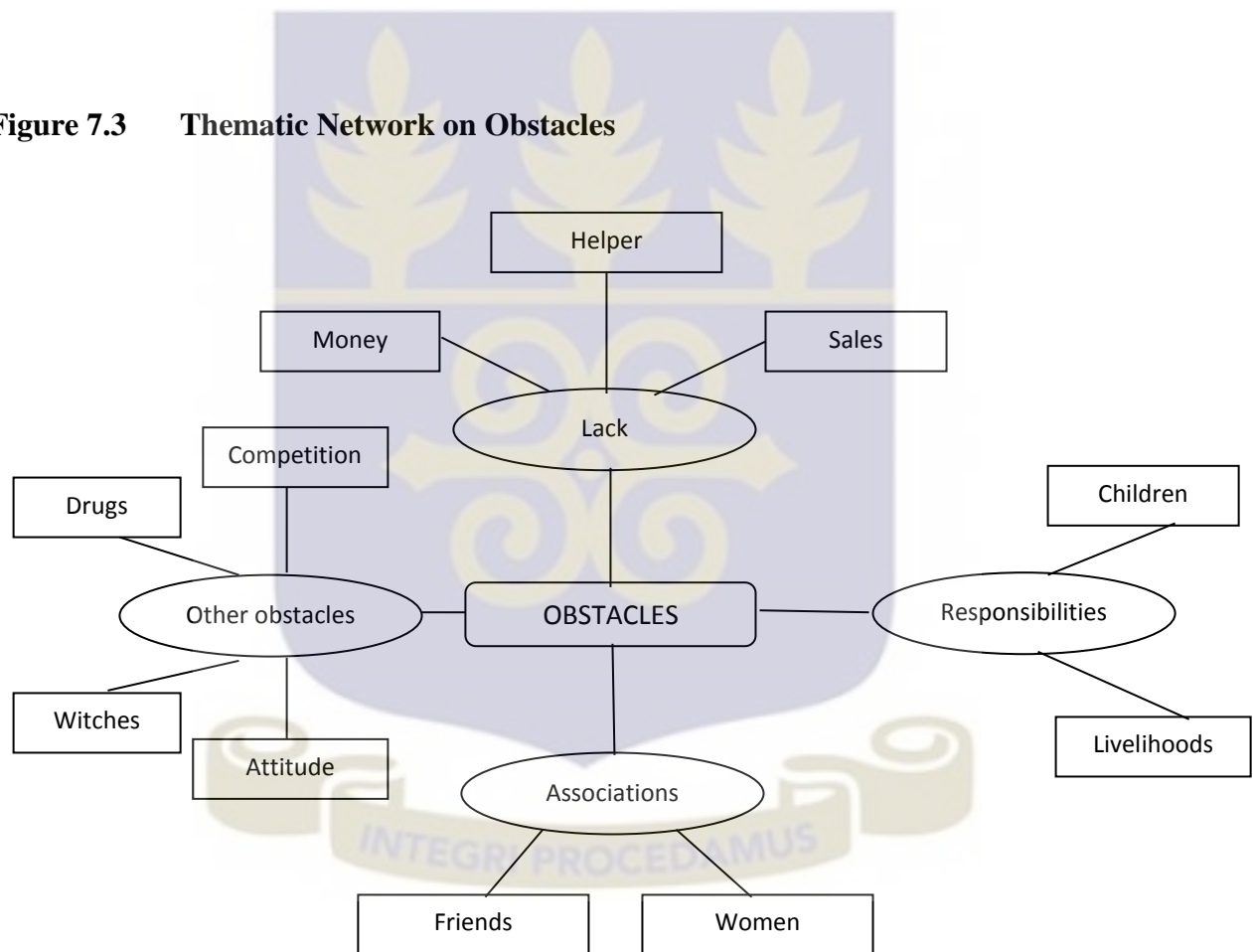
*Some either go for three guys or even five.... (migrant female, 15-19).....yes, this one will give her, that one will give her. (female migrant, 15-19)*

## **7.4 Obstacles**

In trying to attain their goals, young people are often faced with challenges. It is these challenges that often dictate the behaviours of young people in their bids to attain their goals. According to Kabiru et al (2013), when young people are faced with real or perceived barriers, these obstacles may eventually lead to the adjustment of their aspirations. In their study, the challenges faced by male youth included insecurity, police harassment and being able to complete education. The challenges of the females included risk of pregnancy, and for

few, police harassment. The younger respondents also reported high levels of insecurity. This is understandable since perhaps, at their age (12-14years) they lacked the ability to effectively defend themselves. The thematic network on obstacles is shown in Figure 7.3. The theme ‘Obstacles’ comprised of four organizing themes (‘lack’, ‘responsibilities’, ‘associations’ and ‘other obstacles’) and eleven basic themes. The obstacles describe the things that hinder young people from attaining the goals that they want to attain.

**Figure 7.3** Thematic Network on Obstacles



**7.4.1 Lack:** Lack was first defined by the basic theme ‘money’, meaning the lack of money that would be used to facilitate the attainment of the goals they want. This could be money to learn a skill, money to buy things to prepare for marriage, or simply having enough money for both spending and savings. For migrants that spoke about this in relation to learning a skill, one explained:

*If I have money right now and I go to this madam to tell her I want to learn a skill, she will agree to teach me. Even if I do not have a family, she will accept me till a family member of mine shows up so that I introduce her to them. Some of the madams, maybe you have come to hassle, selling pure water here and there, with the night activities too as you know, if after a while you go to her to say you have one million cedis (GHC100) so you want to start with that as deposit, some of them will not even mind you. Some will also take the money and send you away after a while, or give you some time to pay up. If you do not, the deposit goes waste. You have to come and struggle all over again. (female migrant, 20-24)*

Others also simply mentioned the lack of saving, which could mean not having enough to save or not having enough savings to take care of the things that one wants to take care of.

*Money is the major obstacle we all face. And sometimes if you have a bad teacher it is an obstacle. (male migrant, 15-19).....Also financial problems and lack of saving (male non-migrant, 20-24)*

Lack also involved the lack of a helper that is, not having someone who could assist them in any way to attain the goals they want to attain. Respondents wished for help from the government or from any individuals that could afford any kind of help to assist them. For those that had children, especially among the non-migrants, they had hoped that the men that had made them pregnant would take more responsibility for them, and their children. One respondent explained what her typical encounter with her child’s father looks. She stated:

**7.4.2 Responsibilities:** responsibilities represented the things in their daily livelihood that they need to get done. As obstacles, the study looked at how seeing to these responsibilities hindered respondents from attaining the things they wanted to attain. These responsibilities included children (having to take care of their young children) and general livelihoods (daily upkeep costs and spending). For taking care of children, it seemed to be more of a problem for the migrant females than the non-migrant females. Probably the non-migrants are within their environments and may be able to attain some familial help with child care. Some non-migrants spoke of how children become obstacles for migrants:

*I'll give an example. The migrants from the rural areas the "kayaye" (head porters) their aim is to find money. What prevents them is when they are raped they become pregnant and cannot work well as they wanted to. (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

Others explained:

*Those of us without people to help us, we can sell to take care of ourselves. But maybe ... you have two children..... if you had one child and that child was in the village, you would be able to work better (female migrant, 20-24)....it will be difficult if you are holding a child. You may be able to gather some money but maybe the week you want to start learning a skill, your child may get sick (female migrant, 20-24)*

Another migrant explained:

*You can sell pure water and save the money, because you are decided and focused. If you are not 'holding a child' (if you do not have a child you are taking care of), you can make it, but if you are holding a child..... (female migrant, 20-24)*

**7.4.3 Livelihoods:** Livelihoods referred to their daily upkeep costs, lifestyle costs and spending. From the discussions, among the females, it seemed that livelihood as an obstacle affected migrants in terms of daily upkeep costs and spending while among non-migrants, it affected them in terms of lifestyle. Some of the female migrants explained:

*You can sell things to save up money so you can go and learn it. But the same money you will learn the skill with, that's the money you will use for your daily upkeep. (migrant female, 15-19).....You may want to learn a skill but some things come your*

*way. Accra, they charge you for a place to stay. You even get charged if you go to urinate. If you are using the washroom you will be charged money (female migrant, 20-24)*

On the other hand, the non-migrants explained:

*Someone desires to learn hairdressing so that they might become madams in the future. But due to the way things are going, during occasions where they buy cloth they are not able to achieve their dreams (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

The male migrants had a similar obstacle as the female non-migrants in terms of lifestyle.

One of the male non-migrants explained:

*There are three things that prevent us from achieving our goals. These are women, alcohol and extravagant lifestyle. (male migrant, 20-24)*

**7.4.4 Associations** - ‘Obstacles’ were defined also by the kinds of associations that people have or lack, that is, the people or groups that they have links with or wish they had links with, and how this helps or affects them negatively. Associations as obstacles were defined by the basic themes ‘friendships’ and ‘women’. One of the non-migrants explained it in terms of how ‘not having certain associations’ could be an obstacle to a person. He explained:

*As a migrant accommodation is a big problem. Not everyone will accept you (male migrant, 15-19)*

The non-migrants however explained that people’s obstacles are the friends they associate themselves with, and that people often associate with others who are not reaching for higher heights. One non-migrant female explained:

*I have heard a lot of people say if I had the chance I will go to school or do this or that. The reason why they cannot achieve their goals is due the peers they have around them. Some have peers who do not attend school so they also prefer not to go to school. So it is one’s peer that influences them. If you are not strong you fall (female non-migrant, 20-24)*

‘Associations’ as a distraction was also in the form of intimate relationships. While the women did not mention men as obstacles to the things they wanted to attain, the male

respondents discussed women as an obstacle to reaching their goals, either in terms of being a distraction or in terms of they having to spend their savings on women. As a migrant explained earlier:

*There are three things that prevent us from achieving our goals. These are women, alcohol and extravagant lifestyle (male non-migrant, 20-24)*

Others explained:

*Some of the guys are not able to say no to women. They lack the ability to resist women. (non-migrant male, 15-19)...Let's say .... you have three girlfriends, and they all need clothes to wear. As for me I like women. But I have realized that is not good. (male migrant, 20-24)*

**7.4.5 Other Obstacles:** This was defined by the basic themes ‘competition’, ‘drugs’, ‘witches’ and ‘attitude’. Competition was mentioned in relation to marriage and the fact that there were too many women and few men, and the fact that this had made the men take advantage of women. As explained earlier in relation to marriage among non-migrants, non-migrant women were not particular about this. The problem of competition and the exploitation that came with it was mainly a problem among the migrants. They explained:

*You see, they (the men) are not many. The women are more than the men. And these days, many of the men are deceptive. (female migrant, 20-24)*

‘Drugs’ was also mentioned as an obstacle, but was mentioned only among the males. According to them, it could drain one’s money in terms of its usage or in terms of sorting out the problems that come with it, since it is illegal. This came up in both migrant and non-migrant male groups. They explained:

*...and also drugs, like cocaine, marijuana. As soon as you get some money, you just use it to enjoy yourself. And when you are caught you will use your money to bail yourself till you run dry. (male migrant, 20-24)*

Also respondents explained that just as one could get help through associations and groups, it is important that one keeps up with a certain attitude in order to attract help from someone. Having the wrong attitude or being rude often put people off in terms of having a desire to help the person. They explained:

*Some people are proud and they do not respect. So they do not find people to help them. (male non-migrant, 15-19)*

On a more superstitious side, some also believed that witches could stop one from attaining the things they want to attain and stopping people's progress. They explained:

*Also when someone has completed school, the witches in his family can prevent them from progressing in life. (female non-migrant, 15-19)*

## **7.5 Summary**

This chapter explored the strategies towards the attainment of goals and obstacles faced, among migrants and non-migrants. The chapter showed that migrants tend to put more determination into the things they do because they have more difficult livelihoods. The negative efforts mostly centred on sex mostly among female migrants. Strategies towards having a child included getting married, preparing financially and taking care of one-self. While a higher proportion of non-migrants than migrants were preparing financially towards this goal, migrant females often spoke about preparing for marriage. Strategies towards marriage included getting a job, preparing financially, being in a relationship and prayer and counselling. Recent migrants had the least proportion of respondents mentioning relationship as a strategy.

Migrants also mentioned the importance of avoiding bad company. All migration groups mentioned 'studying hard as a strategy for schooling, but non-migrants further mentioned 'getting financial assistance'. With the exception of recent migrant, all other migration groups had schooling as a strategy towards getting a job. Also, friendship groups

were formed among males, thus, non-migrants and intermediate migrants. Younger migrants and also female respondents assist others in order to get the assistance that they need. Saving was more popular among migrants than non-migrants, and migrants saved for particular reasons. As expected, 'building one's own place' as an accommodation strategy was only among non-migrants. Older respondents mainly wanted assistance with jobs and younger ones with education and jobs. Individuals got help by showing respect, offering service and joining groups. Even though the groups individuals join often assist them, others believe that the groups they have joined have failed to assist them in the ways they need. Needed assistance was mainly in the form of money, skills, jobs and education. Church groups and NGOs were popular among non-migrant females. Male respondents on the other hand formed friendship groups.

The respondents' greatest obstacle was the lack of money, and among migrants, their inability to save. In this regard, migrants found it more difficult to find helpers than non-migrants. Migrant mothers mentioned lack of assistance from the fathers. Also, migrants saw their daily responsibilities as bigger obstacles than non-migrants saw theirs, and these centred on daily upkeep costs and lack of assistance with childcare. Lifestyles especially among men and also non-migrants were also mentioned as possible obstacles in the attainment of goals. Finally, both migrants and non-migrants had 'associations' as a possible obstacle for the attainment of goals. Migrants on the other hand mentioned that the lack of an association could also be an obstacle.

## CHAPTER 8

### Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

#### 8.1 Summary

In developing this study, it was taken into consideration that a large number of migrants pour into urban Accra on a daily basis with limited resources for survival and limited resources for the attainment of their goals. By comparing the goals of migrants at various stages of migration, to those of non-migrants, the study aimed to explore how the goals, goal-strategies and obstacles in the attainment of their goals differed among migrants and non-migrants.

Studies on migration often explore the push factors for migration. One gap in the literature however is knowledge on the things that migrants (and non-migrants) want to achieve in their current state as migrants. The result of this is interventions that are ill-informed and that will not efficiently speak to the problems that they are meant to. Based on certain migration theories such as theory of migrant selectivity, the study set out with the task of finding answers to the following questions:

- i. What do young migrants and non-migrants aspire to achieve, and how do these differ by duration of stay in current communities?
- ii. What is the relationship between the interacting systems that influence an individual's environment, and individual goals?
- iii. How do the strategies for the attainment of goals and the obstacles towards the achievement of goals differ between migrants and non-migrants?

For the quantitative part of the study, data from the 2011 round of the EDULINK Urban Health and Poverty Project were used. The survey which was carried out by the Regional Institute for Population Studies was done in James Town, Ussher Town and Agboghloshie. The unit of analysis was males and females between the ages of 15 and 24, with a sample size of 326 respondents. Apart from data from the EDULINK Urban Health and Poverty Project,

eight focus groups were conducted among male and female migrants and non-migrants aged 15 to 24 years.

Univariate and bivariate analysis were used to describe the background characteristics of respondents, and how this differed by migration status (duration of stay in community). The background characteristics explored in this study were age, sex, education, locality of residence, self-construal and work status of respondents. Bivariate analysis was again used to explore the relationship between background characteristics and goal types among non-migrants and migrants with different durations of residence in the destination areas. The list of goals of respondents was obtained from the focus group discussions conducted before the survey, and were grouped into Relation/Intimacy goals, Generativity/Transcenditivity goals, school/work achievement goals and other achievement goals.

Forty-five percent of the respondents were male, and also almost 46 percent of the respondents belonged to the younger age group. About 52 percent of the respondents were non-migrants. Compared to primary education, more non-migrant than migrant respondents had had secondary education, and more than half of the respondents lived in Ussher Town. In addition, about 60 percent of the respondents were Ga-Dangme, and the same proportion of respondents was unemployed. A higher proportion of the migrants than non-migrants was working.

The study identified 'Avoidance goals' as a set of goals in its 'big 4' which was not recognized in the goal types identified in earlier studies. There was some relationship between groups of respondents and goals. The female respondents were more focused on relations goals than male respondents were. Also, unlike the migrant females, younger female non-migrants were more focused on 'avoidance' relations goals (avoiding pregnancy, avoiding bad company and avoiding sexual relationships). Among the older females, while migrants were focused on marriage, non-migrants were more focused on having children.

Between 2 to 5 years of migration, a higher proportion of this group than other migrant groups want to be independent and also wanted to avoid bad company. Also, while recent migrants often had school goals and goals of saving, female migrants did not have educational goals, and a higher proportion of older groups than younger groups had a goal of finding accommodation. Expectedly, among migrants, a higher proportion of the older age group had a goal of being independent, except for intermediate migrants.

A higher proportion of males than female had 'job' goals, for all migration groups, but also, a higher proportion of males had goals of starting a business, and a higher proportion of males had a goal of finding accommodation. It also seemed more important to migrants to avoid bad company, especially at 2-5 years of stay. Finally, 'friendship groups' were formed among males, both migrants and non-migrants, and the young men used these groups to support themselves economically.

The findings also showed that with increase in duration of stay, migrants became street-wise, and perhaps, coupled with their difficult livelihoods, appear more determined in their strategies towards the attainment of goals. Negative efforts included issues on transactional sex or sex for favours (which was a strategy among females) and theft (which was more general). Marriage was a strategy for having a child among migrant females, and consequently, 'taking care of one-self' was also a strategy among migrant females. Also, while non-migrants mentioned 'getting financial assistance' as a strategy for schooling, migrants with schooling goals were working to get money for this goal. Only recent migrants did not mention schooling as a strategy for jobs. Also, younger female non-migrants joined church groups and NGOs for assistance while friendship groups are found among males (non-migrants and intermediate) were also used for economic benefits. Younger migrants on the other hand attained help by assisting older people. A higher proportion of the migrants compared to the non-migrants has a goal of saving. Lack of money was seen as the main

obstacle to the attainment of goals. Among migrants, their obstacles concerning money was more specific; their inability to save. They also found it more difficult to get assistance, and indicated they have more (mainly livelihood) responsibilities.

Finally, migrants were aware that in spite of their need to avoid bad company, the right kinds of associations could be beneficial to them, as in the case of males forming friendship groups.

As acknowledged earlier in the study, the sample size for the study (326) was not enough to explore the statistical significance of various analysis made in this study. In light of this, the study acknowledges as important caveats, the limited sample size, and its consequent design issues such as its focus on bivariate analysis. The study recommendations should therefore be considered with these limitations in mind.

## **8.2 Recommendations**

Young people who often move to urban areas do so with the hope of bettering their livelihoods and ensuring a more promising future. Consequently, in spite of efforts to discourage the migration of young people into urban areas, several young migrants are added to the already populated urban areas. Efforts regarding this issue have often involved convincing migrants to move back home, sometimes after giving them a skill to live on.

One of the best ways of tackling urbanward migration will be to focus efforts on the places of origin of these migrants. Results from the focus group discussions indicated that many young people, especially males, migrate to urban areas with the intention of earning money for education. Reforms should also be made in the area of education to extend free education to senior secondary level in order to keep young people in school longer. Again, the quality of education should be increased so that young people can adequately apply acquired education in ways that are beneficial to their future. More importantly, efforts should be made to generate jobs for young people in rural areas. Results from the focus group

discussions also showed that, just like older non-migrant females, migrant females are more inclined towards relation goals. If people have an adequate source of livelihood, it might eliminate their need to migrate to urban areas, and young women can build the families that they want to in a health way and familiar environment. Finally, education in rural areas on risks and challenges young people face when they migrate may deter people from migrating to urban areas.

Results of the focus group discussions showed that younger non-migrant females have ‘avoidance’ relation goals, which are ‘avoiding pregnancy and avoiding bad company’. Younger migrants on the other hand not only lack ‘avoidance’ relations goals, but, according to the FGDs with older female migrants, lead risky sexual lives. It is very likely that younger female migrants may have acquired these ‘principles’ from education in schools and the various NGOs that they usually join. Since younger female migrants are not in school and do not have school goals, it is important for the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection to increase awareness on issues regarding reproductive health and risks, through programme specifically targeting ‘out of school girls’ and more importantly, migrant girls in urban areas.

The results also showed that, while older female migrants spoke more of the goal of getting married, older female non-migrants had goals of having a child. This can be explained by information from the FGDs that once a woman had a child with a man, the man was considered her husband. This may create a situation where young women may try to have a child with different men in an attempt to acquire a husband. This problem should be addressed through the leaders of the various communities since it appears to be a cultural phenomenon. Health workers can work closely with community leaders to help communicate the negative effects of this norm, and hopefully curb its consequences.

The focus group discussions revealed that both older and younger female migrants do not have a goal of continuing or finishing school. Over the years, a number of programmes and campaigns have been held in support of girl child education. An example is the Science, Technology and Mathematics Education (STME) programme for girls which was instituted to increase the ‘already in school’ girl child’s interest in science subjects. Other campaigns have been on encouraging enrolment of females in school. It is however imperative to increase young women’s interest in education in general. It is not only important get young women in school but also increase their desire to stay in school.

The results of the study also showed that, older respondents, males and females, migrants and non-migrants (apart from older female non-migrants) had a goal of finding accommodation. For migrants, this was especially true among intermediate migrants, who have gone past the ‘dependence’ stage of a recent migrant. Although in many cases, it is a problem of funds to get a place of their own, there is also a housing problem in the urban areas. This problem can partly be solved by avoiding further congestion in the urban areas, that is, reducing rural-urban migration. More importantly, the government needs to address the housing problems in the urban areas in order to make available affordable accommodation for young people who want to start life on their own.

Furthermore, females spoke more of the desire to learn a skill. They however expressed the challenge of not being able to support themselves when in training. The Local Enterprise and Skills Development Project (LESDEP) which is a joint public-private partnership under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development was developed to create and facilitate the acquisition of skills that will lead to the creation of businesses by unemployed youth, and also to provide equipment for starting up their businesses. The Ministry should consider publicizing the project so that more people know of and can take advantage of the project. There needs to be more education to increase awareness of this

programme in order to provide this opportunity to the young people that need it. Also, this programme needs to take into account the need for young people to support themselves while in training, and as such, should incorporate into the programme, different training schedules.

The male respondents on the other hand expressed a desire to start a business, and perhaps that explains their forming of friendship groups when they often use as a medium for business ventures. This often leads to self-dependence instead of the often popular trend of depending on the government for jobs. Females should therefore be encouraged to form similar friendship groups to accrue similar social network benefits. Also, programmes can be set up to support such small scale ventures, with minimum risks.

As seen in the analysis, it appears that, apart from younger female non-migrants, all other three female groups tend to exchange sex for favours. The older female migrants articulated that their dependence on men stems from their inability to provide fully for themselves. It appears the solution to this is to generate jobs so as to give women. This will not only be a source of livelihood but also give more strength in issues of sex, for instance negotiating for safe sex. Sex education should also be increased to benefit women more. Since the older migrant women explained that their dependence on men often results in unwanted pregnancies, the government should consider the possibility of making family planning available to these women free of charge.

Non-migrant individuals who belonged to social groups and NGOs explained that they often benefit from forms of assistance through these groups. Perhaps, if migrants are encouraged to join these groups, they will benefit by way of assistance. These groups may be able to keep them in check and form as a sort of social support for them (migrants).

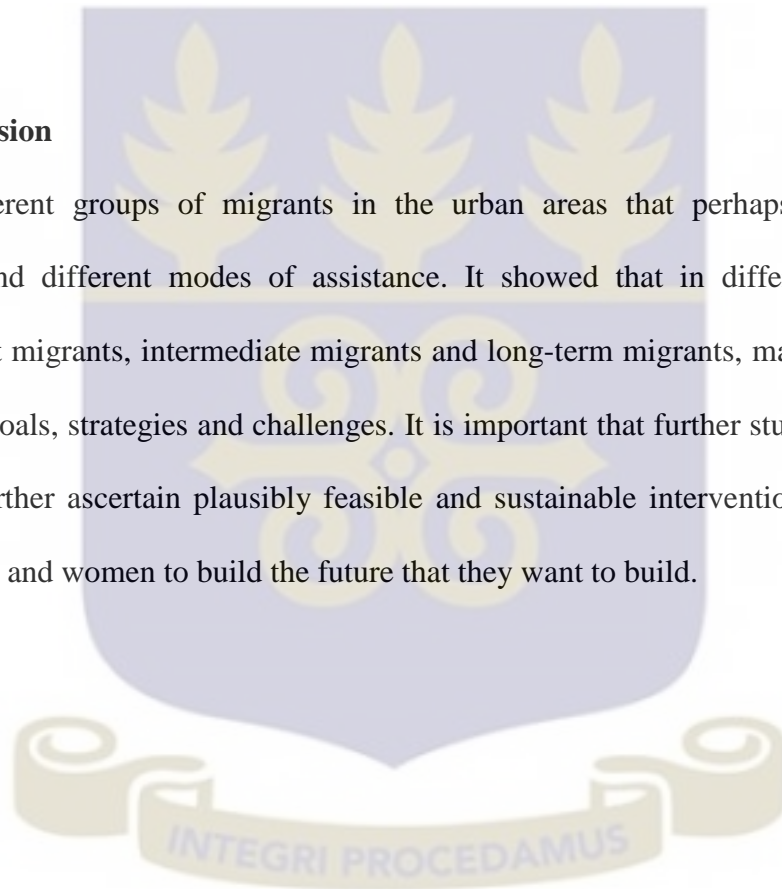
Again, the intermediate migrants, perhaps due to the experience they had had, were more streetwise and know what bad company was, and the need to avoid it. This is, however, a lesson that will benefit both recent migrants and non-migrants alike. Campaigns on drug

abuse and teenage pregnancy on social media need to be increased in order to instil this awareness in all groups of individuals.

Finally, further studies on this topic should lay emphasis also on Avoidance goals. As important as it is to know what young people aim to attain, it is also important to know how aware young people are of the things that hinder their attainment of goals. Avoidance goals are a step beyond realising obstacles. They represent a realisation of an obstacle, making effort to deal with them and turning this effort into a goal.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

There are different groups of migrants in the urban areas that perhaps need different interventions and different modes of assistance. It showed that in different ways, non-migrants, recent migrants, intermediate migrants and long-term migrants, males and females, have different goals, strategies and challenges. It is important that further studies are done on this issue to further ascertain plausibly feasible and sustainable interventions that can best lead young men and women to build the future that they want to build.





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## Appendices

### Appendix one

#### Modified items of the Singelis Self-Construal Scale

- Item 4: I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor
- Item 7: I often have the feeling that my relationship with others is more important than my own accomplishments
- Item 14: speaking up during a class is not a problem to me
- Item 17: I am the same person at home that I am at school
- Item 20: I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am



**Appendix two**  
**Focus group discussion instrument**

**Migrants**

1. Why did you come to Accra?
2. What are some of the things migrants hope to attain before migration?
3. Of all the things that you have mentioned, which one or two do you consider as the major drivers of the migration and why?

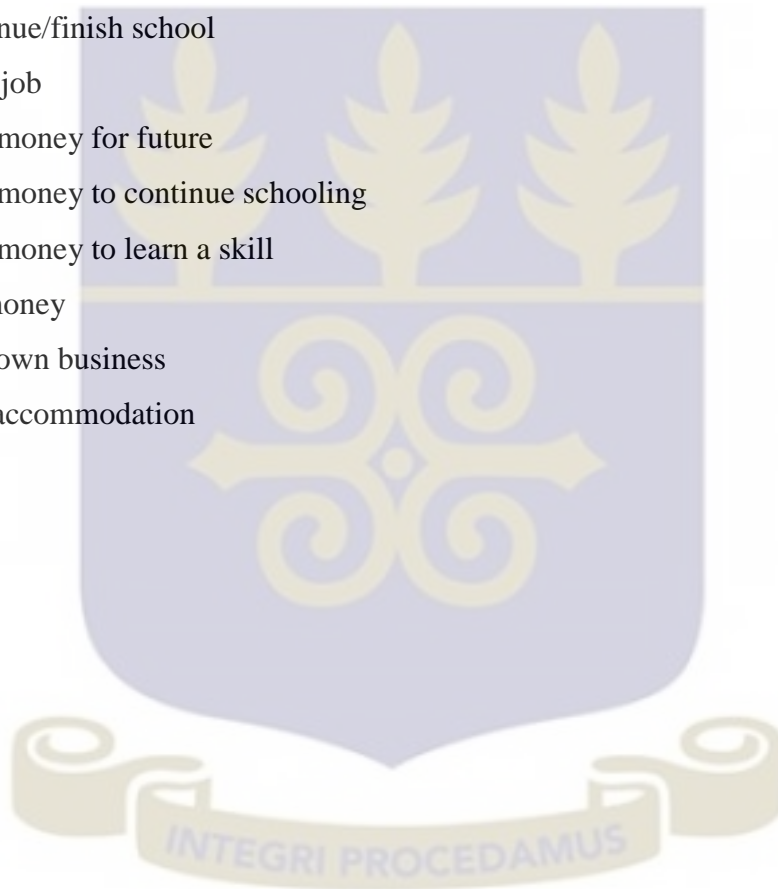
**Migrants and Non-migrants**

4. How would you describe the group that you most recognize yourself with?
5. What are some examples of your goals (social, economic, occupational, academic goals)?
6. In what ways do you think goals of migrants differ from those of non-migrants?
7. What types of goals do individuals NOT like you try to attain and how are these different from the goals you try to attain?
8. What are you currently doing to attain EACH of your goals? What do you think others do to attain their goals?
9. In what ways are you receiving support from anyone to help you attain these goals?
10. Okay so picking each type of goal, what kinds of support do you wish you would receive to help you attain each goal?
11. What do you consider as some of the obstacles in the attainment of your goals?
12. How do you deal with these obstacles to the attainment of your goals?
13. How do you think these obstacles are better or worse for other people not like you (describe the group)?
14. How long have you set these as goals and how far do you think you have come in realizing these goals?
15. Which of your goals/goal types do you think is most difficult to attain and why?
16. What would you do to demonstrate respect towards a person older than you?
17. What would you do to demonstrate respect towards a person your age?

### Appendix three

#### The list of goals included in the individual questionnaire

- a. To have a child
- b. To get married
- c. To take care of family
- d. To avoid pregnancy
- e. To avoid bad company
- f. To become independent
- g. To continue/finish school
- h. To get a job
- i. To save money for future
- j. To save money to continue schooling
- k. To save money to learn a skill
- l. To get money
- m. To start own business
- n. To find accommodation
- o. Other



Appendix four

Coding frame for Goals of young migrants and non-migrants in Accra

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
<b>GOAL TYPES</b>	Relations/ intimacy goals	Wanting relationship	Having a desire to have a boyfriend or girlfriend	<i>Respondent: if you go out to sell and you see a man that you like... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>Maybe when you sell, your goods don't get bought, so when you get a man who gives you 5 cedis all the time, it may bring you pregnancy. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i>
		Avoiding relationship	Not willing to be in a romantic relationship (at that particular moment)	<i>Well I have taken a boyfriend before and had a child with the person so I don't want to have a boyfriend. (Migrant female, 15-19)</i> <i>Some people will not help you if you have a girlfriend. If I take a girlfriend she will only spend my money (migrant male, 20-24)</i> <i>My opinion is, as for me I'm not ready to marry because I am a soccer player... (migrant male, 20-24)</i>
		Wanting marriage	Having marriage as a goal	<i>Respondent: yes, I want to have a wedding (migrant female, 15-19)</i> <i>As for marriage we want it...everyone wants marriage...who doesn't want to get married (Migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>For me by next year I should marry my girl... (migrant male, 20-24)...So far as you have given birth with a man, he is your husband (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>As for marriage we want it...everyone wants marriage....who doesn't want to get married.(Migrant female, 20-24)</i>
		Avoiding marriage	Not ready for marriage	<i>Respondent:...until I get what I want I will not get married now. Marriage is not compulsory neither is giving birth. As for me I want to achieve my aim; I want to get four to five shops, which means I'm a big boy... but if I give birth right now.... My uncle is a contractor he will not help me again. Some people will not help you if you have a girlfriend. If I take a girlfriend she will only spend my money (migrant male, 20-24)</i>
		Other relationships	For relation goals	<i>There are some students in my school who lead reckless lives so if I emulate them it will not be of benefit to me. I will only retrogress in life if I follow their lead (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i>
	Generativity/ transcendentivity goals	Family	Goals of taking care of family	<i>As for me, the goal I have is that I want to get money to look after my children and my family members (Migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>My goal was to come and work hard and take care of my mum because she has</i>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>also taken care of me. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I came here to find money to look after my children so that they can grow up and become important people as I never had the chance to be. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Others	Goals of taking care of others or helping society	<p><i>I am a chorister and I love singing so I decided to get people and form a group...but it got to a time I wasn't able to do it because the people I found were not committed. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I realized that I was a very young girl and I sort of wanted them to be like me. Not like me per se but they should forget about the things of this world. So I thought that if you occupied them with singing, but not the worldly songs, rather gospel songs it will turn their minds from going astray in their lives. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I want to help those who have not been to school to attend school. The way I have passed through my apprenticeship someone too will also pass through me. If I have a land I will build a place where people will come and learn. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>...some want to develop the community (non-migrant male, 20-24) I have started an NGO that supports poor children and the less privileged. It's a young charity which supports children in James town, Bukuom and Ussher town. I started on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 2011. I have twenty children I support. Out of the twenty I support, only six are in school. The remaining fourteen, my aspiration is to take them to school if I get the funds (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
	Achievements goals	Education/work/skill	Goals related to one's education, learning a skill or finding a job	<p><i>I have decided that when I complete school I will attend a computer school and an accounting school. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>I want to learn a skill. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>I have made up my mind that when I finish school I will learn "hair dressing" (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>I want to learn to sew. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I have decided to work and make money so that I can continue my education. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>I want my own shop... to sell things, like electronics. My own thing (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I want to continue my education so that I can go to the army. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>I am a student and I want to become a lawyer in future. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>The schooling, we didn't get very far so these are the jobs we can do. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Respondent: I have decided that when I complete school I will go to the armed forces and learn to become a seamstress. But I did not get any help so I went to learn from somewhere else. I have told myself that at all cost I will go there. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>...for the "kayaye" they came to Accra with the intention of coming to work even though they do not know anyone here in Accra. But rather they will like to find a shop where they could become an apprentice. When they get to Accra, they then realize that things have changed. So they advise themselves and look for a job that does not require any special skill. Even though that was not the original aim they had. But circumstances have compelled them to do so. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Other	Achievement goals not related to education and work	<p><i>Respondent: I want to live life here so that one day it shall be well with me in future, so that even if it is a 'barrel' house, I will be able to say 'this is mine. Or if I live here and it goes well with me and I am able to buy a car, I will be able to say when I went to Accra to live there, this is the property I got from it. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>When I see the big men I want to be like them...I want to become big. I always pray that something should not hold me back. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I want to own a shop. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>For me I am studying graphics even though I have not completed. I have half a month. Before I enrolled in school, my perception was that when I finish I have to get my own company. I do not want to work for someone that is my goal. And I see I am getting closer to it. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I want to get money to buy my own house so that I can say this is me. I also want to get money to buy a car. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I want my own shop... to sell things, like electronics. My own thing (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I also want to have my own shop where I will do my tailoring. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
	Goals (Avoid)	relationship	Goals of avoiding an intimate relationship	<p><i>That a man will make a fool of me. As for me, a man has made a fool of me before so I don't want to go for someone who will make a fool of me again. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>When you go to him, you will find him lying down with your fellow woman. If you go and say anything, he will beat you. If you ask him for money, he will not give you. But in a day when he is in a good mood, if it's one cedi, he will put it in your hands and send you off. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I have been here for one year. And things have changed in this society. Young guys are taking alcohol so I want to avoid that, taking girlfriends and smoking (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>My uncle is a contractor he will not help me again. Some people will not help you if you have a girlfriend. If I take a girlfriend she will only spend my money. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Maybe out of ten, three people will be good, or out of ten, two will be good. So out of ten, about two go to out to sell things, but 8 sleep around...some of them will go round all day and come and throw themselves out here at night...It's the lack of money that makes them do that when they come. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Health	Goals of avoiding ill health	<p><i>Illness is one thing that shouldn't come your way because when it does, it brings you down. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I will not make friends that will lead me to teenage pregnancy. Friends who will tell me to go for abortion.(non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Work	Avoiding goals related to work	<p><i>Even though we are in school and we need money to support ourselves, we should leave the idea of working for now to finish our education first. There are some who sell ice-water to get money but they are at risk of getting knocked down by a car. Because their parents will not give them so they need to work. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p>
		Association	Avoiding certain relationships	<p><i>I have come to realize that over here the boys like flirting with the ladies so as for me that is what I want to avoid (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>...when you join a group that does not give good advice it can be a problem. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Sometimes bad company can affect you. If for instance your friends give you bad advice it can affect you. And also some parents are harsh that you cannot tell them things that bother you. So when you join a group that does not give good</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<i>advice it can be a problem. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i>
<b>ASSOCIATION</b>	Friendship	Ordinary friendships	Identifying with friends as people they associate with	<i>Respondent: I don't have any friends. These are my only friends. (migrant female, 15-19)</i>
		Friendship groups	Groups specially formed among friends	<i>We are not in any group. We are boysboys. (migrant male, 15-19)</i> <i>I am in a soccer group. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i> <i>we are in an association called the "Dons" (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i> <i>Interviewer: what do you do?</i> <i>Respondent: we help people. Even the last time when our friend's mother died, we helped him. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i> <i>I am in a group called UN. we save money for future use (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i> <i>as for me I am in a group... "Piport" during your "out-dooring" or engagement or if you relative dies we assist you or we escort you to do things and go to places (migrant male, 20-24)</i>
	Formal	Church groups	Joining associations in churches	<i>I am in Dominion Youth fellowship... (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i> <i>In the church I am in the choir and youth fellowship. In the neighbourhood I am in "theatre for a change" and "great thinkers club." (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>In the neighbourhood I do not belong to any group. But in the church I am in a group. Praise team. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>I'm in a prayer warrior's group (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i>
		NGOs	Belonging to a Non-Governmental Organization	<i>In the community I am in an NGO group called 'Art for Change'. We are taught to go into the neighbourhood to look at problems that affect the youth (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i> <i>In the church I am in the choir and youth fellowship. In the neighbourhood I am in "theatre for a change" and "great thinkers club." (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i>
	Reasons	Groups	Reasons for belonging or not belonging to a group	<i>As for the groups, they are there, but the join, Some (non-migrant females their age) join. Not all of us. Just 'one one'. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>You won't have time for it. As for the groups, it involves time. And if you play with it, you shall be removed from the group. Everything you have paid will be</i>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>lost. You understand? So..... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>It's like the women who sell things, women groups and things like that. Those women that sell and have decided together that if this person is pregnant, we will give her an outdooring ceremony, if this person's father dies or this person's family, if something happens to this person, we will go and help them. The women in the market, that's what they do. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
<b>STRATEGIES</b>	Negative efforts	Negative associations	Associating with people in the wrong ways and for the wrong reasons	<p><i>Some also go for boys. Then eventually he will get you pregnant. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Some people dress well to attract men and some also lie for money. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>So many people engage in sex for money some do it because there is no money at home. So you will see a lot of people at circle not because they enjoy that but because they want money for school. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>There are some ladies who have decided to have babies with different men so that they will get money from all of them. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>For those (migrants) who do not have parents to cater for them they might go after men to help them. And for others they might choose to sell "ice water" to make money for school. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Deception	Attaining goals (money) by deceiving people	<p><i>Some people do not want to work but they want money. So they are practicing "sakawa" to make money. They are always at the internet café. They do not work. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
	Positive efforts	Positive associations	Associating with the right people for the right reasons	<p><i>For example for the "kayaye" some of the girls marry the men so that they will protect them. Even though they have been raped and they give birth they put their babies at their back and continue their work. Nothing stops them. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Some of them are good and others do not do anything meaningful. So I follow those who do the right and learn from them. And they also learn from (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>You can volunteer to help someone who is in the skill. And they might decide to help. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>When someone observes that you are respectful, they will find your need and help you whether it is work or school. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Savings	Putting away earned	<p><i>Well maybe when you return from selling, you can save some and use some.</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
			money as a means of attaining one's goals	<p><i>(migrant female, 15-19)</i>  <i>I take care of someone's game centre so when I am paid at the end of the month I save the money so that I will go and learn a skill. (migrant male, 15-19)</i>  <i>Before I open the shop.... I save some money, without that I cannot say I am going to open my own shop. (migrant male, 20-24)</i>  <i>Some work and save money, so that they will take it to school. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i>  <i>I know someone who also left her community to come and work in this community to make money for school. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Education	Seeing/using education as a tool to attain a goal	<p><i>When you finish JSS, you can do any job. When you finish JSS you can join the police service can't you? All you need is to be able to spell your name. (migrant female, 15-19)</i>  <i>I have to pay my school fees quickly so that I will not be sacked from school. (migrant male, 15-19)</i>  <i>When I went to the Army I was told to go and get myself an SHS certificate before I can enroll as a soldier in the Army. So I have returned to school. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p>
		preparation	Making one's self ready for a goal	<p><i>Right now, money is hard to come by. So before he marries you, you will have to help yourself. You bring some, he also brings some. But if you say you are waiting for the man to provide everything... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
	Attitude	Determination	Being determined and 'aggressive' in one's efforts to attain a goal	<p><i>They are being 'aggressive'...for instance if a 'donkomi' comes and you don't get involved you will lose out. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i>  <i>In this community if you are not strong you will not achieve your goal. Not everyone here achieves their heart desire (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i>  <i>For those (migrants) who want to go to school, they work hard, unlike the non-migrants. For them (non-migrants), they take life easy. And that makes them lazy. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i>  <i>when they (migrants) get here they remain focused in order to attain their goals (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i>  <i>Right now it's all about prayers and hard work, and disciplining yourself and not misbehaving...focusing on your work, putting your mind and everything into the work.(Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Lifestyle	Habits that have to be worked on or	<p><i>All I have to do is to watch my lifestyle and stop doing things which are not right (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
			adopted for the attainment of goals	<p><i>As for me I like sex....so I have to stop. I like entertainment. But now I have stopped. I use to be late for work so my boss advised me. So I decided to stop such things. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I am abstaining from sex. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Right now, the only solution is prayer. Because the men are few and the women are many. So you have to pray and humble yourself. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
<b>OBSTACLES</b>	Lack	Money	Lack of money as an obstacle to attainment of goals	<p><i>Yes it's the money (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Right now the marriage is all about money (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>If I have money right now and I go to this madam to tell her I want to learn a skill, she will agree to teach me. Even if I don't have a family, she will accept me till a family member of mine shows up so that I introduce her to them. Some of the madams, maybe you have come to hassle, selling pure water here and there, with the night activities too as you know, if after a while you go to her to say you have one million cedis (GHC100) so you want to start with that as deposit, some of them will not even mind you. Some will also take the money and send you away after a while, or give you some time to pay up. If you don't, the deposit goes waste. You have to come and hassle all over again. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Money is the major obstacle we all face. And sometimes if you have a bad teacher it is an obstacle. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Also financial problems and lack of saving (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
		Helper	Absence of a helper to assist in attainment of goals	<p><i>Not just the money. And there is no helper (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>The child has grown up. But the man, he doesn't mind us at all. Sometimes he gives us 500 (5 pesewas), sometimes he gives us 5000 (50 pesewas). The day he is in a good mood, not that he doesn't have money, he really has some, but he will give you one cedi. If I complain, we will beat me up and send me off. That is what happens. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Low sales	Not making enough sales	
	Responsibilities	Children	Having to take care of their young children	<p><i>The man, after he did it, he sent me off. So I am the one who's had to take care of that child. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Those of us without people to help us, we can sell to take care of ourselves. But maybe the cleaning and so on, we can do, but maybe you have two children....but if you had one child and that child were in the village.... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>I'll give an example. The migrants from the rural areas the "kayaye" (head porters) their aim is to find money. What prevents them is when they are raped they become pregnant and cannot work well as they wanted to. And others too do not get a place to sleep. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>You can sell pure water and save the money, because you are decided and focused. If you are not 'holding a child' (don't have a child), you can make it, but if you are holding a child..... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Respondent: it will be difficult if you are holding a child. You may be able to gather some money but maybe the week you want to start learning a skill, your child may get sick. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Livelihoods	Daily upkeep costs and spending	<p><i>You can sell things to save up money so you can go and learn it. But the same money will learn the skill with is the money you will use for your daily upkeep. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>You will eat, you will bath and use the washroom, and you have to pay for all of these things. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Respondent: you may want to learn a skill but some things come your way. Accra, the charge you for a place to stay. You even get charged if you go to urinate. If you are using the washroom you will be charged money. As for Accra, if you get someone to help you, you will get a job. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Someone desires to learn hairdressing so that they might become madams in the future. But due to the way things are going, during occasions where they buy cloth they are not able to achieve their dreams. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>There are three things that prevent us from achieving our goals. These are women, alcohol and extravagant lifestyle. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
	Associations	Friends	Negative influence of friends	<p><i>When I join the company of bad friends it is an obstacle. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>As a migrant accommodation is a big problem. Not everyone will accept you. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>I have heard a lot of people say if I had the chance I will go to school or do this or that. The reason why they cannot achieve their goals is due the peers they have around them. Some have peers who do not attend school so they also prefer not to go to school. So it is one's peer that influences them. If you are not strong you fall. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Women	Being distracted by going after women	<p><i>Let's say if I get five million then I go out and waste it on alcohol. Or you have three girlfriends, and they all need clothes to wear. As for me I like women. But I</i></p>

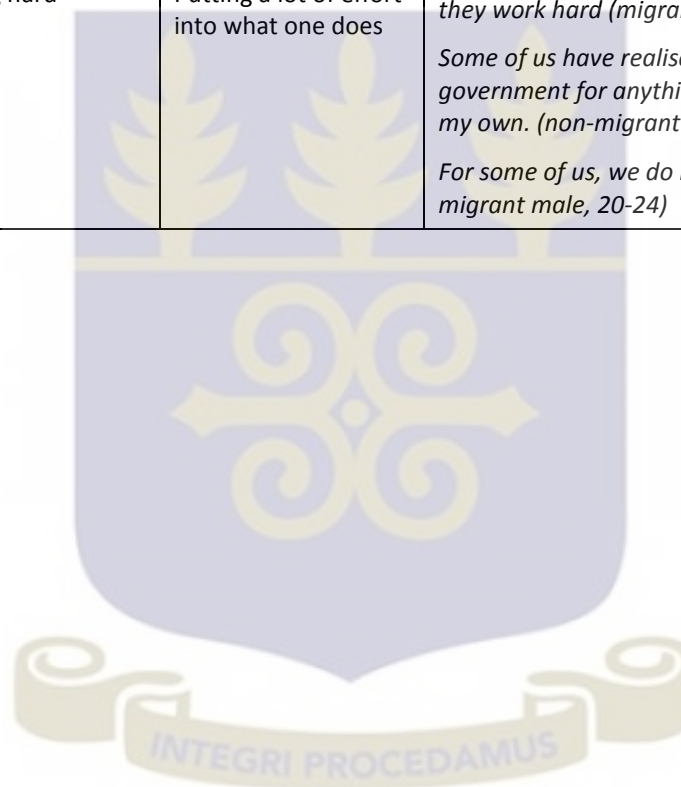
GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>have realized that is not good. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Some of the guys are not able to say no to women. They lack the ability to resist women. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>There are three things that prevent us from achieving our goals. These are women, alcohol and extravagant lifestyle. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
	Other obstacles	Competition	Competition for men in marriage	<i>You see, they are not many. The women are more than the men. And these days, many of the men are deceptive. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i>
		Drugs	Drugs as an obstacle by distraction or wasting one's money	<p><i>And also drugs, like cocaine, marijuana. As soon as you get some money, you just use it to enjoy yourself. And when you are caught you will use your money to bail yourself till you run dry. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>There are three things that prevent us from achieving our goals. These are women, alcohol and extravagant lifestyle. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
		Attitude	One's attitude getting in the way of one's progress	<i>Some people are proud and they do not respect. So they do not find people to help them. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i>
		Witches	Witches preventing one's progress	<i>Also when someone has completed school, the witches in his family can prevent them from progressing in life. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i>
HELP/ASSISTANCE	No help	People	No help from people	<i>This place, no one helps anyone.... apart from you who called us here, no adult has called us to talk to us about that. (migrant female, 15-19)</i>
		Groups/churches	No help from groups/churches	<p><i>Interviewer: and what about the church? Do you go to church? Is there not any group in the church that helps you?</i></p> <p><i>they have never even asked us such a question before (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>the church I go to, they need a helper themselves (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>and you pay all the plenty church things (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Government	No help from government	<p><i>I haven't seen anyone. Right now it is God who can choose a helper for us. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Some of us have realised that we have to help ourselves. I do not rely on the government for anything if I get something fine if not fine I will do something on my own. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
		Family	No help from family	<i>Others in the family....maybe there may be an important person in the family. A</i>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p>"boga". Some families may also have a 'boga' but that person may be very wicked. If you tell them you have one million and you want them to help you learn a skill, they will not mind you, but if you succeed in life, they will remember you. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>Nobody wants to help you but when you die they will come to your funeral. (migrant male, 20-24)</p>
	Kind of help needed	Money	Help in form of money	<p>Right now it is the money, so help us with some money, we beg you. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>I want to receive money as a form of support. (migrant male, 15-19)</p> <p>I want the person to help me with money. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</p> <p>When our financial problems are solved, everything will be okay. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</p>
		Skill	Helping them acquire skill	<p>If someone could help me learn a skill or help me get a place to sell, I would like that. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>If I could get someone who could help me with work or can help me through learning a skill get me settled, I would like that. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>I would like them to help me in learning a skill and in getting money (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>Respondent: I want to be trained so that I will say that I was trained. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</p>
		Jobs	Getting them jobs	<p>If I could get someone who could help me with work or can help me through learning a skill get me settled, I would like that. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>It is the job that we want. If by God's grace, we had jobs, on a Sunday like this, you can carry pure water to sell around, and then Monday you can go back to your life at work. Because, in Accra, they work even on Saturdays. (Migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>I want a job (non-migrant female, 20-24)</p> <p>we should be helped economically, with jobs (non-migrant male, 20-24)</p>
		Education/School	Help in finishing school	<p>Respondent: I would like someone to support me in my education. (migrant male, 15-19)</p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
				<p><i>I want help to attend school. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>If I find someone who will help me finish my education at least to JHS level, I will appreciate it. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Respondent: more schools should be built (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
		Others	Other kinds of help	<p><i>I want knowledge. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Advice. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>you can be helped with advise(non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Not me per se but for the parents of the kids I look after so that I do not have to bear the entire burden alone. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>We need advice and knowledge. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>Some people need helpers. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>as for me, I want someone who will look after me (take care of me) (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>
	How to get the help	Respect	Showing respect to others	<p><i>When you come to Accra whether you are good or bad if you respect people they will lend you a helping hand (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>If you show respect and help people by doing things for them they will help you. They will give you food to eat and take care of you (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>If you are a respectful person, you can get help from the people you live with at home, even though your parents do not have money (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>due to your respectful attitude the church can help (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Offering service	Doing something in exchange for help wanted	<p><i>Let's say when you come you do not have a place to stay, you can offer to work for someone for free so that they will give you a place to stay. So that later when you get money you pay.(migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>If you want to learn pedicure and there is someone who doesn't know it but you know It already, you can get close to the person. Since she knows she will not waste money to learn from somewhere, she will employ you. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Help	Assisting in any form	<p><i>By helping grownups. When I offer a helping hand to grownups they will also like</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
			an being awarded with help	<p><i>to help me. They will ask me what I want then they will also help me. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>By running errands for people they also would like to help me. (migrant male, 15-19)</i></p>
		Groups/associations	Assistance obtained by joining a group	<p><i>They help you through the various groups in the church like women's fellowship, and do on. so you can talk to your pastor for help. (non-migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>There lots of NGOs who help people so you can approach them and talk to them. The MP of the area also normally announces the vacancy of jobs available. So you will have to go to them and apply for help. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>I am in a certain group where we contribute money so that if any of us is in need we can use the money to help them. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>For those who want help, they can join a group in the church where they will get assistance and help. (non-migrant male, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Getting support is difficult. Even if someone wants to help you it is not easy. (migrant male, 20-24)</i></p>
	Helping themselves	Sex trade	Having sex with others in exchange for money or favours	<p><i>Some sell things. Some are prostitutes. Some also go to town to do what they like.... the prostitution ..... everyone has a way of doing their things (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Some either go for three guys or even five.... (migrant female, 15-19).....yes, this one will give her, that one will give her. (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p>
		Selling	Doing sales to earn money	<p><i>otherwise they will do the selling (migrant female, 15-19)</i></p> <p><i>Well right now, since they are not here yet, we continue to sell little by little to eat and take care of the children. (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p> <p><i>You can sell and save the money bit by bit. (Migrant female, 20-24).....Those of us without people to help us; we can sell to take care of ourselves. But maybe the cleaning and so on, we can do, but maybe you have two children.....but if you had one child and that child were in the village.... (Migrant female, 20-24)</i></p>

GLOBAL THEME	ORGANISING THEMES	BASIC THEMES	CODE DESCRIPTION	QUOTE
		Theft	Stealing from others	<i>yes she can work for someone or she can go and steal (migrant female, 15-19)</i> <i>Respondent: others also steal and deal in drugs. (migrant male, 15-19)</i>
		Working hard	Putting a lot of effort into what one does	<i>they work hard (migrant male, 15-19)</i> <i>Some of us have realised that we have to help ourselves. I do not rely on the government for anything if I get something fine if not fine I will do something on my own. (non-migrant female, 20-24)</i> <i>For some of us, we do not have any helper so we work hard on our own. (non-migrant male, 20-24)</i>



Appendix five

Frequency of Codes for Goal types

Organizing Theme	Basic Themes/ Codes	Migrant Males 15-19	Migrant Males 20-24	Migrant Females 15-19	Migrant Females 20-24	Non-Migrant Males 15-19	Non-migrant Males 20-24	Non-migrant Females 15-19	Non-Migrant Females 20-24	Total
Relations/intimacy goals	Wanting relationship				√					1
	Avoiding relationship		√	√	√			√		4
	Wanting marriage		√	√	√					3
	Avoiding marriage		√							1
	Other relationships							√	√	2
Generativity/ Transcendentivity	Family		√		√				√	3
	Other	√					√		√	3
Achievement goals	Education/work/skill	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	8
	Other		√		√	√	√		√	5
Goals of avoiding	Relationship	√	√	√	√			√		5
	Health				√			√		1
	Work					√		√		2
	Association	√				√		√		3

**Appendix six**

**Frequency of Codes for Association**

Organizing Theme	Basic Themes/ Codes	Migrant Males 15-19	Migrant Males 20-24	Migrant Females 15-19	Migrant Females 20-24	Non-Migrant Males 15-19	Non-migrant Males 20-24	Non-migrant Females 15-19	Non-Migrant Females 20-24	Total
Friendship	Ordinary friendships			√						1
	Friendship groups	√	√			√	√			4
Formal	Church groups						√	√	√	3
	NGOs							√	√	2
Reasons					√					1



**Appendix seven**

**Frequency of Codes for Strategies**

Organizing Theme	Basic Themes/ Codes	Migrant Males 15-19	Migrant Males 20-24	Migrant Females 15-19	Migrant Females 20-24	Non-Migrant Males 15-19	Non-migrant Males 20-24	Non-migrant Females 15-19	Non-Migrant Females 20-24	Total
Positive efforts	Positive Associations	√	√			√	√	√		3
	Savings	√	√	√			√		√	5
	Education	√				√			√	3
Negative efforts	Negative associations		√	√		√			√	4
	Deception								√	1
Attitude	Determination				√		√			2
	Lifestyle		√				√	√	√	4



Appendix eight

Frequency of Codes for Obstacles

Organizing Theme	Basic Themes/ Codes	Migrant Males 15-19	Migrant Males 20-24	Migrant Females 15-19	Migrant Females 20-24	Non-Migrant Males 15-19	Non-migrant Males 20-24	Non-migrant Females 15-19	Non-Migrant Females 20-24	Total
Lack	Money	√	√	√	√		√	√		6
	Helper			√						1
	Sales				√					1
Responsibilities	Children				√					1
	Livelihoods				√		√		√	3
Associations	Friends	√	√						√	3
	Women		√			√	√			3
Other obstacles	Competition				√				√	2
	Drugs		√							1
	Witches							√		1
	Attitude					√				1



Appendix nine

Frequency of codes for Assistance

Organizing Theme	Basic Themes/ Codes	Migrant Males 15-19	Migrant Males 20-24	Migrant Females 15-19	Migrant Females 20-24	Non-Migrant Males 15-19	Non-migrant Males 20-24	Non-migrant Females 15-19	Non-Migrant Females 20-24	Total
No help	People			√		√				2
	Groups/church			√						1
	Government			√					√	2
	Family				√					1
Kind of help needed	Money	√			√		√	√		4
	Skill				√				√	2
	Jobs				√		√		√	3
	Education/school	√				√	√	√		4
	Others				√		√	√	√	4
How to get the help	Respect	√						√		2
	Offering service	√						√		2
	Help	√								1
	Groups/association					√	√	√	√	4
Helping themselves	Sex trade			√						1
	Selling			√	√					2
	Theft	√		√	√					3
	Working hard	√					√		√	3

Appendix ten

A set of tables containing the tabular form of the bar charts in chapter 6, together with the chi-squares and p-values

\*\*\*p<0.01    \*\*p<0.05    \*p<0.10

Percent distribution of RELATION GOALS and AGE

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal		Chi-square	P-Value
		15-19	20-24		
Having a child	NM	20.5	22.8	.738	.112
	RM	17.6	18.8	.924	.009
	IM	9.1	16.7	.446	.581
	LTM	19.4	18.9	.955	.003
Getting married	NM	38.4	32.9	.483	.491
	RM	35.3	46.9	.436	.608
	IM	27.3	37.5	.460	.546
	LTM	33.3	29.7	.740	.110
Avoiding pregnancy	NM	2.7	10.1	.066*	3.368
	RM	0	9.4	.193	1.698
	IM	4.5	4.2	.950	.004
	LTM	2.8	5.4	.572	.320
Becoming independent	NM	11	17.7	.236	1.402
	RM	5.9	6.2	.959	.003
	IM	4.5	4.2	.950	.004
	LTM	5.6	18.9	.083*	3.015
Avoiding bad company	NM	4.1	8.9	.238	1.393
	RM	0	9.4	.193	1.698
	IM	18.2	4.2	.127	2.327
	LTM	8.3	2.7	.291	1.117

Percent distribution of ACHIEVEMENT GOALS and AGE

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		15-19	20-24		
Schooling	NM	49.3	26.6	.004**	8.366
	RM	47.1	25	.117	2.457
	IM	36.4	16.7	.129	2.310
	LTM	41.7	18.9	.034**	4.484
Getting a job	NM	39.7	43	.679	.171
	RM	23.5	3.1	.025**	5.045
	IM	31.8	37.5	.686	.163
	LTM	61.1	24.3	.001***	10.106
Getting money	NM	15.1	24.1	.165	1.932
	RM	35.3	15.6	.116	2.467
	IM	13.6	16.7	.775	.082
	LTM	13.9	21.6	.388	.745
Starting a business	NM	13.7	26.6	.049**	3.879
	RM	17.6	40.6	.103	2.666
	IM	18.2	33.3	.242	1.367
	LTM	19.4	43.2	.029**	4.789
Finding accommodation	NM	8.2	17.7	.083*	2.998
	RM	5.9	15.6	.322	.981
	IM	13.6	25	.332	.942
	LTM	5.6	24.3	.025**	5.022

Percent distribution of GENERATIVITY GOALS and AGE

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		15-19	20-24		
Saving	NM	16.2	32.5	.020**	7.796
	RM	11.8	37.5	.058*	3.603
	IM	22.7	16.7	.605	.268
	LTM	8.3	13.2	.481	1.462
Taking care of family	NM	12.2	16.9	.303	2.387
	RM	5.9	3.1	.642	.216
	IM	9.1	16.7	.446	.581
	LTM	8.3	15.8	.366	2.010



Percent distribution of RELATION GOALS and SEX

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		FEMALE	MALE		
Having a child	NM	24.4	17.7	.269	2.627
	RM	21.2	12.5	.460	.545
	IM	8.3	18.2	.322	.982
	LTM	20.5	16.7	.638	.899
Getting married	NM	39.7	29.1	.188	3.346
	RM	42.4	43.8	.930	.008
	IM	25	40.9	.250	1.322
	LTM	40.9	16.7	.052*	5.911
Avoiding pregnancy	NM	9	3.8	.181	3.422
	RM	9.1	0	.213	1.549
	IM	4.2	4.5	.950	.004
	LTM	4.5	3.3	.681	.769
Becoming independent	NM	9	19	.065*	5.472
	RM	6.1	6.2	.979	.001
	IM	0	9.1	.131	2.281
	LTM	13.6	10	.623	.948
Avoiding bad company	NM	2.6	10.1	.054*	5.845
	RM	3	12.5	.195	1.681
	IM	8.3	13.6	.564	.333
	LTM	4.5	6.7	.660	.830

Percent distribution of ACHIEVEMENT GOALS and SEX

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		FEMALE	MALE		
Schooling	NM	34.6	38	.330	2.215
	RM	33.3	31.2	.884	.021
	IM	29.2	22.7	.619	.247
	LTM	20.5	43.3	.085*	4.921
Getting a job	NM	39.7	40.5	.385	1.911
	RM	9.1	12.5	.712	.137
	IM	25	45.5	.146	2.117
	LTM	36.4	50	.391	1.879
Getting money	NM	21.8	16.5	.307	2.360
	RM	24.2	28.8	.666	.187
	IM	12.5	18.2	.592	.287
	LTM	18.2	16.7	.692	.737
Starting a business	NM	20.5	19	.400	1.834
	RM	42.4	12.5	.036**	4.388
	IM	37.5	13.6	.066*	3.390
	LTM	38.6	20	.147	3.829
Finding accommodation	NM	11.5	13.9	.347	2.115
	RM	9.1	18.8	.333	.936
	IM	16.7	22.7	.605	.268
	LTM	13.6	16.7	.673	.793

Percent distribution of GENERATIVITY GOALS and SEX

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		FEMALE	MALE		
Saving	NM	21.8	27.8	.238	2.868
	RM	24.2	37.5	.335	.928
	IM	29.2	9.1	.086*	2.940
	LTM	9.1	13.3	.611	.987
Taking care of family	NM	16.7	12.7	.334	2.193
	RM	0	12.5	.038**	4.301
	IM	12.5	13.6	.909	.013
	LTM	13.6	10	.623	.948



Percent distribution of RELATION GOALS and SELF-CONSTRUAL

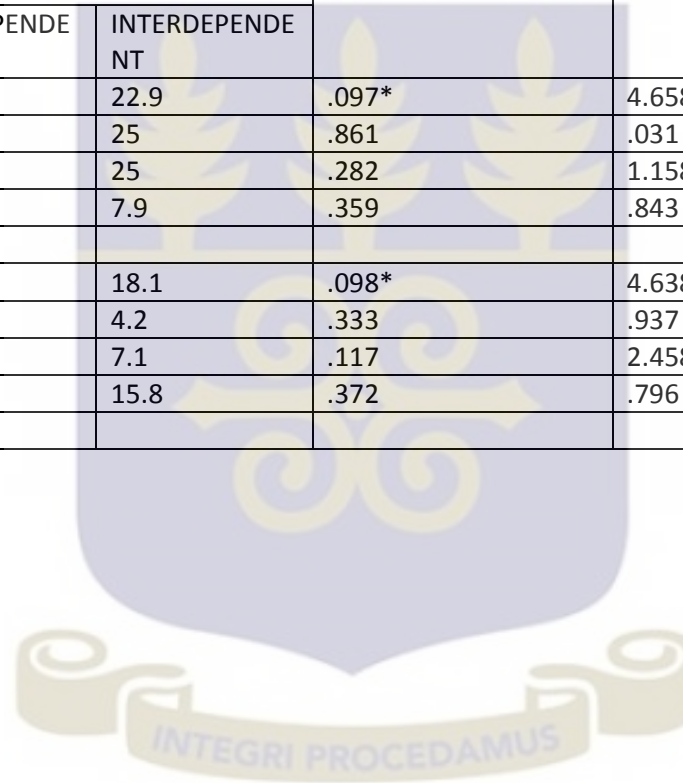
Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal (%)		Chi-square	P-Value
		Independent	Interdependent		
Having a child	NM	14.9	25.3	.055*	5.814
	RM	27.3	12.5	.207	1.592
	IM	11.8	10.7	.913	.012
	LTM	17.6	21.1	.715	.133
Getting married	NM	22.4	44.6	.004**	10.819
	RM	45.5	41.7	.796	.067
	IM	47.1	21.4	.072*	3.242
	LTM	20.6	42.1	.051*	3.822
Avoiding pregnancy	NM	7.5	6	.137	3.974
	RM	4.5	4.2	.950	.004
	IM	0	7.1	.260	1.271
	LTM	2.9	5.3	.623	.242
Becoming independent	NM	17.9	10.8	.060*	5.627
	RM	0	12.5	.086*	2.942
	IM	5.9	3.6	.715	.133
	LTM	11.8	13.2	.858	.032
Avoiding bad company	NM	9	4.8	.083*	4.969
	RM	0	12.5	.086*	2.942
	IM	5.9	14.3	.384	.756
	LTM	5.9	5.3	.909	.013

Percent distribution of ACHIEVEMENT GOALS and SELF-CONSTRUAL

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal		Chi-square	P-Value
		Independent	Interdependent		
Schooling	NM	32.8	41	.108	4.454
	RM	40.9	25	.250	1.322
	IM	5.9	39.3	.014**	6.035
	LTM	17.6	42.1	.025**	5.059
Getting a job	NM	34.3	47	.061*	5.592
	RM	9.1	12.5	.711	.138
	IM	41.2	32.1	.539	.377
	LTM	32.4	50	.129	2.299
Getting money	NM	16.4	21.7	.119	4.252
	RM	27.3	16.7	.384	.759
	IM	23.5	10.7	.250	1.322
	LTM	17.6	15.5	.833	.045
Starting a business	NM	17.9	21.7	.136	3.983
	RM	22.7	45.8	.100	2.701
	IM	17.6	28.6	.408	.684
	LTM	35.3	28.9	.564	.332
Finding accommodation	NM	9	16.9	.064*	5.509
	RM	9.1	12.5	.711	.138
	IM	23.5	17.9	.645	.213
	LTM	20.6	10.5	.236	1.404

Percent distribution of GENERATIVITY GOALS and SELF-CONSTRUAL

Goal	Group	Proportion of respondents with Goal		Chi-square	P-Value
		INDEPENDENT	INTERDEPENDENT		
Saving	NM	28.4	22.9	.097*	4.658
	RM	27.3	25	.861	.031
	IM	11.8	25	.282	1.158
	LTM	14.7	7.9	.359	.843
Taking care of family	NM	11.9	18.1	.098*	4.638
	RM	0	4.2	.333	.937
	IM	23.5	7.1	.117	2.458
	LTM	8.8	15.8	.372	.796



Appendix eleven

Individual questionnaire on goals of young people

GOALS AND GOAL ATTAINABILITY AMONG MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS						
CHECK 102: IF AGE IS ABOVE 24 YEARS SKIP TO NEXT SECTION <input type="checkbox"/>						
Now I will like you to tell me about the things you plan to attain or avoid. These may be social, economic or other.						
ATTAINABILITY – on a scale of 1 to 4 how easy do you think it will be to attain this goal: 1=VERY DIFFICULT 2=A BIT DIFFICULT 3=A BIT EASY 4=VERY EASY						
RANK – list the goals you have mentioned in order of what you would like to accomplish first.						
IMPORTANCE- on a scale of 1 to 4, how important is it for you to attain this goal: 1=NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT 2=A BIT IMPORTANT 3=SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT 4=VERY IMPORTANT						
169.	GOAL	ATTAINABILITY	RANK	IMPORTANCE	SUPPORT RECEIVING/RECEIVED	PERSON/INSTITUTION
<b>SOCIAL GOALS</b>						
	a. HAVING A CHILD					
	b. GETTING MARRIED					
	c. TAKING CARE OF FAMILY					
	d. AVOID PREGNANCY					
	e. AVOID BAD COMPANY					
	f. BECOMING INDEPENDENT					
<b>ECONOMIC/EDUCATIONAL</b>						
	g. CONTINUING/FINISHING SCHOOL					
	h. GETTING A JOB					
	i. SAVING MONEY FOR THE FUTURE					
	j. SAVING MONEY TO CONTINUE SCHOOLING					
	k. SAVING MONEY TO LEARN A SKILL					
	l. GETTING MONEY					
	m. STARTING OWN BUSINESS					
	n. FINDING ACCOMMODATION					
	o. OTHER(SPECIFY)					
<b>FOR THE GOALS SELECTED FROM THE ABOVE, WRITE DOWN THE STRATEGY BEING USED TO ATTAIN THEM AND THE OBSTACLE FACED IN ACHIEVING THEM</b>						
170.	GOALS	STRATEGY			MAIN OBSTACLE	

