

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**ECONOMIC MIGRATION TO THE GULF STATES: THE CASE OF GHANAIAN  
WOMEN MIGRANTS**

**BY**

**EDMOND ROY BREW**

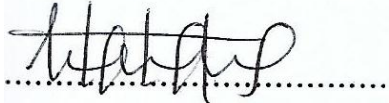
**(10063398)**

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON,  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF  
THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**DECEMBER, 2019**

## DECLARATION

I, **EDMOND ROY BREW**, do hereby declare that apart from references to works of other authors which have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation is the result of my own research work carried out under the supervision of **DR. J AMANDA COFFIE**. It has not been presented in part or in whole to any institution for the award of a degree.



**EDMOND ROY BREW**  
**(STUDENT)**

**DATE: 04/10/2020**.....



**DR. J AMANDA COFFIE**  
**(SUPERVISOR)**

**DATE: 04/10/2020**.....

**DEDICATION**

*I dedicate this dissertation to God Almighty for His divine grace, wisdom and strength.*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My utmost gratitude is to God Almighty for keeping me in all my ways.

To my family, thank you for your support - physical, spiritual and emotional.

To Noah Barnes, Hilary Deborah Quaye as well as Priscilla Abotsi, thanks for your support

**Table of Contents**

DECLARATION ..... i

DEDICATION ..... ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... iii

LIST OF FIGURES ..... vi

ABSTRACT ..... vii

CHAPTER ONE ..... 1

1.0 Background ..... 1

1.1. Statement of Research Problem ..... 3

1.2 Research Questions ..... 3

1.3 Research Objectives ..... 4

1.4 Scope of Study ..... 4

1.5 Rationale ..... 4

1.6 Theoretical Framework ..... 5

1.7 Literature Review ..... 7

1.8 Sources of data ..... 14

1.9 Methodology ..... 15

1.10 Ethical Consideration ..... 15

1.11 Arrangement of Chapters ..... 16

CHAPTER TWO ..... 20

OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC MIGRATION IN GHANA ..... 20

2.0 INTRODUCTION ..... 20

2.1 HISTORY OF GHANAIAN ECONOMIC MIGRATION ..... 20

    2.1.1 Reasons Why Ghanaians Migrate ..... 25

2.2 Women and Migration ..... 27

2.3 Trends of Ghanaian Women Migrants ..... 28

    2.3.1 Internal migration ..... 28

    2.3.2 International migration ..... 29

2.4 Ghanaian Women’s Economic Migration to the Gulf States ..... 31

    2.4.1 Factors that influence Ghanaian Women’s Economic Migration to the Gulf States ..... 32

    2.4.2 The process of recruitment ..... 34

    2.4.3 The Migrant’s situation at the destination ..... 36

CHAPTER THREE .....	42
GHANAIAAN FEMALE MIGRATION TO THE GULF STATES .....	42
3.0 Introduction.....	42
3.1 Trends of Ghanaian Women’s Migration to Gulf States .....	42
3.2 Factors That Influence Migration to Gulf States .....	44
3.2.1 Limited Employment Opportunities.....	44
3.2.2 Better Work Opportunities and Higher Wages .....	46
3.2.3 Escaping Poverty.....	49
3.3 Experiences of Female Migrant Workers .....	51
3.3.1 Sexual Harassment and Assault .....	53
3.3.2 Difficulties in Switching Employers and Changing Sponsors .....	55
3.3.3 The Disadvantage of their African Heritage .....	57
3.3.4 Exploitation of Migrants and Bad Working Conditions .....	58
3.4 Appraisal of Policy Responses to Women’s Economic Migration Issues .....	60
3.4.1 Ghana Immigration Act, 2000 and 2012 (Acts 573 and 848) .....	61
3.4.2 National Migration Policy (NMP).....	62
3.4.3 Inter-Governmental Agency Cooperation .....	65
3.5 Conclusion .....	67
CHAPTER FOUR.....	70
Summary of findings, Conclusions and Recommendations .....	70
4.1. Summary of Findings.....	70
4.2. Conclusion .....	72
4.3. Possible Recommendations .....	72
References .....	73

**LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 Growth in Migrant Stocks and GDP In The GCC Countries ..... 47  
Figure 2 GCC GDP (LHS) and GDP % change (RHS) in 2013 - 2017 ..... 48

## ABSTRACT

The study examines economic migration from Ghanaian female migrants to the Gulf States. The study examines, specifically, the trends of female migration to the Gulf States within the last decade, the main factors that is influencing the migration, the experiences of the female migrants once they arrive in the Gulf States, as well as some policy recommendations to address the issues that Ghanaian women face when they migrate to the Gulf States. Relying on the neo-classical equilibrium theory which emphasizes economic conditions as the primary reason for migration, the study is a qualitative study which employs such data collection tools as interviews in semi-structured format and extensive literature review to gather the necessary data for analysis. Interviews were sampled through the snowball sampling technique from the Ghana Immigration Service, the International Organization for Migration, as well as several returned migrants from the Gulf States. This exploratory research discovered a consistent increase in the number of women who have migrated to the Gulf States in recent years. The factors that account for the migration include the limited employment opportunities in Ghana, the desire for better work opportunities and higher wages, as well as the desire to escape poverty. Once they arrive in the Gulf region, the study discovered that the women experience sexual harassment and assault, exploitation and bad working conditions, as well as the downsides of the Kafaala system, especially because of their African heritage. Ghana has enacted some policies and regulations, some of which address the problems that the Ghanaian women face in the Gulf. The policies analyzed in this research include the Ghana Immigration Act and its amendment (2000 and 2012, respectively), the National Migration Policy, and the Inter-Governmental Agency Cooperation, involving such institutions as the Ghana Immigration Service, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and so on. The study concluded that even though the Ghanaian female migrants travel to the Gulf States for better economic fortunes, their conditions while they are there are deplorable. To that, the researcher recommends that the Government of Ghana and the private sector work together to protect Ghanaian migrants abroad; the Government and the Gulf States should come to a formal agreement that would protect Ghanaian citizens in the region; the Ghanaian government should fully implement the National Migration Policy; the Ghanaian diplomatic community in the region should intensify their monitoring of Ghanaian citizens in the region; and cooperate with international organization to address some of the problems identified by Ghanaian women in the Gulf region.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 Background

Trends in global migration have become increasingly important in recent times. The globalized nature of the contemporary world has facilitated movement across borders and Ghana is no exception to this phenomenon. The pre-independence era in Ghana was characterized by internal migration with merchants moving from one town to another for trade. There was also some form of emigration to Africa and Europe for trade and educational purposes although this was not very pronounced. Migration in Ghana has undergone several changes since independence. During the 1960s, Ghana was seen as both a source and destination country for several migrants. Political instability and civil wars that characterized most African states made Ghana a destination country for several immigrants. Nkrumah's Pan –African ideology also influenced the flow of immigrants into the country. The 1960 census indicated that foreign nationals constituted 12% of the country's population with Togo, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Ivory Coast as the main countries of origin (Segadlo, 2018).

Crossing national borders to work is one of the key characteristics of international migration, whether driven by economic inequalities, seeking employment, or both. The additional impact of economic, political and environmental crises and shifting demographics, with ageing populations in some parts of the world and a “youth bulge” in others, contribute to rising labour migration (Ozel, 2017). The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (World Migration Report 2017). In 2017, two thirds (67 per cent) of all international migrants were living in just twenty countries. The largest number of international migrants (50 million) resided

in the United States of America. Saudi Arabia, Germany and the Russian Federation hosted the second, third and fourth largest numbers of migrants worldwide (around 12 million each), followed by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (nearly 9 million) (ibid). Mobility of people within and beyond the boundaries of the continent of Africa for social and economic motives is no new phenomenon. It has persisted and continues to be a major issue to which the various stakeholders are searching for the best mechanisms to be put in place for its proper management (World Migration Report, 2015).

A major motivation why people move from the source to destination regions are for labour reasons (Tassinopoulos & Werner, 1999). “Labour migrants” are defined as those who move for the purpose of employment (ILO, 2019) A “migrant worker” is defined in the International Labour Organization (ILO) instruments as a person who migrates from one country to another (or who has migrated from one country to another) with a view to being employed other than on his own account, and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment (ibid)

The inflows and occasional outflows of workers to and from the Arab Gulf countries constitute one of the most significant migrant movements in the contemporary world. In contrast to the situation in many of the other regions experiencing substantial immigration, migrants in a number of Gulf countries outnumber native workers and distinguish themselves from migrants to other regions by their temporary status and by the magnitude of their remittances to their home countries (Todaro, 2002). The Gulf countries in the Middle East are one of the largest regions relying on international labour migrants for economic development.

### **1.1. Statement of Research Problem**

One of the dynamics to economic migration are the risks and hazards that come with the economic activity the migrant is engaged in. There is well documented evidence of Ghanaian women citizens migrating to the US and Europe in search of pleasant economic opportunities and an escape from the political tumult (Anarfi et al, 2003source). Recently, the new destination for women migrants from Ghana is the Gulf States. The regions of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, and Qatar have become increasingly attractive due to its flourishing extractive sector, burgeoning tourism industry, and more significantly its high demand for domestic service provision (Baldwin-Edwards, 2011). Aside the economic benefits the Ghanaian migrants women derive in the Gulf States, the experiences and testimonies of some return and trapped Ghanaian women migrants in the Gulf States is disheartening (Jureidini, 2005; Sonmez et al, 2011). It is imperative to acknowledge the fact that several studies have been conducted on migration on Ghana; as a source, transit and destination region (Black et al, 2003; Anarfi, 2003, De Haas, 2008; Adepoju, 2003, 2006, Manuh, 2003)

Other scholars such as (Brydon, 1992; Morrison et al, 2007) have also focused on the pattern and process international migration of Ghanaian women to other parts of the globe. However, what has not been fully explored is the life (experiences) in the destination region. In that regard, this dissertation seeks to examine the experiences of Ghanaian women migrant workers in some selected Gulf States.

### **1.2 Research Questions**

1. What is the trend of the economic migration of Ghanaian women to the Gulf States from the period of 2010-2018?

2. What factors influence Ghanaian women's economic migration to the Gulf States?
3. What are the experiences of Ghanaian women migrant workers in the Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)?
4. How can state agencies and international actors help improve the work conditions of Ghanaian women migrants in the Gulf States?

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

1. To examine the trend of Ghanaian women's migration to the Gulf States from 2010 - 2018.
2. To interrogate the factors that influence Ghanaian women's economic migration to Gulf States
3. To examine the experiences of Ghanaian women migrant workers in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE.
4. To appraise the government and other stakeholders on what plans of actions they are pursuing or intend to pursue to address the challenges the migrant women workers face in Gulf States

### **1.4 Scope of Study**

The scope of this research is focused on domestic abuse of Ghanaian migrant workers go through in their line of work. The time frame for this study spans 2010-2018, this is because this period saw an increase in labour migration to the Gulf States (Dito 2008; Baldwin-Edwards, 2011).

### **1.5 Rationale**

The study covers the life of Ghanaian migrant experiences in their line of work in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. The study would examine the treatment of Ghanaian migrant workers. It is

hoped that the findings would propel the government and relevant stakeholders to fine-tune our migration policies and intensify monitoring activities in destination countries.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

This work is guided by the neo-classical equilibrium theory.

Built on the foundations of Adams Smith and David Ricardo's classical economics, the neo-classical equilibrium theory was first used to describe the economics of migration by Michael Todaro and Stephen Smith (Todaro & Smith, 2006). They are often considered the proponents of this theory.

The theory emphasizes economic conditions as the primary reason for economic migration (Todaro & Smith, 2006). The dynamics of population densities and distance according to Skeldon is what informs labour migrants decisions to move from a low income areas, and from densely to sparsely populated areas (Skeldon, 1997). Other scholars explain that there are two levels at which migration occurs. Firstly, the macro scale in which migration is due to geographical differences in labor supply and demand, while wage differentials contribute to migrants shifting from low-wage, labour-excédent regions to low-wage and work-scarce regions. It explains why migration is due to geographical differences in labor supply and demand. Migrants move from low-wages, jobs surplus to high-wage areas were affected by wage differences (Schiff, 1994).

At the second level, which is the micro level, the neoclassical theory of migration envisages migrants as individual rational actors who migrate on reasons of Cost Benefit Analysis. In this scenario, unlimited access to information and choice, people migrate in the direction of where they can be most useful and productive and earn high wages but usually it depends on the specific skills of the labour and the specific structure of labour market (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998)

Originally, this theory subsists on the concept of rural-urban migration where excess labour in the rural regions supplements or supplies additional labour to urban regions. The ‘Harris-Tadara Model’ is an extension of this theoretical assumption and has remained the nucleus of the neo-classical migration theory. This model is a modification of neoclassical theory. As such, it includes factors such as unemployment with the probability of finding job in the destination and not just necessarily wages differentials between country and place of origin and place of destination (Harris & Todaro, 1970).

The Harris-Todaro model considers migration as an investment of human capital within the framework of human capital. This specifies that human goods, for example, knowledge, education and physical skills are considered as essential human resources and play a role in selecting migrants ' destinations (Becker, 1962).

Lee Frederick, Stephen Keen, who critique the neo-classical equilibrium theory disapprove the neoclassical migration model. Arguments are that it appears too narrowly based, given current theoretical developments in labour and fluidity of systems analysis in migration. In a more general sense, a fuller exploitation of the neoclassical model's theoretical implications can be used to demonstrate the destabilizing effects of factor mobility on regional income disparities. To provide a more positive analytical context it is therefore necessary to determine whether the neoclassical, static or dynamic Keynesian migration model provides a superior empirical understanding of labour migration (Drugge, 1987).

Nonetheless, the use of this theory is justified because it contextualizes the primary reasons why migration occurs from developing to developed countries. It is even more concise in explaining international economic migration because extensive literature that exists identifies economic factors cardinal reasons for migration.

The theory also fits into this study because the basis for migrating to the Gulf States hinges on economics. The theory explains the economics of migration and the wages that migrant workers receive from their hosts, whether wages paid are commensurate to international labour standards, and how wages earned shapes the domestic experience of the migrant. Also, the wages earned determines how rational a migrant is in situations of domestic impropriety, whether a good/bad working condition is likely to change based on wages earned.

### **1.7 Literature Review**

In their article, “Gender-based differences in employment conditions of local and expatriate workers in the GCC context: Empirical evidence from the United Arab Emirates” Al-Waqfi and Al-faqi explored the gender - based differences in employment conditions in the labor market of the GCC, using the United Arab Emirates as a case study.

Critics claim that local workers focus on the public sector because of the relatively lower working conditions in the private sector, where they have better wages and favorable working environment such as job security, generous pension packages and other welfare benefits (Al-Waqfi and Al-faki, 2015).

In the economic development of the GCC countries females play a very important role. The Author notes that due to increased education and social levels, female employment is expected to continue increasing in the UAE and other GCC countries. For all workers, including women in a non-discriminatory working environment, equal opportunities are therefore necessary.

Al-Waqfi and Al-faqi argue that, while education and salaries are important, women in the GCC states are not. Women in the African States face lower expectations compared to men in pay and access to higher levels of jobs (Al-Waqfi and Al-faki, 2015).

Again, Al-Waqfi and Al-faqi argue that comparatively, the average pay levels between males and females holding the same job qualifications see men being paid higher than women in the GCC States such that, female managers were consistently paid less compared to their male counterparts in the UAE labor market (Al-Waqfi and Al-faki, 2015)

The authors conclude by stating that women account for half of the population and that it is of great importance for policymakers to ensure that they receive equal treatment in employment, especially for the UAE and other GCC countries which suffer serious shortages of their local labor force. Women workers ' well-being can have an important impact on their job results (Al-Waqfi and Al-faki, 2015).

The work is relevant to my research because it provides the basis to understand wage differentials between economic migrants and the local citizens.

However, the gap in this study is that, it does not take the cultural context of the GCC States into consideration. My work will bridge the gap by situating my work in context, culturally.

In their paper titled, “Ethiopian female labor migration to the Gulf States: the case of Kuwait”, Faiz and Anwar examined the push factors within Ethiopian societies that stimulated the migration of females, and the various challenges they face in the GCC. The population of Ethiopia is predominantly rural traditional farmers. This results in high rate of population growth exceeding their rate of economic growth, contributing to the rise of unemployment for urban people to as high as 48 percent.

The state of food insecurity that most rural populations have faced for decades is another dimension that stimulated migration in Ethiopia. In 2009, up to 44 percent of rural Ethiopians were

undernourished by the Food and Agriculture Organization. Food insecurity is mainly connected to ongoing droughts, natural resource depletion and population increase (Faiz and Anwar, 2016).

The authors noted that, Ethiopian women face numerous challenges through their recruiting process to arriving at their destinations in the GCC. In particular, recruitment begins with challenges relating to decent working conditions and rights violations. In many countries, including Ethiopia, it is more often done by irregular agencies that exploit the gaps in the recruitment procedures (Faiz and Anwar, 2016)

Once the Ethiopian woman, led by a recruiting agency, arrives in Kuwait, she goes directly to her Kafael or sponsor's house — who is to take her passport. She is left completely at her Kafael's mercy and is exposed to the maximum level of insecurity, without legal or moral help from a reputable body, embassy or work attaché. Again, with regard to work problems, most of the migrant women in Kuwait cite the concern that some employers / sponsored workers, children and other visitors have endured physical, sexual and psychological abuse.

Hamza confirms this position regarding the injustices that are meted out to migrants in the GCC. She outlines a number of challenges migrants endure in the GCC ranging from confiscation of Passports and travel bans, withholding of wages, poor labor conditions to Ban on Labor strikes (Hamza, 2015)

The author concludes by suggesting that, there should be a bilateral trade agreement between Ethiopia and the Kuwait on labor migration affairs (Faiz and Anwar, 2016).

The research is relevant to my paper because it provides the basis for my research analysis looking at it from the African perspective.

The gap however, I find in this paper is that, the author skews his study to only women. My study will fill in the gap by looking at both sexes.

In their article *Gulf Migration, Remittances and Economic Impact*, Azeez and Begum, opined that, the oil boom in the Persian Gulf in the 1970's motivated the GCC States to adopt developmental plans that was constrained by labor shortages. Hence, to fill that vacuum, the GCC States through its Labor Market, attracted both skilled and unskilled labour from the countries like India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and South East Asian countries and Africa (Azeez and Begum: 2009).

With a focus on the Indian State of Karela, the author posited that, the major reason why Karelans migrate to the Gulf States is for economic benefits. He cites the observation made by Nair and Pillai (2004) that, the main cause for migration is the scarce employment opportunities in Karela. Faiz and Anwar on the contrary opines that, another dimension stimulating migration in other countries to the Gulf say Ethiopia is related to the state of food insecurity most of its rural population has faced for decades (Faiz and Anwar, 2016)

Azeez and Begum however suggests, remittances which is often quantified in monetary terms, is the motivating factor for labour migrants to the Gulf States. He adds that, remittances contribute significantly to the gross domestic product as well as foreign exchange earnings of developing countries (Azeez and Begum, 2009).

They argue again that, the contribution of gulf migration to development can be seen in various areas like housing, transportation, town planning, educational and religious institutions, amenities and other infrastructural facilities (Azeez and Begum, 2009) in the sending state.

In addition, he opines that, migration to the Gulf States provide employment to local labor market and reduces unemployment. However, he admits, the demand for certain categories of unskilled and skilled labour becomes lacking in the sending state due to migration. the author confirms this when he argued using Karela as a case study that, migration has created certain problems in labour market in Kerala. The migration of semiskilled and un-skilled workers has increased demand for certain categories of workers within Kerala (Azeez and Begum, 2004). Adding to the impact on the economy, return migrants resist accepting low paid jobs in their domestic market hence, start their own business enterprises which create jobs for the unemployed youth in the domestic labor market.

The gap in this literature is that, the author is silent on the systems that regulates the work ethics of Economic Migrants in the Gulf States. Again, the author does not show the kind of work the migrants do in the Gulf states to get those remittances they send back home. This is the gap my work seeks to fill.

Sara Hamza clarified in her article "Migrant labor in the Arab Gulf" that the quick inflow of migrant workers into the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has provided the necessary manpower to ensure the pace of development plans in the Gulf. (French version of the report). The cities of the Gulf are renowned for their luxury goods best exhibited in the UAE. In recent decades the United Arab Emirates have regularly been at the top of the lists and broken records, ranging from the world's tallest building, artificial palm islands, and the fastest roller coaster in the world in Abu Dhabi's Ferrari World. She argues further, like all good things, that comfort and extravagance come at a great cost. Gulf cities have grown at the expense of the rights and freedoms of the migrant workers, who often overshadow the perceptions of success of its residents.

It further exposes workers under the kafala system to multiple discrimination treatments. He claims the process of kafala is obviously responsible for the problems involved in GCC migration. This provides the basis for the oppression of this sub-population, which creates certain social structures for exclusion and marginalisation in society (Hamza 2015). The kafala system involves the implementation of contracts for all migrant workers that normally take two to three years. It is primarily used by the GCC countries and allows the government, with national sponsors, to track migrant workers. The scheme connects the worker with a sponsor (kafeel), who arranges a visa and job contract in a country of destination.. The sponsor or kafeel usually is also the employer of the migrant (Hamza 2015). She also pointed out several of those injustices in the framework of Kafala. Next, she addresses the distorted immigration system for manipulating the migrant. Then, passport confiscation, which is one of the widespread and regularly highest injustices cited by migrants when arriving in their country of destination (Hamza, 2015) Third, she spoke about the disparity in wages and how it is based on nationality and ethnicity. She brought to light also, the poor housing of migrant laborers coupled with the insanitary conditions that they are exposed to.

Next, she spoke about the ban on Labor Union, Strikes and Organizations as a form of injustice being meted out to migrant labors. She argues the voices of migrant workers are practically nonexistent in legal narratives (Hamza 2015) in the GCC States.

Her work is very relevant to my research as it provides the basis and background for my research. She gives quintessential examples of Migrant Rights that are trampled upon by the the GCC States. The gap in her literature however, is that, she is silent on the various works opportunities that migrants engage in before their rights are abused.

The study is relevant to my research because it provides the key actors that play essential roles in the Kafala system which will serve as the basis for my paper.

The gap identified in this literature is that, it does not talk about the factors that propels labour migration. Again, it is silent on the various work opportunities the migrant labor is opened to in the Gulf State. My work seeks to bridge this gap.

In his “Gulf Migration and the Family”, Andrews M. Gardner tend to look at the sociological and cultural cultural aspects of Gulf migration, with a particular focus on the family.

He opines that, Gulf migrants should be considered emissaries of extended families rather than homo economics, as rational individual agents (Gardner 2011). The reason he alludes is that, decision to migrate to the Gulf States are taken by the family of the migrant for him. From an interview he granted one migrant from India, Gardner came to the conclusion that, decision to migrate to the Gulf States was a decision produced at the familial level (Gardner 2011).

A visit to Gulf is a strategic element of a large family economic strategy for many migrants, and it is particularly true for South Asian migrants. The desires of the individual migrant are obviously dependent on the needs of the family: transfers are often sent back to their parents. Furthermore, he argues that, through money received from migrants, the basic consumption of families is promoted as seed for industry, education of siblings or children of migrants is financed and, in South Asian society, the donations of migrant sisters or daughters are used for (Gardner 2011).

The author says that, while these migrants often represent an entire extended family, a second important related point is that migrating to the Gulf typically risks also the prolific assets and savings of that extended family. The explanation is, sometimes, that in receiving states, migrants pay money for the right to work in the Gulf, and therefore poor families often mortgage land, divert income from the wages of their sisters and give it to the migrant. (Gardner 2011)

He again argued that, migration to the Gulf has tremendous impact on the extended family as it breaks its strong linkage. Justifying this, she maintained that, The migration policies of the Gulf States require migrants only to accompany their spouses and children. Through the migration process, the nuclear family can therefore continue intact, and the extended family can only be kept through the transnational divided. In the Gulf States, policies and practices can therefore be seen as a force that helps to reorganize the family around its nuclear nucleus (Gardner 2011).

Thirdly, he explains the impact on indigenous families of the Gulf states of these massive migration flows. Gardner (2011) points to the widespread safety vulnerability caused by large numbers of foreigners in the Gulf region, making them vulnerable to erosion or a loss of local culture. The influx of immigrants and their presence in the homes of citizenship in the Gulf States, in particular, have again reorganized family life and obligations in the Gulf States. Gardner's article lost sight of the other social factor other than family that helps migrants upon arrival in the sending states to achieve their aim. This is the gap, my research seeks to bridge using Ghanaian migrants as a case study.

### **1.8 Sources of data**

The study relied on both primary and secondary source for the collection of data. The primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews. The guide had opened ended questionnaires to enable the researcher ask probe and ask further questions. The interview was conducted at two levels. The first level was conducted with officials at the ministry of foreign affairs, officials of the Ghana immigration Service and some academics. This level employs the purposive sampling techniques so as to extract accurate data from the respondents because of their knowledge and expertise on the issue. The next level was conducted with Ghanaian labour migrants in the Gulf

States and those who returned back home. Due to the nature of the study, the snowballing sample technique is used at this level. Snowballing is a samples technique that begin from a core of known elements and are then increased by adding new elements given by members of the original sample.

The secondary sources of data will be extracted from books, book chapters, journal articles, news websites, and conference papers.

### **1.9 Methodology**

Begin with a discussion of the study's choice of method. Discuss the merits and demerits of the choice and justify why that is the best method for your kind of study.

However, as far as the research design is concerned the study would use qualitative method for its investigations and for testing the validity or otherwise of the data collected. The reason for selecting qualitative design for this study is informed by the aim to conduct an exploratory, interpretative and descriptive study of the research topic. Qualitative research design is grounded in the approach that purports to explain, understand and provide in-depth insights into the phenomenon.

### **1.10 Ethical Consideration**

All interviews were conducted with the informed consent from the participants. Their participation was therefore voluntary, thus out of their free will. "Informed consent is a mechanism for ensuring that people understand what it means to participate in a particular research study so they can decide in a conscious, deliberate way whether they want to participate" (Cavanaugh et al, 2009). Informed consent is a very crucial tool which ensures the respondents are not coerced to partake in the research work. The purpose of the study including research aims, what the data will be used for,

research topics was communicated to the participants in my study. The participants were notified they had the right to seek clarification or opt out whenever they deemed fit. I also informed them that, the interviews would be recorded. Their major concern was if the media will have access to the information they provided. However, I assured them that the data solicited were purely for academic purposes.

## **1.11 Arrangement of Chapters**

### **Chapter 1 – Introduction**

This chapter deals with the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study and the hypothesis. In addition, the scope, rationale and the study methodology are dealt with. The theoretical framework, literature review, as well as sources of data collection, and the organization of the study are also presented.

### **Chapter 2 - Overview of economic migration in Ghana**

The chapter interrogates the trend of Ghanaian women migrants as well as the factors that influence Ghanaian women's economic migration to Gulf States

### **Chapter 3 – Experiences of Ghanaian women migrant workers in the Gulf States**

This chapter processes the primary data collected from the field, infuses it in the study by way of original contribution to the study.

### **Chapter 4 – Summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations**

This is the concluding chapter where a summary of the major findings are presented, and possible recommendations made.

## Reference

- Adepoju, A. (2003). Migration in West Africa. *Development*, 46(3), 37-41.
- Adepoju, A. (2006). Recent trends in international migration in and from Africa. Human Resources Development Centre, Nigeria.
- Al-Waqfi M. A &, Al-faki I. A. (2015) Gender-based differences in employment
- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper. University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.
- Azeez A. & Begum M., 2009 Gulf Migration, Remittances and Economic Impact
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2011). Labour immigration and labour markets in the GCC countries: national patterns and trends.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2011). Labour immigration and labour markets in the GCC countries: national patterns and trends.
- Bauer T, Zimmermann K. (1998). Causes of International Migration: A Survey. In
- Becker, G. S. (1962). Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of political economy*, 70(5, Part 2), 9-49.
- Black, R., King, R., & Tiemoko, R. (2003, March). Migration, return and small enterprise development in Ghana: A route out of poverty. In *International Workshop on Migration and Poverty in West Africa*, University of Sussex, United Kingdom (Vol. 13).
- Borjas, G. J. (1989). Economic theory and international migration. *International migration review*, 23(3), 457-485.
- Brydon, L. (1992). Ghanaian women in the migration process.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done?. *Qualitative research*, 6(1), 97-113.
- Cavanaugh, C. S., Barbour, M. K., & Clark, T. (2009). Research and practice in K-12 online learning: A review of open access literature. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, 10(1).
- conditions of local and expatriate workers in the GCC context: Empirical evidence from the Crossing Borders: Regional and Urban Perspectives on International
- De Haas, H. (2008). Irregular migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An overview of recent trends (Vol. 32). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Dito, M. E. (2008, September). GCC labour migration governance. In *UN Expert Group Meeting on international migration and development in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand* (pp. 20-21).

- Drugge, S. E. (1987). A critique of the neoclassical migration model as a normative approach to the Canadian regional policy: a comment. *Can. J. Reg. Sci.*, 10, 91-5.
- Faiz O. M & Anwar H. T., 2016 Ethiopian female labor migration to the Gulf states: the case of Kuwait. *African and Black Diaspora Journal*
- Faiz O. M & Anwar H. T., 2016 Ethiopian female labor migration to the Gulf states: the case of Kuwait, *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 9:2, 214-227
- Fransen, S. 2009. Migration in Ethiopia: History, Current Trends and Future Prospectus. PaperSeries Migration and Development Country Profiles, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance
- Gardner, Andrew M. 2011. Gulf Migration and the Family. *Journal of Arabian Studies* 1 (1) (September 19):
- Hamza S. 2015 Migrant Labor in the Arabian Gulf: A Case Study of Dubai, UAE Pursuit – The Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee. Volume 6, Issue 1
- Hamza S. 2015 Migrant Labor in the Arabian Gulf: A Case Study of Dubai, UAE Pursuit Journal. Volume 6, Issue 1.
- Harris JR, Todaro MP. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *American Economic Review* 60:126-42.
- Ilo.org. (2019). ILC87 - Report III (1B) Migrant Workers. [online] Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/r3-1b4.htm> [Accessed 15 Jan. 2019].
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Jureidini, R. (2005). Migrant workers and xenophobia in the Middle East. In *Racism and public policy* (pp. 48-71). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International.
- Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.
- Lee, F. S., & Keen, S. (2004). The incoherent emperor: a heterodox critique of neoclassical microeconomic theory. *Review of Social Economy*, 62(2), 169-199.
- Manuh, T. (2003). 'Efie' or the meanings of 'home' among female and male Ghanaian migrants in Toronto, Canada and returned migrants to Ghana. In *New African Diasporas* (pp. 160-179). Routledge.
- Migration, ed. P Gorter, P Nijkamp, J Poot, pp. 95-127. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Morrison, A. R., Schiff, M., & Sjöblom, M. (2007). *The international migration of women*. Washington, DC: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan.

Ozel, M. H., et al. (2017) Labour Markets. In: Handbook for Improving the Production and Use of Migration Data for Development (Global Migration Group (GMG)). Global Knowledge Partnership for Migration and Development (KNOMAD), World Bank, Washington, DC, p. 79-90.

Schiff M. 1994. How Trade, Aid, and Remittances Affect International Migration.

Segadlo, N. (2018). Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences: the case of Ghana's National Migration Policy (Master's thesis).

Skeldon R. (1997). Migration and development: A global perspective. Essex: Longman

Sönmez, S., Apostolopoulos, Y., Tran, D., & Rentrop, S. (2011). Human rights and health disparities for migrant workers in the UAE. *Health Hum Rights*, 13(2), E17-35.

Tassinopoulos, A., & Werner, H. (1999). *To move or not to move: migration of labour in the European Union* (Vol. 35). Institut für Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit.

Todaro, M. (2002). *Population and Development Review*, 28(2), 363-364.

United Arab Emirates, *International Journal of Manpower*, Vol. 36 Issue: 3, pp.397-415.

Washington: World Bank, International Economics Department

Word Migration Report 2017

World Migration Report 2015

## CHAPTER TWO

### OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC MIGRATION IN GHANA

#### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, first, gives a general overview of Contemporary Ghanaian Migration to illustrate how the country moved from a net-immigration to net-emigration state. Second, it explores the main area of study, which is Ghanaian women migrants, focusing on the trends of Ghanaian women who migrate, their economic migration to the Gulf States and the factors that influence and contribute to the thriving of this phenomenon. It also provides an idea of the migrant's situation in a Gulf state.

#### 2.1 HISTORY OF GHANAIAN ECONOMIC MIGRATION

Migration in Ghana has always played a major role in the livelihood and advancement of the Ghanaian people way before the Europeans came to the region. For instance, studies identify the well-established Wangara trader migrants in the region in the fifteenth and sixteenth, who spread Islam from Sudan to Ashanti (Peil, 1971). In the colonial period, the Gold Coast's mining industry was the biggest in the West African sub-region and provided many jobs for the locals. At this point, the number of people entering the country surpassed the number leaving (Achakoma *et al*, 2015) and therefore the Gold Coast became known as a country of net immigration as there were droves of African migrants that came into the country, temporarily, as the cocoa farming, mining and railway industries flourished (Awumbila, *et al* 2008).

After Ghana gained its Independence from Britain in 1956, the country's political arena and ideals shaped its migratory movements (Bruni *et al*, 2017). At this point, Ghana had gained a reputable

image among fellow African nations, it served as an attraction to migrants and thus in the early post-independence years immigrant numbers were much higher than emigrant numbers (Bump 2006). It provided the favorable conditions such as endless employment opportunities, industrialization, and better remunerations for people from all parts of the West African sub-region. Even more, the ideals of the nation's premier African leader, Nkrumah, and his policy of universal primary education fascinated African freedom fighters and pan-Africanists that wanted to experience the Ghanaian civilization (Ibid).

Eight years after independence, the Ghanaian terrain took a turn for the worst as conditions of increasing unemployment, a balance of payment deficit, rising criminal activity became a norm and the state began to lose its luster as a thriving economic destination for other Africans (Bump, 2006). A sequence of Military and civilian rule during this period caused a lot of political instability and a simultaneous decline in the Ghanaian economy, and as a result, the country saw a change from a country of immigration to one of emigration between the 1970s and 1980s (Bruni *et al*, 2017; Achakoma, *et al*, 2015). The economic deterioration led to the expulsion of approximately 250, 000 migrants, mostly West African natives, between 1969 and 1970 by the Busia-led government through its Alliance' Compliance Order (Achakoma *et al*, 2015). The expulsion had adverse effects on the Ghanaian economy because many of the foreigners took with them capital and essential trading links (Ibid).

Deteriorating economic situations further resulted in large-scale emigration of skilled Ghanaian professionals to several newly independent states (e.g., Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia) and other countries outside the region (Ibid). From 1965, this trend of emigration was sustained by continued economic decline and worsening social conditions throughout the 1970s up to the mid-1980s (Higazi, 2005 & Bump, 2006). This resulted in the creation of new Diasporas that

traverse Africa, Europe, North America, the Middle East and Asia. The mass departure of highly skilled labour is known as the brain drain and this continues to leave a strain on Ghana's economy. These professionals exiting Ghana at the time included teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects and lecturers. The students also fled the country to seek better economic opportunities elsewhere (Bruni *et al*, 2017).

Achakoma *et al* (2015) assert that the main periods of increase and the spreading abroad of Ghanaians were between the 1990s to the present. This came on the heels of the large-scale expulsion of West African Migrants, particularly Ghanaians, from Nigeria, a major migrant destination on the continent. In a bid to evade returning to Ghana permanently, Ghanaians expanded their migratory view to include extensively other regions of Africa, Europe and North America. According to Peil, there are large populations of Ghanaians in London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, New York and other major cities, many of whom have jobs, which do not use their education or training. Yet still the income they receive provides a much better standard of living and lays the foundation for much more comfortable life back home (Peil, 1995).

In 2008, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates that Ghanaian emigrants can be found in 33 countries around the world and the most important countries of destination for Ghanaian emigrants are the United States, the UK and other Western European States (Achakoma *et al*, 2015).

The estimates of the Ghanaian emigrant population stand between 1.5 million and 3 million. Together the US and the UK account for 30 percent of Ghanaians abroad (Bruni *et al*, 2017). There has been a noticeable shift in emigrant destinations. Prior to the 1990s, other neighbouring West African states were preferred but today, Western advanced nations are the preferred destination for Ghanaian emigrants. The United States is a common destination for Ghanaian emigrants. According to the Migration Policy Institute (2015), in 1980, less than 10,000 Ghanaian immigrants

lived in the US. Today, there are 250, 000 Ghanaian immigrants in the USA, majority of whom arrived after the year 2000. The Ghanaian immigrant population is distributed across the US, particularly in states like New York, Virginia, New Jersey and Maryland. The principal source of remittances for Ghana is from the USA. In 2012, remittances from the US amounted to \$33 million representing approximately 22percent of the total remittances (of \$151 million) Ghana received in that year (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

The number of Ghanaians immigrating to the United Kingdom has grown gradually in the past two decades (Bump, 2006). According to the 2011 census, there are 93,846 Ghanaian-born residents and in the 2001 census, the figure recorded was 56,112 residents (Benke, 2015) while in 1991 this figure stood at 32, 277 (Bump, 2006). The growth is attributed to the increasing number of Ghanaians who receive student visas, work permits and refugee status from the 1990s and the early 2000s. Most of these residents live in the Greater London area and are concentrated in the boroughs of Southwark, Lambert, Newham, Hackney, Haringey, Lewisham, Croydon and Brent. 69.5 percent of the Ghanaians in the UK are employed and the high earners, who represent 5 percent of the immigrant population, make above £750 weekly while low earners make less than £149.20 weekly (Benke, 2015). In 2014, total remittances from the UK amounted to \$16 million (Ibid).

There are substantial populations of Ghanaians in Germany, the Netherlands and Italy. As of 2004, there were more than 20,000 Ghanaian passport holders in Germany and the Ghanaian immigrant population in the country represents the third-largest African community after Morocco and Tunisia (Bump, 2006). In the Netherlands, the Ghanaian population was over 40, 000 as of 2004 (Ibid). Ghanaian emigrant flows moved towards the Netherlands in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to pushes like large-scale expulsions from Nigeria, political repression, severe drought

and the mismanagement of the Ghanaian economy, and pulled by the openness and tolerance of the Netherlands. The formally registered Ghanaian population in the country has increased from 2,515 in 1987 to 21,922 representing an increase of 870 percent in 25 years. These figures exclude large numbers of undocumented Ghanaian migrants (Kloosterman, Rusnovic, & Yeboah, 2016).

Similar to the Netherlands, Ghanaian emigrant flows towards Italy, began in the 1980s as an effort to escape deteriorating circumstances in Ghana that began in the 1960s. Also the mass expulsion of Ghanaian migrants from Nigeria in the 1980s has a role to play as well as the occurrence of armed conflicts in West Africa, chain migration and restrictive immigration policies of Northern European Countries that were previously the foremost destinations for Ghanaian migrants coming to Europe (Agyeman, 2017). In 2004. The Ghanaian population in Italy stood at 32,754 three times the size of the population that stood at 11,443 in 1990 (Bump, 2006). By 2009, the figures of the legal Ghanaian migrant population in Italy stood at 44,353, representing the third-largest group of sub-Saharan migrants in Italy (Agyeman, 2017).

The International Migration Report of 2017 states that international migration in Ghana has increased from 1.0 percent in the year 2000 to 1.4 percent in 2017. There have been newer additions in the emerging countries of destination as now a number of Ghanaians are migrating to GCC and Asian states. In fact, the most popular emerging destination among labour migrants was Saudi Arabia with 1,606 Ghanaian migrants resident in the state in 2016, a marked increase from 822 migrants recorded in 2015 (Teming-Amoako, 2018).

In terms of labour migration, skilled migration has always been on the rise since the 1990s and most of the movements have been directed towards the most advanced states in the Northern hemisphere. Labour migration is defined as the “Movement of people to a new area or country to

find work or better living conditions” (Oxford Dictionary). Simply, it is the movement of people from one destination to the other for the purpose of employment.

Ghana has one of the highest emigration rates for the highly skilled (46 percent) in West Africa. The overall skill level of Ghanaian emigrants are very high, that by 2006, 33.8 percent of Ghanaian emigrants, resident in OECD countries, are medium skilled while 27.6 percent are highly skilled and 3 percent possessing no skills. The medical sector is the most affected in this regard, as it is estimated that more than 56 percent of Ghanaian-trained doctors and 24 percent of Ghanaian-trained nurses work permanently overseas. This means that the Ghanaian labour market is obviously under-supplied especially for professions like nurses, doctors, pharmacists and those in higher education institutes (Bruni *et al*, 2017). According to Bruni *et al* (2017), besides the medical sector, Ghanaian emigrants are known to work in sectors like retail and sales, construction and agriculture, as mechanics, electricians, and carpenters.

### **2.1.1 Reasons Why Ghanaians Migrate**

Ghanaians migrate for various economic, social and political reasons at the individual, household, community, national, regional and global levels. In terms of internal migration, that is the rural-urban nexus, the deplorable social conditions of the place of origin are the major compelling factors that cause rural inhabitants to migrate in search of better economic opportunities. In Ghana, the patterns of internal migration are particularly influenced by the disparities in levels of poverty between the north and south and their respective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities (Anarfi *et al*, 2003). These explanations can further be extended into reasons for international emigration from the country. The change of Ghana’s migration status from a net immigration country before the 1980s to a net emigration country after this period is ascribed to a range of reasons such as political instability, economic mismanagement, and the individual’s

desire for greener pastures and generally a search for better economic opportunities elsewhere (ibid).

Limited economic opportunities for young people is another driver of migration. The 2009 IOM study on Ghana's Migration Profile identified that most Ghanaians employed in OECD countries are normally in the 20-45 age bracket. The study explains that the youth are more likely to migrate because of a lack of employment opportunities at home. The study projects a 2.2 percent annual population growth rate alongside a 2.9 percent yearly increase of the country's labour force for up to the next 15 years. This means that an increasing number of young adults will enter the labour force in the next decade and without adequate economic growth, the pressures to migrate will only increase (Quartey, 2009). The study also suggests that the highly skilled are most likely to migrate due to the relationship between the chance of migration and skill level. The study determines that the more skilled an individual is, the more likely he or she would migrate (Ibid).

Peil (1995) suggests that the economy and educational system in Ghana are the main cause of emigration from Ghana. The circumstances in the 1990s provided Ghanaians with only few economic opportunities. The employment levels were low and thus saw the migration of many skilled individuals. Also, when the quality of local secondary education drastically reduced as result of lack of resources and teacher emigration, parents found jobs overseas so that their children could have better access to proper education systems around the world, particularly in Europe and North America. Peil (1995) further reiterates "hardship at home and a strong desire for a higher standard of living [provided] incentives for both men and women to seek work abroad".

## 2.2 Women and Migration

Awumbila (2015) asserts that though migration has been on the rise since the 1960s and in the last forty years the total number of international migrants have more than doubled, the proportion of the world population migrating remains relatively constant at about 3.3 percent of the global population. She states that contrary to the common misconception that men play a major role in migration, women actually account for almost half of the migratory movements that occur around the world. The percentage of female migrants, worldwide, has risen from 46 percent recorded in 1960 to 47.2 percent in 1980 to 49.3 percent in 2000 and 49.6 percent in 2010. In 2017, this figure stood at 48.4 percent (Awumbila, 2015; International Migration Report, 2017). Thus, women are increasingly migrating of their own accord to capitalize on economic opportunities around the world by seeking jobs or further education.

Since the turn of the millennium, the share of female migrants increased in all regions of the world besides Asia. On the European continent, the share of female migrants moved up from 51.6 percent in 2000 to 52 percent in 2017. In North America, the share of female migrants moved up from 50.5 percent in 2000 to 51.5 percent in 2017. For the same periods, in Africa, the proportion of female migrants moved up from 46.9 percent to 47.1 percent (International Migration Report, 2017). The UNDP is of the view that the number of women in migration has actually grown at a faster rate than figures for men such that in some destination states they may possibly account for up to 70 or 80 percent of the total migrant population (Konadu-Yiadom, 2018).

A complex web of reasons may compel an individual to migrate but these often play out in diverse ways for both men and women. Often these factors are affected by gender roles, relations, and inequalities that manifest differently in the sending or destination states and influence each migrant differently too. For women migration can improve their lives and those of people they left behind

in their home countries. Migration can result in constructive changes in both receiving and sending regions as it can help change traditional oppressive gender relations, bring about changes in gendered roles and ensure responsibilities to women's benefit (Awumbila, 2015). Further, migration results in remittances being sent especially to women. When women receive remittances family welfare is enhanced, health and education of the children also improves. Conversely, when men receive remittances family assets are more likely to increase (Fleury, 2016). Despite, these positive effects, one cannot deny the idea that migration could expose women to new susceptibilities and even worsen inequalities (Awumbila, 2015).

### **2.3 Trends of Ghanaian Women Migrants**

A significant trend in migratory movements on the African continent is the increasing participation of women in such movements that were previously dominated by men (Adepoju, 2004; Pickbourn 2018). The notion is that there is a significant female migrant population in many West African towns and cities. In the last twenty-five years, young females represent a pronounced share of those migrating to the cities to the extent that it is possible that “the female propensity for rural-urban migration is rising faster than the male” (Surdakasa, 1977). Similarly, the feminization of migration trend is also noticeable in Ghanaian migratory streams and it applies to both internal migration and international migration among Ghanaians (Awumbila *et al*, 2008).

#### **2.3.1 Internal migration**

In the past, the proportion of female Ghanaian migrants compared to male migrants was small. This small proportion of women usually escorted their spouses in short distance migration movements in trips to the coast of Ghana (the south) for fishing or when they migrated from the north to the south for farming-related trips. Most females did not make these occupation-related

trips and rather stayed home to take care of children, maintain community cohesion and tended the farms their husbands left behind (Ibid). One realizes that the migrant streams, for the colonial times, are directional because the colonial administrators in most West African states (with the exception of Nigeria) moved precolonial trade and production centers from the interior towards administrative, production and business centers on the coast. The colonial regimes aimed at forcing people to move away from those areas that could not provide them with adequate cash incomes, thereby encouraging a redirection of migration movements (Sudarkasa, 1977).

This small component of female in this specific pattern of migration only lasted until 1970. By 1985, rural-urban migration was dominated by women who sought jobs in the southern towns and cities of the country especially in the informal and domestic sectors as market traders, maidservants and other related occupations. At this time, the female migrants outnumbered the male migrants in the urban south. Another commonality during this period was the steady increase of young female migrants that move south for formal education, skills training opportunities and for marriage. Those that felt they were more educated and literate than first generation migrants moved to the coast in search of employment. Those that lacked the educational qualifications moved to work as domestic servants for relatives or strangers alike to earn their keep in order to pay for apprenticeships or remit their parents. In recent times, alarming numbers of young females have moved south to work as street hawkers (Adjei, 2006).

### **2.3.2 International migration**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most women involved in international migration, unlike men, usually left their homes after marriage rather than as single youths. They would often travel with their husbands and if they were unmarried, they would travel with their parents or other relatives. Yet still, in a town or a village, usually the unmarried women stood a chance of migrating since they could easily

become first wives. Women that were junior wives stood little to no chance because the man would usually migrate with his first wife leaving the children and junior wives behind. This pattern applied to both internal and international migration alike (Sudarkasa, 1977).

In terms of Ghanaian female international migration, this began when the country transitioned from a net immigration state to a net emigration state. The poor economic and bad governance situation in the 1970s caused more women to migrate into other parts of West Africa, particularly Nigeria. This gloomy situation paired with the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) promoted the emigration of Ghanaians, mainly from the south, between 1974 and 1981. An objective of the regional economic community was to enable free movement, employment and residence within the sub-region (Anarfi *et al*, 2003).

In 1983, two million West Africans were deported from Nigeria and of this number, between 900,000 and 1.2 million were of Ghanaian descent. From the 1984 census returns, the number of Ghanaian emigrants in key world regions were 39,000, which represents 0.3 percent of the total resident population. Actually, 47 percent of this number were females, meaning that quite a number of women actually left the country in spite of the notion that female emigration numbers were far less than male figures. In reality, women dominated short distance emigration streams to Ghana's immediate neighbours, as Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo where the figures were as high as 64, 57, and 56 percent respectively. Their male counterparts dominated long distance migrant streams further afield (Ibid).

More recently, female international migrants, from Ghana, are found in the healthcare field in the USA and in the UK, catering to the needs of the elderly and working as home health aides (Coe, 2011). In addition, women make up a significant number of Ghanaian emigrants that move to the Gulf States or the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states in search of unemployment despite the

known cases of verbal, physical and psychological abuse. For instance, in 2015, employers in the Gulf abused an excess of 2000 Ghanaian women that had migrated to work in the region (Teming-Amoako, 2018). The following sections will throw more light on female economic migration from Ghana to the GCC states.

#### **2.4 Ghanaian Women's Economic Migration to the Gulf States**

An existing, but largely undocumented, trend is the migration of young, unskilled and less educated Africans towards the GCC states. For this trend, the major traditional migrant-sending states were Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Chad and Somalia. Today, this pattern is witnessed in other African states like Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda. A common perception held in Ghana is an increase in economic migration to the GCC or the Gulf States as labour migrants, moving towards these countries in search of employment opportunities, have greatly increased. The increasing number of reported cases centered on abuse and maltreatment provide further evidence for this perception. These particular migration streams have become more feminized as the nature of jobs available, in GCC countries, require workers largely for the domestic services, and to a notable extent, the construction and security sectors (Atong *et al*, 2018).

This is partially due to the rise in the number of migrant women from the northern regions of Ghana to more advanced southern cities and towns in Ghana, which has become rural-urban. The young females that move to work in the informal sectors in the coastal regions are more susceptible to smuggling and trafficking across the borders to neighbouring countries like Benin and Nigeria that represent transit hubs to the Gulf States. The susceptibility of these young girls lies in the perceived economic prosperity and how they are lured with endless job opportunities in the destination countries (von Martius, 2017).

Between September 2014 and January 2015, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) detected that an alarming number of young Ghanaian women were migrating, in a space of five months, to the Gulf region. The GIS reported an unusual number of 2000 females had left. The causes of these occurrences were speculated to be because of the Indonesian and Ethiopian bans on locals migrating towards the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries to work as domestic servants. For these reasons, these destination states shifted towards other alternatives on African continent (*graphic.com,gh*, 2015). Between November 2015 and February 2016, 5,400 Ghanaians left the country to the Gulf region; of this figure, 4,100 were females and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were the destinations for more than 4,000 of them. In 2016, 16, 367 Ghanaians left the country to the Gulf, according to the GIS. In the same year, 3,059 Ghanaian nationals returned to the country with 441 of them returning from the Gulf regions (Ngenbe, 2017).

An issue with migrant movements towards the Gulf States is that inherent in irregular movements are some forms of trafficking and smuggling of girls in labour migration to the GCC states. Thus, in 2017, the Ghanaian government banned the recruitment of workers to the Gulf. This was because of numerous reported cases of Ghanaian workers in the region (Hawkson, 2017). Prior to the ban, there was an increasing mobility of Ghanaians to the Gulf States for work and the numbers were largely made up of unskilled and less educated people (Atong *et al*, 2018).

#### **2.4.1 Factors that influence Ghanaian Women's Economic Migration to the Gulf States**

The Gulf States are a popular destination among young migrants today because they stand as an opportunity of high per capita incomes and they also represent a source of diversification for African migrant destinations due to visa and immigration restrictions for European countries (Atong *et al*, 2018). The six wealthy GCC states, comprising of Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), have relatively small local population. In some of

these states, the migrant population make up over 80 percent of the total population. The migrants move towards these countries in search of employment and with the aim of bettering their economic conditions (Valenta & Jakobsen, 2017). Besides the attractiveness of these states, a number of reasons within Ghana, as source country of migration to the Gulf, contribute to the increasing numbers of migrants, especially female migrants, migrating in this manner.

Youth unemployment rates are quite alarming, high and commonplace on the African continent and in Ghana. In Ethiopia, the unemployment rate for those individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 years is 40 percent while for those in the age bracket of 25 years and above is 22 percent both for the year 2017. In 2016, in Nigeria and Ghana, the rates for ages 15 to 24 were 25.2 percent and 25.9 percent respectively (Atong *et al*, 2018). In other cases, when the individual is able to find employment in Ghana the salaries are poor. This lack of employment opportunities in African countries, like Ghana, place young people in the position to accept meagre (\$100-\$300) monthly salaries working as migrant domestic workers in places like the Gulf States. These salaries are considerably higher than what they would earn in their home countries if they found employment at all. This way these migrants are able to remit some of their income to support families back home and represent a source of investment as well (Fernandez, 2014). Prospects of jobs like these are attractive to the large number of unemployed youths that desire to seek better livelihoods elsewhere.

Baden (1994) asserts that there are certain reasons that are specific to the northern parts of Ghana where many women that migrate to the Gulf originate. These reasons give women from the north more motivation to embark on journeys to the Gulf region. For instance, he points to the general neglect of the northern parts of Ghana as a fundamental reason. Further, he raises the patrilineal family structures sustained in part by Islamic practices, an arid-savannah ecology as well as

increased outmigration of younger men to the south and beyond as reasons why women's statuses are low in the three regions. These parts of the country have been perceived as the labour reserve for development, in both pre- and post-independence periods, and investment in infrastructure has been inadequate compared to the more resource-rich southern regions. Although access to education for women has expanded, deficits in literacy and post-primary enrolment still exist. Moreover, women's decision-making role in the northern regions is markedly constrained. This complex web of unpleasant conditions are part of the reasons why women continually migrate to the Gulf from these regions.

West African women and more specifically, Ghanaian women wield more economic and personal autonomy than women in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa. This is shown in the active participation of women in the labour force, as their participation rate stood at 50.02 percent in 2016. Women in Ghana dominate the informal trading sector chiefly as Market Queens, self-employed or leaders in areas like hair care, agriculture and commerce (wholesale and retail). The women in Ghana, generally, can be described as ambitious and hold shrewd business skills, characteristics credited to the Ghanaian culture of passing on skills from one generation to the other. Nevertheless, the Ghanaian woman is still restricted structurally, culturally and geographically and lacks the kind of access and opportunities Ghanaian men have. Relating this to migration, the phenomenon has increasingly become a means for Ghanaian women to break out of the restrictions, to empower and emancipate women from their traditional gendered roles of caretakers of the household or a group dependent on men for survival (Odhiambo, 2017).

#### **2.4.2 The process of recruitment**

The labour markets in the Gulf States are segmented thus migration intermediaries like employment agencies - in the source and destination countries – irregular brokers and social

networks are necessary to make employment matches possible. In addition, these migration intermediaries are necessary because the demand for these workers surpasses GCC governments' capabilities to organize and control such large-scale movements (Fernandez, 2014). The Ghana Immigration Service, in 2015, reported that local agencies in Ghana were actually working as recruitment agencies for their counterpart job agencies in the destination state. The role of these local agencies is to paint a beautiful picture of prosperity, job opportunities and success to attract these young ladies (*graphic.com,gh*, 2015).

The recruitment agencies are termed Private recruitment agencies (PEAs) that run a lucrative industry that involves the employers, potential migrants or migrants, brokers or middle men that work across the country. In an ideal world, the PEA's are expected to be licensed and must comply with both national and international legal instruments that govern their acts. Despite this, a number of these agencies operate illegally, often without a license, and rarely comply with regulations (Atong *et al*, 2018). Because some of these agencies are not licensed, they fail to follow the rules and end up taking innocent young Ghanaians, both male and female, into other countries and do not care what happens to them after they have left the shores of Ghana (Hawkson, 2017).

Usually, the prospective migrant in the source country approaches or is approached by the agent or broker and then pays a placement fee between \$100 to \$1000. The agency in the source country liaises with the placement agencies in the destination countries and sends them data on the prospective migrant domestic worker. The prospective employers in the destination state are allowed to select an applicant and then pay recruitment fees that range from \$1,500-\$3,500. This amount covers the migrant's air travel costs, health insurance and the agencies fees. Before the migrant departs from her home country, the source country agent schedules the obligatory health checks for TB, HIV and pregnancy as well as draws up an employment contract that holds no legal

validity at the destination since the destination country agent will draw up a new contract (Fernandez, 2014).

For Ghana, according to the Labour Department's records there are only 38 licensed and legal PEAs spread across the state in June 2018. This international recruitment industry falls under the direct jurisdiction of the Labour Department of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (MELR). This institution works hand in hand with the Ghana Police Service, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to monitor the activities of the PEAs. The 2003 Labour Act (Act 651) and the Labour Regulations passed in 2007 (LI.1833) are the legal frameworks that regulate and monitor the activities of these international recruitment agencies from the recruitment, screening and placement processes. In spite of this, Ghana has not ratified essential international legal and policy frameworks that work to regulate the recruitment of workers for overseas jobs. The Private Employment Convention (1997) and the 2014 protocol to the Forced Labour Convention (1930) (Ibid).

#### **2.4.3 The Migrant's situation at the destination**

The GCC states rely on two main types of migrant workers. This classification comprises “the low-to mid-skilled workers in construction and low-tech industries and services, and the mid-to high-skilled workers are in the high value added services sector” (Roper & Barria, 2014). Since the 1970's domestic workers have made up a huge proportion of the temporary migrants' labour workforce in the GCC states. The proportion of migrant to native worker is one the highest in the world as the migrants make up about one third of the region's population, millions of whom are either of Asian or African descent (von Martius, 2017). Although both male and female migrants are recruited, the women constitute a significant number of this group of migrants. The men are often employed as cooks, gardeners, drivers and security guards while the women work as the

domestic helps, nannies and caretakers. This trend began in the Post-Gulf Wars period, when a strategic shift to non-Arab migrant labour workforces occurred in the region. This resulted in a rise in the employment of migrant domestic workers from Asia and Africa, specifically from countries like the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India and Ethiopia predominantly as well as Nepal, Bangladesh and Madagascar (Fernandez, 2014).

The increased demand for migrant domestic workers in the GCC is increasingly ascribed to the wealth and affluence of these oil-rich states rather than the shift to dual wage earner economies like in OECD countries. In fact, the demand for migrant domestic workers persists despite low levels of GCC women's participation in the labour force or the nationalization of the labour force. These migrant domestic workers are still important for the social reproduction of households in the region as they provide a cheaper alternative to state-provided care services for children, sick disabled or elderly members of households (Ibid).

Even more, the local population find jobs in construction, manufacturing, agricultural sectors, food services, retail trade and those in private houses (i.e. domestic jobs) as unappealing. In contrast, the migrants find such jobs as instrumental especially for remitting huge sums of money annually to families and relations in their countries of origin (von Martius, 2017). The female migrants are mainly recruited for the domestic jobs due to the norms and values of the locals in the Gulf region, "the Gulf culture is such that, husbands want their wives to be served and so they would prefer females to male domestic worker" (Atong *et al*, 2018).

Once the migrant domestic worker arrives at the destination state, the employer has to make arrangements for the legal residence of the migrant worker through the *kafala* system (Fernandez, 2014). The *kafala* is the existing migrant labour sponsorship system that is found in the GCC states and more widely in the Middle East. It defines as "a delegation of responsibility by the State to

the private employer to oversee both a migrant worker's immigration and employment status, requiring that migrant workers be sponsored by employers in order to live and work in the region, enabling employers to exert significant control over their employees' lives" (von Martius, 2017). As part of this system, the employer is mandated to acquire residence papers (*iqama*), a document that binds the migrant worker to the *kafeel*, who is the sponsor or employer provided with enough power to cancel the migrant's residency at will and prevent him from leaving the country or changing jobs without their consent (Fernandez, 2014). This system renders the migrant worker vulnerable and makes them even more prone to trafficking. Von Martius (2017) highlights the various threats migrants could potentially face under this system to include "lower-than promised wages, poor livings conditions, scant legal protection, passport confiscation, debt, physical abuse and constant fear of deportation".

The economy of the GCC country, the state economic policies determines the type of *kafala* system used, as there are indeed variations. Yet still, there are certain underlying commonalties all six countries share. The *kafala* system seeks to achieve three major aims shared among all the GCC states. First, the system seeks to secure a steady supply of cheap labor for the low-cost provision of goods and services in the private sector. Second, the system is required to regulate the perceived negative impact immigration can have on culture and national identity of the population (Roper & Barria, 2014).

Third, the aim is to restrict workers' rights as a form of security precaution. The concern, for GCC states, is that large migrant worker populations that outnumber citizens could potentially lead to huge security and safety concerns for them. Another important element concerning this system is the fact that it is guarantees effectively citizens' jobs in the public sector where employment conditions and benefits are much higher and the working hours comparatively shorter than in the

private sector. This system has worked in favor of these countries because largely, temporary labour immigration has been used to staff and develop the private sector and in most countries, migrants have been used for all of the low-skilled work (Ibid).

## Conclusion

The chapter gave a general overview of Ghanaian migration trends to help understand how migration has played out both internally and externally since the country gained its independence. Upon this background, it delves into the field of women in migration stating clearly that female participation in migration on the African continent has seen an overall increase. Subsequently, it delves into Ghanaian women migration to the Gulf and illustrates the process, the reasons why people migrate, and the situation of the migrant in the destination Gulf state. This descriptive analysis is important because it serves as the props the rest of the study and gives it perspective.

## References

- Achakoma, K., Owusu Ansah, F., & Agyemang, P. (2015). *Labour Migration Study in Ghana: An Analysis of Emigration, Return Migration and Reintegration*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Ghana.
- Adepoju, A. (2004). *Changing configurations of migration in Africa*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Adjei, E. (2006). *Female migrants: Bridging the gaps throughout the life cycle*. UNFPA. *New York*.
- Agyeman, E. A. (2017). Religion, race and migrants' integration in Italy: the case of Ghanaian migrant churches in the Province of Vicenza, Veneto. *Deusto Journal of Human Rights*, (8), 105-116.
- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper. *University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty*.
- Anjali, F. (2016). Understanding Women and Migration: A Literature Review. *KNOMAD*. Accessed on [http://www.knomad.org/docs/gender/KNOMAD% 20Working% 20Paper, 208](http://www.knomad.org/docs/gender/KNOMAD%20Working%20Paper,208).

Atong, K., Mayah, E., & Odigie, A.(2018). AFRICA LABOUR MIGRATION TO THE GCC STATES.

Awumbila, M. (2015). Women moving within borders: Gender and Internal Migration dynamics in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 7(2), 132-145.

Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C. A., & Bosiakoh, T. A. (2008). Migration country paper (Ghana). *Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*.

Benke, F. (2015). Interesting Facts about Ghanaians in the United Kingdom. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/beam-blog/interesting-facts-about-ghanaians-in-the-united-kingdom-326792304238>

Bruni, V., Koch, K., Siegel, M., & Strain, Z. (2017). Study on migration routes in West and Central Africa.

Bump, M. (2006). Ghana: Searching for Opportunities at Home and Abroad. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/ghana-searching-opportunities-home-and-abroad>

Coe, C. (2011). What is the impact of transnational migration on family life? Women's comparisons of internal and international migration in a small town in Ghana. *American Ethnologist*, 38(1), 148-163.

Fernandez, B. (2014). *Essential yet invisible: migrant domestic workers in the GCC*.

Hawkson, E. (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/recruitment-of-domestic-servants-to-work-in-gulf-states-suspended.html>

Higazi, A. (2005). *Ghana country study: A part of the report on informal remittance systems in Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries*. University of Oxford.

Kloosterman, R. C., Rusinovic, K., & Yeboah, D. (2016). Super-diverse migrants—similar trajectories? Ghanaian entrepreneurship in the Netherlands seen from a Mixed Embeddedness perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(6), 913-932.

Konadu-Yiadom, E. (2018). *Migration, Gender Roles and Remittances of Ghanaian Migrants Abroad* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Migration Policy Institute. (2015). *The Ghana Diaspora in the United States*. Rockefeller Foundation-Aspen Institute Diaspora Program.

Ngnenbe, T. (2017). Over 16,000 Ghanaians migrated to the Gulf region last year. Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/sixteen-thousand-three-hundred-and-sixty-sevenghanaians-migrated-to-the-gulf-region-last-year.html>

Odhiambo, S. (2017). *Women migration livelihoods and the 'fallac' of the 'migrants as a burden to state coffers': The case of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry in the city of Pretoria* (Doctoral dissertation).

Over 2000 Ghanaian ladies depart to Gulf States in 5 months. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/over-2000-ghanaian-ladies-depart-to-gulf-states-in-5-months.html>

Peil, M. (1971). The expulsion of West African aliens. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9(2), 205-229.

Peil, M. (1995). Ghanaians abroad. *African Affairs*, 94(376), 345-367.

Pickbourn, L. (2018). Rethinking rural–urban migration and women’s empowerment in the era of the SDGs: Lessons from Ghana. *Sustainability*, 10(4), 1075.

Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. International Organization for Migration.

Roper, S. D., & Barria, L. A. (2014). Understanding variations in Gulf migration and labor practices. *Middle East Law and Governance*, 6(1), 32-52.

Sudarkasa, N. (1977). Women and migration in contemporary West Africa. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3(1), 178-189.

Teming-Amoako, T. (2018). *Experiences of Ghanaian Return Migrants from the Gulf States: A Case Study of Nima* (Doctoral dissertation, University Of Ghana).

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). International Migration Report 2017: Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/404).

Valenta, M., & Jakobsen, J. (2017). Mixed Migrations to the Gulf: An Empirical Analysis of Migrations from Unstable and Refugee-producing Countries to the GCC, 1960–2015. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 36(2), 33-56.

Von Martius, L.. 2017. Mapping the challenges: Labour Migration from West and East Africa to the Gulf and MENA region.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **GHANAIAN FEMALE MIGRATION TO THE GULF STATES**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter examines the experiences of Ghanaian female migrants in the Gulf States. The chapter, in doing this, examines the trends of Ghanaian women's migration to the Gulf States, identify the factors that influence their migration in the first place, examine the experiences of female migrant workers in the Gulf States, and appraise the policies (existing and new) that are meant to respond to the women's need to migrate for economic reasons.

#### **3.1 Trends of Ghanaian Women's Migration to Gulf States**

Studies around migration in Ghana, especially during and before the 1970s, focused mainly on males' internal and external migration (Awumbila et. al., 2008). Where Ghanaian women were concerned, studies were conducted in their capacity to migrate as accompanying spouses, usually over short distances. According to Awumbila et. al., (2008), this can be attributed to the fact that

until the 1970s, female migration in Ghana, both internal and external, was very small. Males usually migrated to coastal towns for fishing purposes, or from the northern part of the country to the southern part for the purposes of farming. During the period in the 1970s and before, the studies of female migration focused mainly on the effects of migration on farm work, caring for children and maintaining village cohesion, as these became the roles of the females when the males went away to look for greener pastures (Awumbila et. al., 2008).

Now, it has well been documented that Ghanaian females migrate independently within and outside the country for economic reasons, to further their education or to develop their careers (Ibid). Since the 1970s, studies have focused on Ghanaian women economic migration to Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire, in addition to the internal economic migration that women embark on (Ibid). As female migration in Ghana increased, the studies started to focus mainly on the effects of the migration in their lives and reproductive roles in the society (Ibid).

These trends have changed, however, as studies on Ghanaian female migration has focused mainly on the economic and social independence of women who migrate in and outside of Ghana. The changing labor market trends, as well as the increasing participation of women in the global workforce have increased opportunities for both skilled and unskilled female migrants (ibid). For instance, Ghana's health care industry has witnessed huge blows to its workforce, as female nurses and midwives have migrated to mostly Western developed country for higher wages and better working conditions.

Migration to the Gulf States have increased in recent years, as thousands of Ghanaian migrants reportedly getting stranded in Gulf States. Ghana Migration Stories, a web-based news site for Ghanaian news stories abroad have reported thousands of Ghanaian women who have been stranded in these Gulf States for reasons ranging from fake travel documents to fake companies

(Ghana Migration Stories, 2017). Even though no official statistics are out to determine exactly how many Ghanaian women have travelled to these Gulf States over the last decade, it is clear that the number is in the tens of thousands, and is steadily increasing every year. At some point, Modern Ghana reported that 22,000 women were stranded in the region and waiting on family members to get back home, further confirming the position of the researcher (Modern Ghana, 2019).

### **3.2 Factors That Influence Migration to Gulf States**

Several factors influence the general push for migration, ranging from safety and security issues, economic freedom, and so on. From the interviews conducted, some factors were identified as contributing to the need to migrate to the Gulf States. Quartey (2009) remarked that drivers of migration from Ghana encompass economic, social and political factors across several levels, including the individual levels, household, community, national, regional, and global. Among the factors discovered in this section, based on the interviews conducted and secondary data sources, include limited employment opportunity in Ghana, the search for higher wages based on level of skill, the search for better work based on skill level, and the goal to escape a life of poverty.

#### **3.2.1 Limited Employment Opportunities**

One of the main factors that drive migration to the Gulf States in Ghana is the limited employment opportunities available to the Ghanaian youth. Limited employment opportunities in Ghana serve as a major push factor for migration to the Gulf States for Ghanaian women. Barrett et. al. (2015:4) remarks that Ghana has a growing youth population that “needs to be integrated into full and productive employment and decent work”. One of the main challenges, according to Barrett et. al. (2015), is the lack and inadequacy of education. Besides disparities in the levels of education along gender and geographical lines, studies have also shown that members of the youth with less than

12 years of formal education account for about 58% of the unemployed population in the country (Barrett et. al., 2015). For the youthful population, unemployment rates are significantly higher among secondary school drop-outs than among secondary school graduates (Ibid).

Barrett et. al. (2015) identifies four characteristics that impact the Ghanaian labor force. They include age, geographical variations, formal and informal sectors of the economy, and gender. Of particular interest to the conduct of this study is gender. However, the other characteristics are given due attention in the following paragraphs, in order to put the discussions around gender in perspective.

The youth, defined as persons between the ages of 15 and 34 years, number about 8.6 million out of the total population of Ghana (Ibid), making up 35% of the population. About 5 million of the 8.6 million are between the ages of 15 and 24. This demonstrates the immense size of Ghana's youthful population, thereby underscoring the importance of the youth in the country's labor force. Geographically, as well, there are great variations between the north and south of Ghana, in addition to its rural-urban divide (Ibid). According to Barrett (2015), the northern regions of Ghana are more susceptible to natural disasters and unreliable rainfall, leading to immense vulnerabilities in its economy and labor force. As a result, the northern regions are the most impoverished regions of Ghana, characterized by increasing poverty levels, even though the overall national poverty levels are decreasing (Ibid). In a bid to escape the poverty, people in the north usually migrate to the south in search of greener pastures. They have settled in mainly Kumasi and Accra.

The youth in both the north and the south of the country, according to Barrett (2015), are severely unemployed, with the highest unemployed group within the youthful community being the secondary school graduates. They are closely followed by the tertiary school graduates. These levels of unemployment are, according to Barrett (2015), have been "achieved" because of the

rapidly increasing population of Ghana (at an average of 2.7% a year), which makes it difficult for the available jobs in the country to be shared amongst the youthful population.

Gender dynamics paints a similar picture, skewed against the women. Gender also plays a huge role in Ghana's labor force, with current statistics showing a gender gap disadvantaged against women (Ibid). According to World Economic Forum (WEF) statistics, "while females in Ghana have 76% economic participation and opportunity, males hold 100% in both measures" (Barrett, 2015:5). This conclusion stems from the calculations of the ratio of female labor force participation over male value; the wage equality between women and men for similar work; the ratio of female estimated earned income over male value; the ratio of female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value; and the ratio of female professional and technical workers over male value (Ibid). Based on the analysis of these components, clear differences in Ghana's youth employment are shown. Gender norms are less pronounced in post-modern Ghana however, a gender gap still exists, as has been shown by Barrett (2015). In a country where the youth are already severely unemployed, the women are further disadvantaged. This accounts for why Ghanaian women seek for employment abroad, and especially the Gulf States.

### **3.2.2 Better Work Opportunities and Higher Wages**

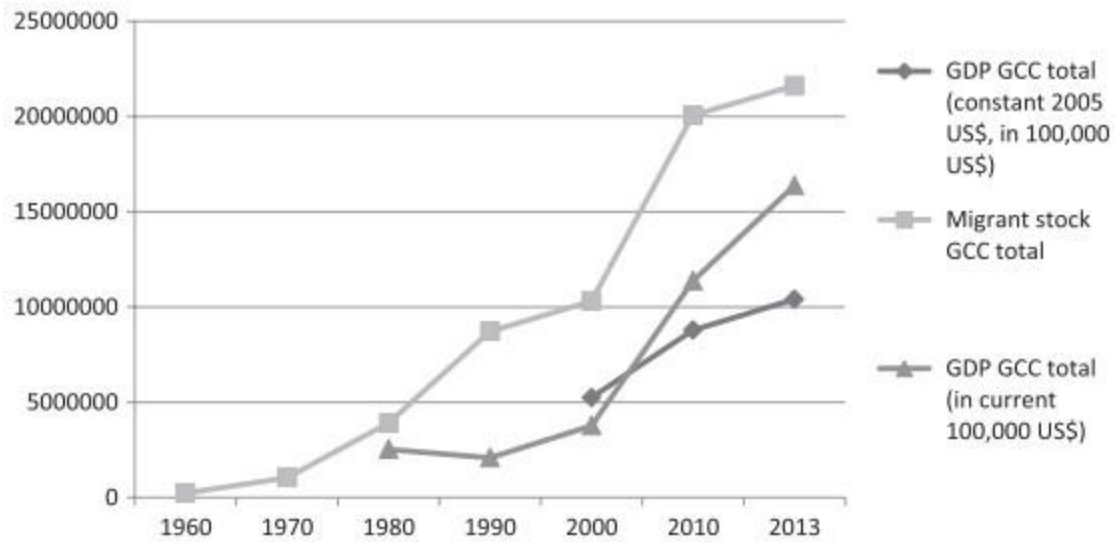
Another major factor that influences migration to Gulf States, according to the data gathered, is the search for better work opportunities and higher wages. This is a major pull factor for migration to Gulf States. According to the Ghana Immigration Service and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a lot of female migrants travel to the Gulf States because of the potentially higher wages that they may receive for domestic work. The Ghana Immigration Service said that, through the stories of some of the returnees, they came to understand that most of these women expected monthly salaries of about 800 United States dollars per individual.

According to Valenta and Jacobsen (2016), one of the main factors that attract migrants to the Gulf States is the socio-economic situation of the states in the region. Regardless of the educational level of the potential Ghanaian migrants to the Gulf States, they make it a point to understand the economic situation in the country, as evidenced by the comments of returnees and aspiring migrants who cite the higher wages and higher purchasing power in these Gulf countries.

Valenta and Jacobsen (2016:634) posit that, at the macro level, migrants consider the economic growth of the country that they intend to migrate to, in addition to the “geographical differences in the supply and demand of labor and wage differences between sending and receiving countries”. At the micro level, as well, “people with different levels of human capital will relate expected earnings and the probability of obtaining a job in the receiving country to equivalent expectations in the country of origin” (Valenta and Jacobsen, 2016:634). Following from these arguments, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of the of the Gulf States since the 2000s, in addition to their Purchasing Power and Wages are presented as factors that influence the female migrants from Ghana to take domestic jobs in the Gulf States.

Between the years 2000 and 2010, the GDP of the GCC countries rose by as much as 203% (Ibid). The region achieved this much growth because of its reliance and development of its natural resource – oil. Qatar experienced the highest growth in that decade of 229%, and, as a result, recorded the highest migrant stock rate amongst other Gulf States of about 203% (Ibid).

**Figure 1 Growth in Migrant Stocks and GDP In The GCC Countries**

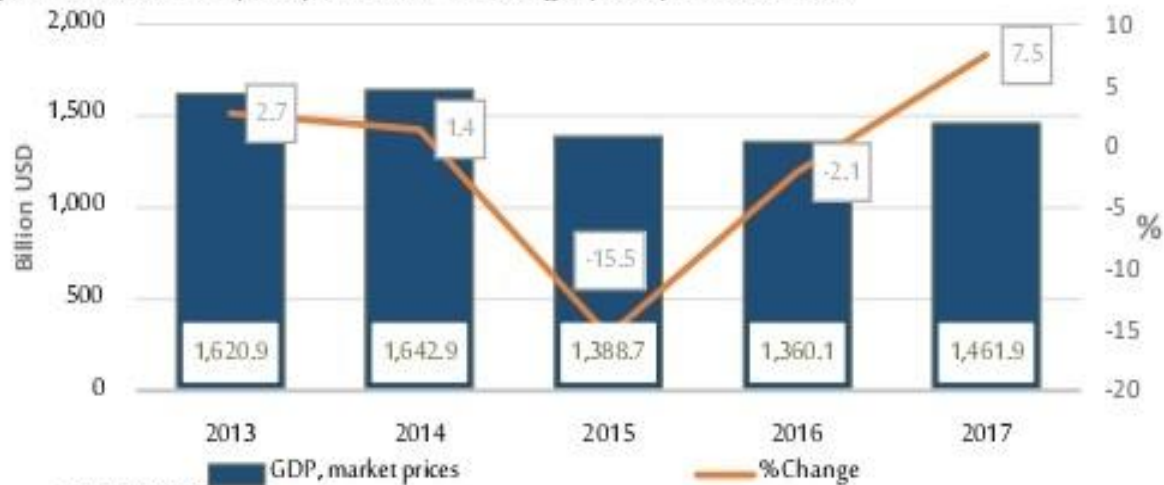


Source: Valenta and Jacobsen (2016)

The economies of the Gulf States have continued to grow in the 2010s. In 2017, the GDP of the GCC countries experienced the highest annual growth rate since 2013, with GDP in current prices growing by 7.5% from the previous year and reaching 1,461.9 Billion United States Dollars, compared to the 1,360.1 Billion United States Dollars growth from 2016 (GCC-STAT, 2018). This growth was consistent with increases in oil prices the previous years. The table below shows the economic growth in terms of GDP in the region since 2013.

**Figure 2 GCC GDP (LHS) and GDP % change (RHS) in 2013 - 2017**

Figure 3: GCC GDP (LHS) and GDP % change (RHS) in 2013 - 2017



Source: GCC-STAT

The economies of the Gulf countries, according to GCC-STAT (2018), will be mainly driven by non-oil sectors in the future, with forecasts showing growth in the GDP in constant prices of about 2.2% in 2018 and 2.9% in 2019, while GDP in current prices to grow by 6.4% in 2018 and 4.1% in 2019. Despite potential challenges in the economies, arising from rising consumer prices and lowering investments and consumption, their economies will still measure some growth, further increasing the interests of Ghanaians to share in said growth.

The region's richness in oil drove its rapid development since the late 1990s till date (Ibid). However, its population is relatively small in terms of handling the work that comes with the expanding economy. To that end, there arose the need for extra labor from other countries. The countries in the Gulf region, since this determination, streamlined policies meant to attract domestic workers into their countries, in order to further boost their development.

### 3.2.3 Escaping Poverty

Ghana, with benefits from the production of crude oil in commercial quantities and strong economic growth in 2011, led to the achievement of lower-middle-income status (GLSS, 2018).

However, there was decrease in economic growth to 3.7% by 2006, though it increased a little in 2017 (Ibid).

According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (2018:22), “less than a quarter of Ghanaians are poor and less than one of nine people in Ghana is extremely poor”. According to the survey, the dynamics of poverty in the country points to the fact that the phenomenon is largely a rural phenomenon, with incidence of extreme poverty concentrated in rural savannah areas of the country. This accounts for the levels of poverty recorded in the northern regions of the country, with those areas showcasing an increasing in poverty even though the country as a whole is experiences a decline (Ibid).

Osei-Assibey (2013) highlights the inequalities between the rich and the poor in Ghana, with the GLSS (2018) revealing the unequal welfare distribution in Ghana and the anti-poor economic growth that the country has experienced in recent years. In other words, the rich got richer in the wake of Ghana’s economic growth spurt, while the poor remained poor or got poorer during this period of growth in the 2010s. Farming households, or households with uneducated heads measured the poorest and contributed the most to poverty in Ghana, according to the Ghana Living Standards survey.

These levels of poverty have led to a decline in the access to health services over the years due to increased costs of health care (GLSS, 2018). These negatively impacts the country’s human development, and reduces the amount of growth the country can experience in a period of time. In all, however, the country has experienced some economic growth, but still has poor and extremely poor people living mostly in the northern parts of the country.

Regardless of these growth, interviews with the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as well as some returned migrants, cited poverty and the wish to escape deplorable conditions in Ghana, as a major factor for their decision to migrate to the Gulf region. According to the returned migrants, in Ghana, they struggle to make ends meet, or find employment. “Even when employment has been found, the salary is not enough to spend on yourself, save, and send some back home”, says Asantewaa, a returned migrant. According to her, some colleague Ghanaians who worked in the hostel where she worked at always made comparisons to Ghana, saying that, “in Ghana, she was paid 300 cedis a month to clean a hotel but received about 2,000 riyals (3,000 cedis) to do the same job in Qatar” (Interview with Asantewaa, 2019). For this reason, Asantewaa remarked that she would easily go back if she had the chance to go.

### **3.3 Experiences of Female Migrant Workers**

Based on interviews conducted with the Ghana Immigration Service, the International Organization for Migration and some migrants to the Gulf States, a pattern emerged of systemic negative experiences that migrants to the Gulf States suffer as a result of their status and vulnerabilities, in addition to a lack of information and immense power imbalance between the employers and the migrants. To understand these experiences within context, it is prudent to understand the concept of contractual servitude and the Kafala system that characterizes migrant work in the Gulf countries.

Malit and Naufal (2018:8) discuss contractual servitude, and explain it fundamentally as being “the complete control of a person for economic exploitation by violence, or the threat of violence”. According to Malit and Naufal (2018), contractual servitude is executed through legal, institutional

and administrative mechanisms established by the state. It plays very important roles in daily power struggles within the state, and feeds into the vulnerabilities of migrant workers, in countries where such contractual servitude have been established. Even though the power imbalance is so glaring, migrants usually opt for the contractual servitude as a result of their desperations that stem from economic insecurities or the wish to escape poverty, as is the case for many migrant domestic workers around the world. These workers become legally vulnerable because, per the agreements that they sign with their employers, they are owned by these employers, essentially.

A perfect example of contractual servitude can be found in many of the Gulf States, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait, and others. The Kafala system, as it is known, according to the ITUC, (2017:3), “is based on historical principles of hospitality governing the treatment and protection of foreign government”. As time passed, these historical principles became formalized in national legal frameworks. These legal frameworks determine the terms of residency for migrants to the Gulf States, as well as their employment status. The employees, according to ITUC (2017), are known as *kafeels*. They determine their demands for labor, which is met either by direct recruitment by themselves, through intermediaries, or through private recruitment agencies all over the region. Once they employ a migrant, their entry, residency and exit become the responsibility of the *kafeels* during the contract period (ITUC, 2017). Because of the immense power that the employers have over the legal status of the migrants in the country, the migrants are left open to abuse and exploitation by these employers (Ibid).

According to Malit and Naufal (2014), some general powers and regulations that the Kafala system grants to employers and migrants includes a minimum of two (2) years with employers. Employees are also put on a three (3)-month probationary period, during which any dissatisfaction with the work of the migrant could warrant a return of said migrant to the private recruitment

agencies without any compensation. This action could put the migrants in debt, sometimes even before they begin to earn anything in the receiving country. The Kafala system also has a no-day-off policy, which severely impacts the physical, emotional and psychological wellbeing of the migrants, in addition to cutting them off from any kind of support system or information that could improve their working conditions in the country they live in. Of course, the ITUC (2017) study explains the country-specific Kafala system that exists in all the GCC countries.

This study, according to the researcher's observations and data gathered during interviews, accounts for almost all the negative experiences that the Ghanaian female migrants endured in the work in the Gulf States. The experiences of the various migrants interviewed enabled the researcher to group the experiences of these migrants into four main modalities. They include Sexual Harassment and Assault; Difficulties in Switching Employers and Changing Sponsors; Their African Heritage as a Disadvantage; and Bad Working Conditions.

### **3.3.1 Sexual Harassment and Assault**

One of the main experiences accounted by the returnee migrants interviewed for this study is sexual harassment and sexual assault. Luckily, the women interviewed for the study were not sexually assaulted. However, Asantewaa, who was hired as a domestic worker reported unwanted glances and advances in her work. These women, however, knew people who were either raped, endured attempted rape, maltreatment and sexual harassment in the countries that they migrated to.

Imerion (2017) conducted a study that considered gender as a possible avenue for discrimination in terms of job availability and the amount of wages and salaries paid. However, the paper merely mentioned sexual harassment and assault in passing as a possibility of what female migrants in the Gulf states endure on their journey. Malit and Naufal (2018), however, attributes sexual assault

and harassment as one of the main reasons why female migrants to the Gulf States decide to move back home, even though their study also revealed that a majority of them still have a desire to return to the Gulf after sometime.

Sexual harassment and assault in the Gulf State is very real, and very troubling for Ghanaian migrants in the Gulf States. According to Imerion (2017), some employers decide to never hire a female to fill a specific role because of prior sexual harassment or assault that other women have endured in that position. Asantewaa, during her interview, recounted the many sexual advances she encountered during her journey to the Gulf States, but she highlighted more on the actual rape and assault that an unnamed female colleague received at the hotel where she worked. According to her, this migrant, a fellow Ghanaian, was being raped and assaulted on the daily basis without any hope of getting out.

Interviews with the Ghana Immigration Service revealed that the government agency does receive similar reports, indicating that when family members in Ghana report such incidents to the Immigration Service, the service endeavors to initiate communication with the victim in question to verify the accusations and then rescue her through some of the Ghanaian embassies in the region.

Over the years, there have been serious allegations about Ghanaian women with regards to sexual assault and harassment out of the Gulf region. According to Modern Ghana (2019), “a video showing a young Ghanaian woman being subjected to severe sexual assault in one of the Gulf countries went viral on the internet” in November 2015. In September 2009, 22 deported Ghanaians from Saudi Arabia also made harrowing sexual abuse allegations to the GIS, detailing a pattern of behavior against domestic helps in the Gulf country. These reports exemplify the extent of the problem inherent in the Gulf region, and underlines the need to protect Ghanaian workers.

### 3.3.2 Difficulties in Switching Employers and Changing Sponsors

Owing to the structure of the Kafala system in the Gulf States, switching jobs or changing sponsors is not as simple as getting a job offer, resigning from old job, and starting your new job in your new work place. Based on interviews conducted with returned migrants from the Gulf States, it became evident that the ability to change sponsors or switch jobs depended largely on the pattern of migration that the migrants used to arrive in the Gulf State. According to Imerion (2017), patterns of migration are two-fold; agent-sponsored migration and organization-sponsored migration.

With agent-sponsored migration, the migrants pay an agent with fake business or company credentials in the receiving countries to offer them phony employment contract, on which the migrants will travel to the receiving country (Imerion, 2017). The organization-sponsored migrations, on the other hand, are legitimate contracts that potential migrants attain from organizations in the Gulf States, which serve as the basis for migration to the receiving country (Ibid). Whether agent-sponsored or organization-sponsored, migrants in the Gulf States require release letters and No-Objection Certificates (NOC) in order to change sponsors or switch employers (Ibid). These letters and certificates are issued by the *kafeels* or employers, of whom the migrants owe their entry, residency and exit in the receiving country to.

According to the interviews conducted with returned female Gulf States migrants in Ghana, free visa holders, or agent-sponsored migrants, have it easier in attaining a release letter and a no-Objection Certificate. One migrant, who is an organization-sponsored migrant, remarked that “I had been here for about 2 years. I got some job offers that I couldn’t take because I couldn’t get a no-objection certificate from the company that I worked for. It is very difficult to get that certificate. Very difficult!” (Esinam, female). However, she said that a friend of hers who came

into the country through an agent easily got a release letter because the agent is in a hurry to get migrants working so that they can get a return on their investment. According to Esinam, migrants who go in on the ticket of an agent instead of an organization have a much easier time getting a release letter or a No-Objection Certificate.

The study also revealed that, not all organizations are reluctant to give a release letter or a No-Objection certificate. Some migrants prefer to work with international organizations because, according to them, such organizations follow international law, and are more willing to issue the certificate or the letter without any issues. This was the experience of another returned migrant that the researcher interviewed. Aisha, who returned from Qatar, remarked her difficult time with Qatari companies, as she gave her account of the stress she had to endure before obtaining a release letter and an NOC. She vowed, after her experience, to only work, from then on, with only international organizations.

As Aisha gave account of her experience, she also recalled a colleague of hers in Qatar who, in a bid to change employers, put the process in motion. The Qatari company promised to release him if he resigns. On his last day of notice, he resigned, and the company refused his release letter. That instantly made him an illegal, and was deported immediately afterwards. This demonstrates the level of power imbalance between the employers and migrants in the Gulf States.

To address some of these issues, Imerion (2017) provides that some migrants have to pay higher fees to the intermediaries to attain the “free visa” status, where they can have more say in their employment status when they arrive in the Gulf. Otherwise, according to Imerion (2017), migrants have to work a certain number of years (usually between three (3) to five (5) years) to be able to secure a release letter and an NOC to begin work.

### **3.3.3 The Disadvantage of their African Heritage**

From the various interviews conducted with the returned migrants, it became apparent that the African heritage of the migrants negatively impacted their access to good salaries and wages, their access to accommodation, and their relationships with their employers.

First, the returnees reported that there were huge disparities in the wages and salaries based on nationality. They reported that Westerners, no matter their race, were more likely to be paid higher just because of their nationality. Therefore, nationalities like Americans, Europeans, Australians and Canadians would get a higher salary than Africans for doing the same job. According to Ama, a teacher in Qatar, there was a hierarchy of nationalities in the country, with Western passport holders being valued above all others. Asians were valued higher than Middle North Africans, while sub-Saharan Africans were at the bottom of the food chain. According to Ama, it was so bad that an African rose to the role of a principal in school where she taught, but she made less than a teacher who was British. Because of this discrimination, Africans need to work extra hard just to gain the same level of recognition as Westerners.

Even within Africa, some nationalities are valued above others. Egyptians and South Africans are on a higher level than Nigerians and Ghanaians. To that end, their opinions were respected more and their salaries were higher than Nigerians and Ghanaians. It affects their accommodation and their personal relationships with the Qataris as well. For some renters, both Esinam and Ama narrated how advertisements to attract clients will specifically mention specific nationalities like Americans and British or Australians as preferred clients. According to these returned migrants, Africans have gained a reputation for criminal behavior, and, thus, have been on the receiving end of such discrimination.

Interestingly, discrimination along religious lines were not reported by the returnees. Nationality seems to be the main avenue for discrimination in terms of salaries. According to both Ama and Esinam, however, the low salary did not bother them much because they know that if they were back home in Ghana, their take home would be less than what they earn over there.

Imerion (2017) employs the Critical Race Theory (CRT) to examine what it is like to be an African in the Gulf region. The theory is predicated on two major beliefs: “white supremacy and race as being means of social stratification and oppression” (Imerion, 2017:99). Through this analysis, it is understood that nationality being a discriminatory factor in terms of salaries and wages in the Gulf States does not really point to racism or the feeling of superiority by the Arabs over the Africans. It is, instead, systematic colonialism on the part of the Arabs that has indoctrinated them into thinking that Westerners are better and more competent at their jobs than Africans (Ibid). Hence, Westerners will get higher wages and salaries, as well as more time off because they deserve it. But Africans will not.

### **3.3.4 Exploitation of Migrants and Bad Working Conditions**

The final observation that the researcher made from the testimonies of the experiences of the returnees was the exploitation of these migrants and the abhorrent working conditions that they were subjected to while they were there. Imerion (2017) documents the exploitation of low and middle-skilled workers in Gulf states such as Qatar, focusing on how they were subjected to long hours of work without the salaries to match, receiving low wages, and victimized at job switching. According to Imerion (2017), African migrants would pay high amounts of fees to the agents, in reference to the agent-sponsored migrants, with the expectation that they have a free visa, and would have the opportunity to stay in the job that has been lined up for them or opt for another job of their choosing. However, upon arrival, the migrants neither get to choose a job of their liking

nor get the supposed job with which they were brought there for. This, according to Imerion (2017), is what is termed as Job Switching.

Endo and Afram (2011) explain the cycle in detail, tracing it to contracting and subcontracting firms who work for larger corporations. According to the authors, these contractors and subcontractors would get a contract to bring in needed foreign nationals to fill certain positions with permission from the relevant Ministry of Labor and Employment. After they are approved, they subcontract the process to private recruitment agencies licensed by the governments of the state in need of the labor, who, in turn, work with agents in Ghana to source local labor willing to migrate. It is this process, according to Imerion (2017), that could sometimes be exploitative to the Ghanaian female migrants. Testimony from Asantewaa, a returnee migrant, proved the theories of exploitation that have been circulated by some of these scholars. In her story, she recounts having been promised a teaching job from Ghana, and ending up a hotel cleaning staff with no way of getting out. When asked about other's testimonies of the freedoms that come with agent-sponsored migration, she begged to differ, as her agent supped her into work conditions that she did not approve, had qualification for, or appreciated.

In addition to ending up with jobs that they did not want, other migrants complained about salary delays, including Asantewaa. Imerion (2017) presents the uncertainties that are inherent in the salary payment systems in some of these Gulf states. Countries like Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait do not have a properly structured or fixed date for employees to expect their salaries. In many cases, employees would have to wait for between three (3) to five (5) months to expect their salaries to be paid into their accounts. It could come at any day of the month, which makes it difficult for these Ghanaian migrants to plan their month and take full advantage of the money they are making in these countries, in terms of savings and remittances.

Mid to low-skilled workers experience this the most. Highly skilled migrants in these Gulf states are not exploited and taken advantage of so openly in this manner, according to the returnees that were interviewed for the study.

Finally, migrants lamented about the general atmosphere of job insecurity, especially among organization-sponsored migrants. In their reports, they attribute their sense of job insecurity to their temporary residency status that they enjoy in the country. The returnees complained that one minute you can have a job, and the next, you have lost it without so much as an explanation as to why you lost the job. Because of the fact that their residency in the country is entirely dependent on the migrants having and maintaining a job, many get deported unexpectedly because of these situations. Such deportation affects the financial status of the migrants in their work, in addition to their physical and mental wellbeing.

### **3.4 Appraisal of Policy Responses to Women's Economic Migration Issues**

There are a number of policy responses to women's economic migration to the Gulf States in Ghana. These generally fall under legislative and institutional frameworks that regulate labor migration to and from Ghana. Chief amongst these frameworks is the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, which allows the citizens and residents of Ghana the freedom of movement (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). It is based on this freedom that the key policies and laws have been enacted. Of interest to this study are the 2000 Immigration Act and its 2012 Amendment (Acts 573 and 848); and the National Migration Policy (NMP). In addition to these policies and legislations, labor migration is also managed by several institutions, including the National Migration Unit of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ministry of Employment and Labor Relations, as well as other minor institutions like the Ghana Immigration

Service (GIS), the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), and the National Population Council (NPC).

### **3.4.1 Ghana Immigration Act, 2000 and 2012 (Acts 573 and 848)**

The 2000 Immigration Act of Ghana and its 2012 Amendment details regulations that encompass the entry and exit of Ghana. It covers such pertinent areas as entry and departure, residence and employment of foreign nationals in Ghana, deportation, exemption, detention and petition, and other minor offences.

Among other areas, the Act details the embarkation or exit of Ghana, by highlighting the need for any person exiting Ghana to do so with the express permission of an Immigration Officer only (Act 573:6). An examination and an exit interview, which includes questions related to your destination and so on are asked by the Immigration Officer, and seriously prohibits misrepresenting oneself during this procedure (Ibid). It also lays out what constitutes illegal exit, as well as conditions for departure.

An amendment in 2012, Act 848, introduced the prohibition of migrant smuggling. Article 52A(3) defined migrant smuggling as the “facilitation of the unlawful entry or departure from the country of a person in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or material benefit”. 52A(4) further defined ‘facilitation’ as “producing, procuring, providing or processing a travel or identity document by fraudulent means; procuring by unlawful means other documentation in support of the processing of a travel or identity document; and enabling a person who is not a national or a permanent resident to remain in the country without complying with the requirement for legally remaining in the country by any of the means mentioned above”. Article 52A(1) states that “a person shall not engage in migrant smuggling”, and (2) goes on to say that “a person who engages in migrant smuggling commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine of not less than six

hundred and twenty five penalty units or to a term of imprisonment of not less than five years and not more than ten years or to both”.

The Act initially did very little for Ghanaian migrants abroad until the amendment which prohibited employing fraudulent means of migrating an individual for financial gain. This legislation serves as a warning to the agents who facilitate travel for women to the Gulf countries under false pretenses. It makes it possible for those individuals to be prosecuted under the full extent of the laws of Ghana if arrested.

### **3.4.2 National Migration Policy (NMP)**

The National Migration Policy is meant to be a comprehensive framework to regulate all forms of migration in Ghana, taking into account the regional, continental and international frameworks for migration. The need and purpose of the policy framework is to gain a better control over migration in Ghana, especially considering its immense impact on the economy of the country (NMP, 2016). The policy framework is intended to ensure that the economy of the state is able to “withstand the temporal and spatial dimensions” of migration (Ibid. p. 12). It is also necessary to assist in de-conflicting and complementing the wide array of national and international policies and legal frameworks related to migration in Ghana (Ibid). The policy is also supposed to address the presence and contribution of the Ghanaian diaspora in the development of Ghana within a larger framework of diaspora involvement in Ghanaian affairs (Ibid). Finally, the policy is needed to close the gap between migration strategies and implementation, in order to maximize the gains and minimize the costs associated with migration in Ghana (Ibid).

The main goal of the policy, as outlined in the policy document, is to “promote the benefits and minimize the costs of internal and international migration through legal means with the rights and security of migrants well respected in order to ensure socio-economic development in Ghana”

(NMP, 2016:13). To this end, the policy framework underscores the need to link migration with national development, as well as regional integration. To achieve this goal, the policy framework disarticulates the broad goal into achievable objectives, including “to ensure effective coordination of existing migration-related policy and legislation; to develop programmes, strategies and interventions that will enhance the potential of migration for socio-economic development; to promote and protect the interests, rights, security and welfare of citizens and migrants within and outside Ghana; to set up the appropriate legislative and institutional frameworks for a comprehensive approach to migration management; to facilitate the production and dissemination of accurate, relevant and timely data on migration within, into and from Ghana; to promote a comprehensive and suitable approach to migration management; to provide an enabling platform for national, regional, and global migration dialogue; and to counter xenophobia, racism, discrimination, ethnocentrism, vulnerability, and gender inequality within and outside Ghana”.

Among a host of other issues, the NMP addresses labor migration, under which it considers brain drain, brain circulation and the emigration of highly skilled Ghanaians. Women’s economic migration to the Gulf States fall under labor migration, the policy objectives of which include, “to identify the causes and consequences of brain drain and brain circulation; to improve working conditions in sectors affected by brain drain and brain circulation; and to broaden international cooperation on emigration-immigration controls” (NMP, 2016:41). Some identified strategies to achieve these objectives include, intensifying research and data gathering on brain drain and brain circulation in Ghana; reviewing conditions of service for affected sectors; engaging directly with highly skilled emigrants for brain circulation initiatives; fast-tracking the re-engagement and re-registration of emigrants into professional associations; providing incentive packages to skilled workers to reduce the incidence of emigration; sustaining links with emigrants to encourage

sectorial re-engagement practices; and supporting training programmes for emigrants to increase brain gain (Ibid).

In addition to the above objectives and strategies to address the emigration of highly skilled Ghanaians, the NMP also lays out specific objectives and strategies to ensure brain gain. Amongst the objectives are, “to attract highly skilled Ghanaian emigrants for national development; to gauge and transform brain drain into brain gain; to ascertain the investment potential of highly skilled emigrants; and to promote inter-State cooperation” (NMP, 2016:42). Its strategies include, harnessing the developmental potential of emigrants, creating incentives to retain Ghanaian professionals, providing a framework for the financial contribution of emigrants towards national development goals, promoting and facilitating the return of skilled emigrants through brain gain initiatives such as reintegration packages, increasing research and data gathering on emigrant investors and skills transfer, and increasing cooperation between Ghana and countries of destination.

It also addresses brain waste, which involves migrants working in “vocations that are grossly inconsistent with their skills and receive remuneration incommensurate with their expertise” (NMP, 2016:43). Policy objectives to address Ghanaian emigrant brain waste is “to develop a database of Ghanaian emigrants; to raise awareness about job and investment opportunities in Ghana among emigrants; to promote inter-State cooperation; and to improve dialogue with emigrants” (Ibid). the strategies to achieve these goals include, promoting ethical recruitment practices in Ghana, advocating countries of destination compliance with international and labor standards, developing reciprocal agreements with countries of destinations regarding academic and occupational credentials, sensitizing emigrants about job and investment opportunities in

Ghana, and creating opportunities for engagement with emigrants including online platforms and diplomatic missions (Ibid p. 44).

The Ghana National Migration Policy is indeed comprehensive, providing some necessary background of the patterns and trends of migration in Ghana, in addition to such pertinent issues as human traffic, migrant smuggling, internally displaced persons and other forms of forced migration, and so on. Ghana's female migration to the Gulf States have been well articulated in the policy document under labor migration, but the document has been blind to the issues and experiences that have been documented by the women. The policy document focuses more on ways to engage the interests of the emigrants to migrate back to Ghana or to invest in Ghana. It does not, however, address how it is going to enforce human rights and international regulations around labor relations for its citizens working outside the country which, in the researcher's opinion, is quite problematic.

For Ghanaian citizens that work abroad, the NMP should be able to ensure their protection and guarantee their rights and privileges as workers in a foreign land. The policy so far only addresses the push factors, including the lack of employment and the poverty levels in the country, but fails to address their experiences of systemic racism, sexism, assault and harassment in the work place.

### **3.4.3 Inter-Governmental Agency Cooperation**

A number of government agencies in Ghana also work individually and together to regulate labor migration in the country. These institutions include, the National Migration Unit of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ministry of Employment and Labor Relations, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), and the National Population Council (NPC).

In addressing the issue of labor migration in Ghana, the role of the National Migration Unit of the Ministry of the Interior is to formulate policies and regulations to dictate the process in the country (Achakoma et. al., 2016). It is also their responsibility to supervise the process, as well as gather and manage migration data and information (Ibid).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration of the Republic of Ghana, also, monitors to promote and protect Ghanaian nationals abroad. They also have oversight over the implementation of migration-related conventions, protocols and agreements that have been ratified by Ghana (Ibid). In this case, the implementation of regulations that have been adopted by Ghana under ECOWAS, AU, UN, IOM, and so on, are supervised by the Ministry.

The Ministry of Employment and Labor Relations are also in charge of implementing and coordinating all activities and policies related to labor migration in Ghana (Ibid). This government agency is supposed to ensure that all government regulations about Ghanaians working abroad are implemented, in tandem with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.

Other agencies who participate in regulating labor migration in Ghana includes, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) is supposed to manage, regulate, control and facilitate immigration and emigration, as well as create a database to provide information for planning (Ibid); the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), responsible for all development initiatives, and mainstreaming migration issues into national development planning; the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), responsible for providing data and information in migration by collecting and analyzing data and the various parts of Ghana, abroad, and so on, and disseminating their analysis for proper planning; and the National Population Council (NPC), who are responsible for providing technical leadership on the impact of migration on population dynamics and how migration can be integrated into development planning (Ibid).

These ministries and government institutions are very appropriate for managing labor migration in Ghana, and their responsibilities and roles are well within reasonable limits. However, considering the experiences of the female migrants to the Gulf States, Ghanaian institutions that are responsible for protecting and maintaining the human rights of Ghanaians, as well as the Ministry in charge of Gender and Social Protection, should also play huge roles in ensuring the safety and security of Ghanaian citizens abroad. They are also equipped with the necessary tools and resources to ensure that Ghanaian women are not abused, assaulted or harassed. They can also ensure justice for those who are.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined female migration to the Gulf States by discussing the trends of female migration to the Gulf States in recent years, discussing the factors that causes women to migrate to the Gulf States, the experiences of these women once they get there, and the appraisal of the policies that have been put in place by the government to address these policies. The following chapter seeks to summarize the findings, conclude and provide some recommendations on the study.

## Reference

- Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C. A., & Bosiakoh, T. A. (2008). Migration country paper (Ghana). *Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.*
- Barrett, Z., Berrios, A., He, Y., Larsen, S., Novoa, M., Twumasi-Ankrah, K., & Vega, C. (2015). Youth Employment in Ghana: Conditions and Determinants. *The Bush School of Government and Public Service.*
- Coulombe, H., & Wodon, Q. (2007, May). Poverty, livelihoods, and access to basic services in Ghana. In *Ghana CEM: Meeting the Challenge of Accelerated and Shared Growth.* Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Endo, E. & Afram, G. (2011). *The Qatar-Nepal remittance corridor: Enhancing the impact and remittance flows by reducing inefficiencies in the migration process.* Washington DC: World Bank.
- Malit Jr, F. T., & Naufal, G. (2016). Asymmetric information under the Kafala sponsorship system: Impacts on foreign domestic workers' income and employment status in the GCC countries. *International Migration*, 54(5), 76-90.
- Naufal, G., & Malit Jr, F. (2018). Exploitation and the Decision to Migrate: The Role of Abuse and Unfavorable Working Conditions in Filipina Domestic Workers' Desire to Return Abroad.

- Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. International Organization for Migration.
- Valenta, M., & Jakobsen, J. (2016). Moving to the Gulf: an empirical analysis of the patterns and drivers of migration to the GCC countries, 1960–2013. *Labor history*, 57(5), 627-648.
- Imerion, E. (2017). *Transnational Labour Migration: Experiences of Mid-to-Highly Skilled African Migrant Workers in Doha, Qatar*.
- Achakoma, K. A., Ansah, F. A., & Agyemang, P. (2016). Labour Migration in Ghana: An Analysis of Emigration, Return Migration and Reintegration. *FES*.
- GCC-STAT. (2018). *Economic Performance and Outlook for the Gulf Corporation Council (GCC)*. *GCC-STAT*
- Ghana Immigration Act (Act 573). 2000
- Ghana Immigration Act (Amendment) (Act 848). 2012
- Ghana. (1992). *Constitution of Ghana*.
- Ghana, U. (2014). *Inequality in Ghana: A Fundamental National Challenge*. *Unicef Briefing Paper*.
- Ghana National Migration Policy
- GSS (Ghana Statistical Service). (2018). *Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 7 (GLSS 7): Poverty Trends in Ghana 2005–2017*.
- ITUC. (2017). *Facilitating Exploitation: A Review of Labour Laws for Migrant Domestic Workers in Gulf Cooperation Council Countries*.
- Dzansi, A. S. (2018). *Migration Management in Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Summary of findings, Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **4.0. Introduction**

This is the concluding chapter of this dissertation. It provides a summary of the major findings per the stated objectives of the study. Based on the conclusion, this chapter makes possible recommendations to the government, policy makers, academics and civil society groups on the dangers of irregular migration offer possible range of alternatives to this perennial problem.

#### **4.1. Summary of Findings**

The study finds that the labour structure in Ghana is unfavourable to women. Majority of young women are either structurally unemployed or under employed with low wages, poor salaries, gratuities and emoluments. So This finding stems from the calculations of the ratio of female labor force participation over male value; the wage equality between women and men for similar work;

the ratio of female estimated earned income over male value; the ratio of female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value; and the ratio of female professional and technical workers over male value. Based on the analysis of these components, clear differences in Ghana's youth employment are shown. Gender norms are less pronounced in post-modern Ghana however, a gender gap still exists. These factors account largely for young women who go out to find respite in the Gulf States in order to engage in some form of economic activity.

The study finds that a major cause of economic migration which the literature supports and from primary data gathered is the lush economic conditions that exist in the destination region. The oil boom and the tourism sector has created employment opportunities serving as a pull factor for young Ghanaian women. Added, better salaries are pull factors that lure young Ghanaian women to the Gulf States. The Gulf economy is quite diverse and attracts young women of varied educational levels. Young Ghanaian women take advantage of this economic space and settle for domestic jobs.

The study finds that despite some level of economic growth experienced in Ghana, poverty levels have increased especially among the rural folks. Poor living conditions, diseases and illiteracy is causal effect of Gulf migration

The study finds that the Kafala system of contractual agreement (explained in detail in the third chapter) puts young women in a position of physical, mental and sexual harassment. The study also finds that it was difficult in changing employers and the working conditions were not so good as a result of the Kafala system. Even though the power imbalance is so glaring, migrants usually opt for the contractual servitude as a result of their desperations that stem from economic insecurities or the wish to escape poverty, as is the case for many Ghanaian migrant domestic

workers. These workers become legally vulnerable because, per the agreements that they sign with their employers, they are owned by these employers, essentially.

#### **4.2. Conclusion**

Based on the secondary data reviewed and primary data gathered and analysed; poor economic conditions, poverty push young Ghanaian women migrants in the Gulf States to escape harsh economic realities in Ghana. In the same vein, these migrant workers do not work in the best of economic conditions due to the contractual system – Kafala system.

#### **4.3. Possible Recommendations**

Based on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:

1. The government, private sector and stakeholders should work together in reducing structural inequalities that create unemployment and underemployment and move to resolve gender pay gaps as well as improving the economic conditions of young women.
2. The government should regularize labour migration by having a bilateral agreement with the Gulf States regards migrant recruitment and employment. This structured arrangement could resolve some of the problems the migrants face in the Gulf States
3. The national migration laws should be implemented to curb the spate of irregular migration
4. Ghana's diplomatic missions operating within the Gulf region should strengthen their monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and probably open more consulates in major cities to attend to migrant issues and resolve them raptly.

5. Migrant issues have become transnational due to the chain of actors in the process, hence international bodies on migration, governments in the home and destination regions, civil society bodies need to work synergistically to create a better migrant-labour environment.

## References

- Achakoma, K. A., Ansah, F. A., & Agyemang, P. (2016). Labour Migration in Ghana: An Analysis of Emigration, Return Migration and Reintegration. *FES*
- Achakoma, K., Owusu Ansah, F., & Agyemang, P. (2015). *Labour Migration Study in Ghana: An Analysis of Emigration, Return Migration and Reintegration*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Ghana.
- Adepoju, A. (2003). Migration in West Africa. *Development*, 46(3), 37-41.
- Adepoju, A. (2004). *Changing configurations of migration in Africa*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Adepoju, A. (2006). Recent trends in international migration in and from Africa. Human Resources Development Centre, Nigeria.
- Adjei, E. (2006). Female migrants: Bridging the gaps throughout the life cycle. UNFPA. *New York*.
- Agyeman, E. A. (2017). Religion, race and migrants' integration in Italy: the case of Ghanaian migrant churches in the Province of Vicenza, Veneto. *Deusto Journal of Human Rights*, (8), 105-116.
- Al-Waqfi M. A &, Al-faki I. A. (2015) "Gender-based differences in employment"
- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper. University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.

- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). Migration from and to Ghana: A background paper. *University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty*.
- Anjali, F. (2016). Understanding Women and Migration: A Literature Review. *KNOMAD*. Accessed on [http://www.knomad.org/docs/gender/KNOMAD%20Working%20Paper, 208](http://www.knomad.org/docs/gender/KNOMAD%20Working%20Paper,208).
- Atong, K., Mayah, E., & Odigie, A. (2018). AFRICA LABOUR MIGRATION TO THE GCC STATES.
- Awumbila, M. (2015). Women moving within borders: Gender and Internal Migration dynamics in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 7(2), 132-145.
- Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C. A., & Bosiakoh, T. A. (2008). Migration country paper (Ghana). *Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*.
- Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C. A., & Bosiakoh, T. A. (2008). Migration country paper (Ghana). *Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*.
- Azeez A. & Begum M., 2009 “Gulf Migration, Remittances and Economic Impact”
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2011). Labour immigration and labour markets in the GCC countries: national patterns and trends.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2011). Labour immigration and labour markets in the GCC countries: national patterns and trends.
- Barrett, Z., Berrios, A., He, Y., Larsen, S., Novoa, M., Twumasi-Ankrah, K., & Vega, C. (2015). Youth Employment in Ghana: Conditions and Determinants. *The Bush School of Government and Public Service*.
- Bauer T, Zimmermann K. (1998). Causes of International Migration: A Survey. In Becker, G. S. (1962). Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of political economy*, 70(5, Part 2), 9-49.
- Benke, F. (2015). Interesting Facts about Ghanaians in the United Kingdom. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/beam-blog/interesting-facts-about-ghanaians-in-the-united-kingdom-326792304238>
- Black, R., King, R., & Tiemoko, R. (2003, March). Migration, return and small enterprise development in Ghana: A route out of poverty. In International Workshop on Migration and Poverty in West Africa, University of Sussex, United Kingdom.13.
- Borjas, G. J. (1989). Economic theory and international migration. *International migration review*, 23(3), 457-485.
- Bruni, V., Koch, K., Siegel, M., & Strain, Z. (2017). Study on migration routes in West and Central Africa.
- Brydon, L. (1992). Ghanaian women in the migration process.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done? *Qualitative research*, 6(1), 97-113.
- Bump, M. (2006). Ghana: Searching for Opportunities at Home and Abroad. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/ghana-searching-opportunities-home-and-abroad>

- Cavanaugh, C. S., Barbour, M. K., & Clark, T. (2009). Research and practice in K-12 online learning: A review of open access literature. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, 10(1).
- Coe, C. (2011). What is the impact of transnational migration on family life? Women's comparisons of internal and international migration in a small town in Ghana. *American Ethnologist*, 38(1), 148-163.
- Coulombe, H., & Wodon, Q. (2007, May). Poverty, livelihoods, and access to basic services in Ghana. In *Ghana CEM: Meeting the Challenge of Accelerated and Shared Growth*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- De Haas, H. (2008). Irregular migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An overview of recent trends. 32.
- Dito, M. E. (2008, September). GCC labour migration governance. In *UN Expert Group Meeting on international migration and development in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand* (pp. 20-21).
- Drugge, S. E. (1987). A critique of the neoclassical migration model as a normative approach to the Canadian regional policy: a comment. *Can. J. Reg. Sci.*, 10, 91-5.
- Dzansi, A. S. (2018). *Migration Management in Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Endo, E. & Afram, G. (2011). *The Qatar-Nepal remittance corridor: Enhancing the impact and remittance flows by reducing inefficiencies in the migration process*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Faiz O. M & Anwar H. T., 2016 "Ethiopian female labor migration to the Gulf states: the case of Kuwait". *African and Black Diaspora Journal*.
- Faiz O. M & Anwar H. T., 2016 Ethiopian female labor migration to the Gulf states: the case of Kuwait, *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 9:2, 214-227
- Fernandez, B. (2014). *Essential yet invisible: migrant domestic workers in the GCC*.
- Fransen, S. 2009. "Migration in Ethiopia: History, Current Trends and Future Prospectus." PaperSeries Migration and Development Country Profiles, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance.
- Gardner, Andrew M. 2011. "Gulf Migration and the Family." *Journal of Arabian Studies* 1 (1) (September 19):
- GCC-STAT. (2018). Economic Performance and Outlook for the Gulf Corporation Council (GCC). *GCC-STAT*
- Ghana Immigration Act (Act 573). 2000
- Ghana Immigration Act (Amendment) (Act 848). 2012
- Ghana National Migration Policy
- Ghana, U. (2014). Inequality in Ghana: A Fundamental National Challenge. *Unicef Briefing Paper*.
- Ghana. (1992). Constitution of Ghana.

- GSS (Ghana Statistical Service). (2018). Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 7 (GLSS 7): Poverty Trends in Ghana 2005–2017.
- Hamza S. 2015 “Migrant Labor in the Arabian Gulf: A Case Study of Dubai, UAE” Pursuit. *The Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee*. 6(1).
- Hamza S. (2015) Migrant Labor in the Arabian Gulf: A Case Study of Dubai, UAE *Pursuit Journal*. 6(1).
- Harris JR, Todaro MP. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *American Economic Review* 60,126-42.
- Hawkson, E. (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/recruitment-of-domestic-servants-to-work-in-gulf-states-suspended.html>
- Higazi, A. (2005). *Ghana country study: A part of the report on informal remittance systems in Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries*. University of Oxford.
- ILO. (2019). ILC87 - Report III (1B) Migrant Workers. [online] Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/r3-1b4.htm>
- Imerion, E. (2017). Transnational Labour Migration: Experiences of Mid-to-Highly Skilled African Migrant Workers in Doha, Qatar.
- ITUC. (2017). Facilitating Exploitation: A Review of Labour Laws for Migrant Domestic Workers in Gulf Cooperation Council Countries.
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Jureidini, R. (2005). *Migrant workers and xenophobia in the Middle East*. In *Racism and public policy* (pp. 48-71). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Kloosterman, R. C., Rusinovic, K., & Yeboah, D. (2016). Super-diverse migrants—similar trajectories? Ghanaian entrepreneurship in the Netherlands seen from a Mixed Embeddedness perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(6), 913-932.
- Konadu-Yiadom, E. (2018). *Migration, Gender Roles and Remittances of Ghanaian Migrants Abroad* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International.
- Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.
- Lee, F. S., & Keen, S. (2004). The incoherent emperor: a heterodox critique of neoclassical microeconomic theory. *Review of Social Economy*, 62(2), 169-199.
- Malit Jr, F. T., & Naufal, G. (2016). Asymmetric information under the Kafala sponsorship system: Impacts on foreign domestic workers’ income and employment status in the GCC countries. *International Migration*, 54(5), 76-90.
- Manuh, T. (2003). ‘Efie’ or the meanings of ‘home’ among female and male Ghanaian migrants in Toronto, Canada and returned migrants to Ghana. In *New African Diasporas* (pp. 160-179). Routledge.
- Migration Policy Institute. (2015). *The Ghana Diaspora in the United States*. Rockefeller Foundation-Aspen Institute Diaspora Program.

- Migration, ed. P Gorter, P Nijkamp, J Poot, pp. 95-127. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Morrison, A. R., Schiff, M., & Sjöblom, M. (2007). *The international migration of women*. Washington, DC: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan.
- Naufal, G., & Malit Jr, F. (2018). Exploitation and the Decision to Migrate: The Role of Abuse and Unfavorable Working Conditions in Filipina Domestic Workers' Desire to Return Abroad.
- Ngnenbe, T. (2017). Over 16,000 Ghanaians migrated to the Gulf region last year. Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/sixteen-thousand-three-hundred-and-sixty-sevenghanaians-migrated-to-the-gulf-region-last-year.html>
- Odhiambo, S. (2017). *Women migration livelihoods and the "fallacy" of the "migrants as a burden to state coffers": The case of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry in the city of Pretoria* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Over 2000 Ghanaian ladies depart to Gulf States in 5 months. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/over-2000-ghanaian-ladies-depart-to-gulf-states-in-5-months.html>
- Ozel, M. H., et al. (2017) Labour Markets. In: Handbook for Improving the Production and Use of Migration Data for Development (Global Migration Group (GMG)). Global Knowledge Partnership for Migration and Development (KNOMAD), World Bank, Washington, DC, p. 79-90.
- Peil, M. (1971). The expulsion of West African aliens. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9(2), 205-229.
- Peil, M. (1995). Ghanaians abroad. *African Affairs*, 94(376), 345-367.
- Pickbourn, L. (2018). Rethinking rural–urban migration and women’s empowerment in the era of the SDGs: Lessons from Ghana. *Sustainability*, 10(4), 1075.
- Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. International Organization for Migration.
- Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. International Organization for Migration.
- Roper, S. D., & Barria, L. A. (2014). Understanding variations in Gulf migration and labor practices. *Middle East Law and Governance*, 6(1), 32-52.
- Schiff M. 1994. How Trade, Aid, and Remittances Affect International Migration.
- Segadlo, N. (2018). Navigating through an external agenda and internal preferences: the case of Ghana’s National Migration Policy (Master's thesis).
- Skeldon R. (1997). *Migration and development: A global perspective*. Essex: Longman
- Sönmez, S., Apostolopoulos, Y., Tran, D., & Rentrop, S. (2011). Human rights and health disparities for migrant workers in the UAE. *Health Hum Rights*, 13(2), E17-35.
- Sudarkasa, N. (1977). Women and migration in contemporary West Africa. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3(1), 178-189.

- Tassinopoulos, A., & Werner, H. (1999). *To move or not to move: migration of labour in the European Union* (Vol. 35). Institut für Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit.
- Teming-Amoako, T. (2018). *Experiences of Ghanaian Return Migrants from the Gulf States: A Case Study of Nima* (Doctoral dissertation, University Of Ghana).
- Todaro, M. (2002). Population and Development Review, 28(2), 363-364.
- United Arab Emirates", International Journal of Manpower, Vol. 36 Issue: 3, pp.397-415.
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). International Migration Report 2017: Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/404).
- Valenta, M., & Jakobsen, J. (2016). Moving to the Gulf: an empirical analysis of the patterns and drivers of migration to the GCC countries, 1960–2013. *Labor history*, 57(5), 627-648.
- Valenta, M., & Jakobsen, J. (2017). Mixed Migrations to the Gulf: An Empirical Analysis of Migrations from Unstable and Refugee-producing Countries to the GCC, 1960–2015. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 36(2), 33-56.
- Von Martius, L.. 2017. Mapping the challenges: Labour Migration from West and East Africa to the Gulf and MENA region.  
Washington: World Bank, International Economics Department  
Word Migration Report 2017  
World Migration Report 2015

## **INTERVIEWS**

ALBERTA AMPOFO– OFFICER IN CHARGE ANTI-HUMAN TRAFFICKING UNIT OF THE GHANA IMMIGRATION SERVICE

FIVE ANONYMOUS RETURNEES FROM THE GULF STATES.