North-South Migration in Ghana

Social networks and possibilities for mobility of young returnees and non-migrants in the Northern Region

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North-South Migration in Ghana

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Photo frontpage: Woman walking in Ziong (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)
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This study regards north-south migration in Ghana with a focus put on social networks and possibilities for mobility of young returnees and non-migrants in the Northern Region. Hereby, qualitative data was used, retrieved from young non-migrants and returnees in the rural parts of the Northern Region in Ghana. This study shows that education is a key factor in the decision-making process of young Ghanaians to stay or to leave their home region. Education can determine whether a young person has the potential to have a stable job opportunity in the north or if an individual has better perspectives in the south. Other influencing factors are the lack of working possibilities, the aspiration to buy goods, knowing people in the city and supporting their parents. Further, males and females, but also non-migrants and returnees show differences in their life situation and social roles within the society. This is why, it is argued that social networks of young Ghanaians in the Northern Region defer, depending on their gender and migration status. In addition, it is shown that social networks play a major role in mobility opportunities of young Ghanaians. Social networks impact mobility in form of financial and social support, feeling of solidarity, permissions or restrictions and contacts in the city. This influences can have enhancing and restricting influences on a person's mobility. However, mobility possibilities can also create opportunities, in which an individual can get to know new people and hence, expand his or her social network.
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Acronyms

IOM   International Organization for Migration
NGO   Non-governmental organization
UNDP  United Nation Development Programme
USA   United States of America
Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Background
Social networks play a crucial role in people's lives. They evolve through interactions between individuals and organizations and are manifested in our societies through interrelationships, friendships, dependencies and obligations (Kadushin, 2012). Such networks are often described as bonds or ties which demonstrate connections between people (Scott, 2002). Migrants build and maintain social ties with the people they left behind, but also with other migrants in their destination and hence, create a network based on friendship and same origin (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014). Thus, networks tend to influence diverse parts of the migration process like the decision-making and the settlement of prospective migrants (Hagan, 1998).

Mobility impacts people's lives as it comprises spatial and social movements. Social mobility is associated with people’s possibilities of moving in their social status, either in an upward or downward direction (Favell & Recchi, 2011). Spatial mobility encompasses global, as well as local movements of information, people, materials and objects (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). Mobility is a necessity for a person to be able to travel and have a cultural change and therefore, to migrate. It shows that mobility and migration are highly interrelated, but have to be examined independently as well (Walke, Musekamp & Svobodny, 2017).

Both concepts, mobility and social networks, are interrelated within different migration processes.

In Ghana, there is a widespread trend of migration in the north and south to destinations within and outside of Ghana (Karamba, Quiñones & Winter, 2011). Especially, the "inter-regional movement is a major contributor to where people live, with over 50 % of the population living outside the villages they were born in" (Boateng, 2016). The inter-regional rural-urban migration is not a new development in Ghana (Beals & Menezes, 1970) as it can be retraced back into the pre-colonial period (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). This movement of people going to the city is contributing to an urbanization trend in Ghana. A rising development became visible as in the year 2000 43,8 % of the Ghanaian population lived in urban areas, whereas in 2010 the urban population estimated 50,9 % (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Even though rural-urban migration is next to the normal population growth and urban reclassification just one cause for the urbanization trend in Ghana, it is yet
the main reason for it (Cobbinah, Polu-Boansi & Asomani-Boateng, 2016). After moving to the urban south, people often have to work in the informal sector under working conditions which are mostly unregulated and low-paid (Awumbila, Teye & Yaro, 2016) causing some of them to return home.

In this thesis, the focus is set on young returnees in Ghana who have migrated from the rural north to the urban south and young non-migrants who have never left their home region in order to work in the south. Hereby, it includes the decision-making process of young Ghanaians and the role of education in it. This is important as there exist a linkage between education and the aspiration to migrate (Amuakwa-Mensah, Boakye-Yiadom & Baah-Boateng, 2016). Further, the role of gender is considered as females and males take over different roles in the Ghanaian society and tend to show distinctive migration patterns (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

1.2 Research Objective, Research Question and Sub-questions
The main aim of this research is to explore the interrelation of social networks and mobility possibilities.

The objectives include:

- to study the nature of returnee's and non-migrants' social networks with the intention of getting a better understanding of which actors are involved in their networks and which role they play in it;
- to recognize possible differences between young returnees' and non-migrants' social networks and mobility opportunities, but also how they differ in between their gender;
- to get a deeper understanding of returnees' and non-migrants' reasons to migrate or to stay respectively and to which extend these reasons include their social networks, their possibilities for mobility and education; and
- to see possible differences in between females and males.

Therefore, my research question and sub-questions are as it follows:
How do social networks of young (less than 36 years old) returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the Northern Region in Ghana interrelate with their possibilities for mobility?

1) Which are the driving factors for young people to migrate to the urban south or to stay in the rural north of Ghana?

2) Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks?

3) Are there any differences in the social networks and possibilities for mobility between young returnees and non-migrants in northern Ghana, and if yes, which one?

4) Are there any gender-related divergences between the social networks and possibilities for mobility of young returnees and non-migrants, and if so, which one?

The research question was chosen to follow the main aim of exploring the interrelation of social networks and mobility possibilities. The four sub-questions were chosen to explore the dimensions of the main research question.

The first sub-question targets the reasons why young people in the Northern Region of Ghana decide to stay or to migrate. Hereby, it is important to consider the role of social networks as a facilitating factor or barrier to move and to explain possible mobility restrictions. Moreover, the role of education on the decision-making process is considered due to the existing linkage between education and the wish to migrate.

The second sub-question regards the actors which are included in the returnees' and non-migrants' social networks and, in particular, which actors play an essential role and what makes them important. This is necessary to understand the nature of the returnees' and non-migrants' social networks.

The third sub-question was formulated with the intention of marking possible distinctions in between the target group of young returnees and non-migrants in terms of their social networks and possibilities for mobility, but also regarding their reasons to stay or to migrate.
The fourth sub-question focuses on possible gender-related differences in their social networks, mobility potentials and decision-making processes of both target groups. This is important as females and males are connected to different roles within the Ghanaian society.

1.3 Scientific Relevance

Albeit, academic literatures about internal migration in Ghana being available (Kwankye, 2011; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe, & Castalado, 2009), their focuses have not been on returnees or non-migrants, but on migrants in general. Therefore, the approach to focus on returnees and non-migrants might show a new perspective on the academic discourse about migration in Ghana. Especially, returnees need more attention in scientific literature to address the “growing diversity of returnees” (Cassarino, 2004, p. 275). Even though Cassarino mainly involves cross-border return migration in his deliberations, interregional migrants need to be considered as well. It is important to make distinctions between each of them and approach every group differently as every return migrant group has particular features (Gmelch, 1980). Also Mazzucato (2007) states that there is still little known about possible effects of return migration in Ghana and has to be further examined (ibid.). Thus, examining the group of young returnees in Ghana can be a possible contribution to the academic debate of return migration.

The consideration of social networks in migration studies is important as networks are connected to a migrant’s mobility, his or her access to health care and his or her access to the job market (Poros, 2011). As Awumbila et al. (2016) indicate there is still more exploration needed on the role of social networks on the migration process and how social networks influence the migration results (ibid.). Hence, this study might provide a possible input to the field of migration studies, as it provides new insights on the issue of social networks from migrants in Ghana.

The concept of mobility has recently become more popular in the academic discourses and literature (stated in 2006). It is still a new field of research, in which further study is necessary to understand phenomena like social exclusion or immobility (Hannam et al., 2006). This study area needs additional research with the aim of expanding the knowledge base, as well as to go more into depth. The field of mobility research is essential for the field of migration studies (Hannam et al., 2006). Human mobility in form of migration can be seen as
particularly interesting for social sciences (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Mobility sets the preconditions of people to which extent and scale they are able to travel and move. Therefore, mobility is essential to understand migration processes (Walke et al., 2017). Consequently, exploring the concept of mobility related to returnees and non-migrants in Ghana can result in a possible addition to this research field. The linkage between mobility (in form of migration) and social networks has been examined by other researchers (Hiwatari, 2016; Massey, Alarcon, Durand & González, 1987; Sagynbekova 2016) Nevertheless, the link between spatial mobility within a region and social networks still seems to need further investigation. Thus, I hope to contribute to a new perspective while focusing on social networks connected with mobility in Ghana.

Furthermore, research on the reasons why people decide to migrate is essential due to the internal dynamics within the Ghanaian society. Reasons behind the decisions to migrate can change over time (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008) and should be better understood. It is perceptible that the academic discourse of migration in Ghana focuses on the reasons to migrate rather than on reasons not to migrate (Kwankye, 2011, Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). Hence, it might be relevant to compare the reasons of both target groups. Moreover, Amuakwa-Mensah et al. (2016) stated that there is no recent literature regarding the interrelation between education and the decision-making progress of prospective migrants in a Ghanaian rural-urban context available (ibid.). That is why it could be important to research about this issue. Even though, the article of Amuakwa-Mensah et al. (2016) addresses this relationship, there is still insufficient evidence available, and further investigation is needed. The connection between education and the migration decision-making is not the main focus of this research. Nonetheless, it is reflected and might therefore be a small contribution the knowledge on the topic.

In a nutshell, I hope to make a contribution to the knowledge about north-south migration in Ghana by focusing on returnees and non-migrants. Further, I aim to add to the academic discourse which focuses on the interrelation of social networks and migration processes, but also spatial mobility in a smaller context. Besides, I aspire to contribute to the discourse on the reasons behind migration by focusing on the reasons to move, but also to stay.
1.4 Societal Relevance

It is important to understand the reasons of young people to stay in or to return to the north, and how it impacts their livelihood. Even though, literature about north-south migration in Ghana is available (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Van der Geest, 2011; Tufeiru, 2014), it is crucial to continue researching about this topic in order to expand and deepen the knowledge about the area, as well as to contribute to the understanding of problems and solutions.

Obtaining insights on the interface of non migrants' and returnees' social networks and possibilities for mobility, on their reasons to stay or to move and on possible differences between males and females could be useful. This could be helpful for local institutions, such as local non-governmental organizations (NGO's) which are dedicated to improving the life of young Ghanaians in the northern villages, but also governmental actors. These stakeholders could use the information to get ideas about how to improve the situation for young people in the village. They might use the knowledge to improve the life situation in the rural north, so the people would get a perspective in the village.

These actors could also use the data to decrease potential mobility restrictions, so people would have more opportunities to move around. It is important that local organizations learn about the challenges young people have to face in the villages in order to improve their life situation. It could also be important to comprehend the importance and nature of young people's social networks with the aim of understanding how they could be possibly maintained more easily.

1.5 Ghana

1.5.1 Ghana - Country Context

Ghana is a country located in West Africa and shares its borders with the French-speaking countries Burkina Faso, Togo and Côte d'Ivoire. Even though, English is Ghana's official language, there are several other local languages which are spoken in Ghana, like Ga, Ewe and Akan. Ghana declared its independence in 1957 under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana Embassy Washington DC. U.S.A, n.d.). The GDP estimates approximately 42 billion US-Dollars. Ghana estimates around 238.537 km² with a population of around 27 million people. The country is divided into ten regions which consist of 213 districts (Aussenwärtiges Amt, 2017). The population of Ghana has rapidly increased since the 1960s. According to Ghana Statistical Service (2013) the population of Ghana has more than tripled within 50 years: from...
6.726.815 inhabitants in 1960 to 24.658.823 in 2010. It was estimated that in 2010 an average household of a Ghanaian family consisted 4.1 family members (ibid.).

### 1.5.2 Northern Region, Greater Accra Region and Kumasi Region

The fieldwork of this study was conducted in three different village in the Savelugu Nanton Municipality which is located in the Northern Region. Awumbila et al. (2016) suggested that the Northern Region is one of the main migrant sending regions in Ghana with many people moving towards the urban south (ibid.). Furthermore, due to the conducted interviews it was apparent that Accra and Kumasi are among the main receiving areas of these migrants from the north. The following part describes the Northern Region, the Greater Accra Region which constitute Accra, the capital city, and the Ashanti Region, which includes Kumasi.

The Northern Region of Ghana is located south of the Upper East and Upper West Regions. It is the largest Region in Ghana with an area of about 70.383 km² which is separated into 20 districts. It is affected by a dry heat and a rainy season which lasts from May until the end of October. The main economic activity includes agriculture, forestry and hunting which
constitute to more than 70% of the employment in this region. The Northern Region is the living space for four main ethnic groups which comprise the Mole Dagbon, the Gurma, the Akan and the Guan which are each represented by a paramount chief and speak their own indigenous language (Government of Ghana, n.d.-c). The Northern Region is characterized by a high illiteracy rate: 62.8% of people older than 11 years were not literate in 2010. In the same year, 56.6% of the over six year old people had never attended school. Further, in 2010 an average household consisted of 7.1 people with a distribution of 85% males being the household heads and 15% females. A household head takes over main responsibility for its household (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).

The Greater Accra region is the smallest, but second most populated region in Ghana. It is the region, which includes Accra. It shows the highest population density. This region is located in the south at the coast with a vegetation of particularly coastal savannah shrubs. The main ethnic groups are the Ga-Dangme, Ewe and Akan (Government of Ghana, n.d.-b). In the Greater Accra region most people work as service and sales workers (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). In contrast to the Northern Region, the Greater Accra Region has a low illiteracy rate: In 2010, 10.7% of the people older than 11 year were illiterate. It was estimated that in the same year only 10% of the over six year old population had never attended school. A typical household in the Greater Accra region differs from a typical household in the Northern region. In 2010, an average household in the Greater Accra Region consisted of 3.9 family members with 64.5% male household heads and 35.5% female household heads (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).

The Ashanti region is located in the middle of Ghana between the Brong-Ahafo region, the Eastern region, the Central region and the Western region. It is the region with the highest population in Ghana. Most gold-mining and cocoa growing activities are practiced here (Government of Ghana, n.d.-a). In the Ashanti region, most people work as service and sales workers and as agricultural and fishery workers (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The illiteracy rate in the Ashanti Region lies between the rate shown in the Greater Accra Region and the one shown in the Northern Region with 17.4% of the people over the age of 11 years being illiterate and 15.4% of the over six years old having never attended school in 2010. An average household, similar like in Accra, comprises 4.0 family members with 63.4% male household heads and 37.6 female household heads (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).
Overall, the Ashanti and Greater Accra Region show similarities, while the people in the Greater Accra Region tend to be the most educated ones. The Northern Region seems to be the least developed region. In this region, the people are the least educated and show the lowest literacy rate. People tend to work in the agriculture and forestry sector, whereas in the Greater Accra and Ashanti Region more people work in sales and services. On average, the household size is bigger with an increasing number of households being headed by men.

1.6 Structure of this Thesis

The following chapter (second chapter) focuses on the theoretical framework of this thesis. In that part, key concepts which are related to this study are discussed and a conceptual model is provided. The key concepts give first insights into the research topic, but also help to understand the interrelationship of the different concepts. That chapter also includes linkages of the concepts to the Ghanaian context and a conceptual model.

The third chapter comprises the methodology. It explains the methods used and the reasons behind the choices - including which methods were particularly important to answer a certain sub-question. It also provides an explanation about the data collection, the data analysis, the interviewee collection and critical reflections.

The fourth chapter includes a short introduction into the field and the analysis of the findings regarding the decision-making process. It aims to answer the sub-question: Which are the driving factors for young people to migrate to the urban south or to stay in the rural north of Ghana?

The fifth chapter looks at the role of social networks in the returnees' and non-migrants' lives. It is regarded to the sub-question: Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks? This chapter also aims to put the base for answering the main research question.

The sixth chapter explains the interrelation of social networks and possibilities for mobility of the target groups. Its goal is to answer the main-question: How do social networks of young (less than 36 years old) returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the Northern Region in Ghana interrelate with their possibilities for mobility?
All empirical chapters consider also possible differences between females and males and non-migrants and returnees to relate to the third and fourth sub-questions: *Are there any differences in the social networks and possibilities for mobility between young returnees and non-migrants in northern Ghana, and if yes, which one?* And: *Are there any gender-related divergences between the social networks and possibilities for mobility of young returnees and non-migrants, and if so, which one?*

The seventh and last chapter regards the conclusion and provides a critical reflection on the study, recommendations, limitations, suggestions for improvements and ideas for future research.
Chapter 2 - About Key Concepts and the Conceptual Model

2.1 Introduction
Migration, mobility, gender, social networks and the decision-making process are concepts which influence each other and show an interrelation. These concepts are important to explain the link of social networks and mobility possibilities of young returnees and non-migrants in Ghana, which is the main focus of this thesis. Moreover, this study focuses on the reasons why young Ghanaians decide to migrate to the south or to stay in their villages and to which extent social networks play a role in their decisions. It also examines, if there are possible differences in the social networks and the reasons of migration between females and males. This is why, this chapter explained the above-mentioned concepts and put them into a Ghanaian context. It also illustrates how these concepts relate to each other which is demonstrated on the basis of a conceptual model.

2.2 Mobility
Conceptualizing mobility is relevant, as this research shall contribute to the understanding of the interrelationship between young returnees and non-migrants' social networks and their possibilities for mobility. During the last years, it has arisen a growing field of research related to mobility. This is reflected by the expanding availability of literature which deals with forms and practices of mobility (Blunt, 2007).

Mobility, as a term, exists in the form of spatial mobility and social mobility. Social mobility is associated with people’s possibilities of moving in their social status, either in an upward or downward direction. Spatial mobility, otherwise, is illustrated through structures which facilitate the movement of services and people (Favell & Recchi, 2011).

Mobility and migration are highly interrelated as migration as a movement between two places is one form of mobility. Nevertheless, the term mobility is broad and comprises not just large-scale movements of people, information, and capital. It encompasses also small-scale movements through a public space and local transportation (Hannam et al., 2006). The impacts on spatial mobility differ depending on the distance, frequency of movements, age and social situation (Thompson, 1994).
2.3 Migration

As mentioned above, migration is one form of spatial mobility. It is not a new phenomenon as people have always migrated with the intention of finding other possibilities in new places. Yet, the manner of migration has changed over time (Castles et al., 2014). One emphasis of this research is on the contemporary internal movement of young people from the rural north to the urban south in Ghana. A focus is set on returnees, but also on people who stayed in their home area. They are examined regarding their social networks and mobility potential. This is why, the decision was made to clarify internal migration, returned migration and non-migration as these are the most relevant concepts of this study considering migration.

2.3.1 Internal Migration

It is important to separate internal migration from international migration. International migration, on the one hand, can be clarified as the movement of people beyond a country's border. Internal migration, on the other hand, means the movement within a country, often across regional or municipal boundaries (United Nations Development Programme, 2009). Although, the number of internal migrants is higher than the number of international migrants, it is more difficult to understand internal migration in numbers (Castles et al., 2014). The main source for the data collection of internal migration are censuses (Bell & Charles-Edwards, 2013). One approach to capture these numbers in a global context was implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which estimated the number of internal migrants in 2009 at 740 million people. Often, internal migration takes place as rural-urban movements (UNDP, 2009) which lead to a rapid urbanization and can end up in crime problems in many low-income countries (Zhong, Xu & Piquero, 2017). Even though both migration streams are different, there is a close linkage between them, as they are both determined by similar motivations as most of migrants look for higher income, higher education and better future prospects for their children (UNDP, 2009).

2.3.2 Returned Migration and Non-migration

Non-migration can be explained on the basis of the threshold approach. The threshold approach is one attempt which regards the decision-making process of prospective migrants. It is divided into three thresholds: The mental border threshold, the locational threshold and the trajectory threshold. A person has to cross all thresholds, so he or she can successfully migrate. The mental border threshold describes the process in which a prospective migrant weighs keep and push factors in the home area and repel and pull factors in the destination
area with the intention of making a decision to stay or to leave. If a prospective migrant, for example, faces more keep than push factors at home and more repel than pull factors at the destination, the decision to stay is likely. On the contrary, if a prospective migrant faces more push than keep factors at home and more pull than repel factors at the receiving place, the decision towards going is more likely. The locational threshold explains the process when a prospective migrant decides where to go to and the trajectory threshold regards the route which the migrate decides to take (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2016). Hence, people who find themselves in the mental border threshold and face more keep than push factors and more repel than pull factors and therefore stay in their home area can be described as non-migrants. Cassarino (2014) described that the return of a migrant is seen as one stage of the migration process rather than the final part of the migration cycle. In his paper, he acknowledged that the social network theory views individuals involved in returned migration as people who have strong links to their former places of migration. Returnees are seen as actors who had the possibilities to return to their home country and therefore, create a cross-border network (ibid.).

2.3.3 North-South Migration in Ghana

North-south migration in Ghana is one of the main issues discussed in this research. As previously mentioned, the inter-regional north-south migration is not a new development in Ghana (Beals & Menezes, 1970). The movement to the urban areas is an essential strategy to improve the migrants' livelihoods (Awumbila & Ardayifo-Schandorf, 2008). However, Ghana Statistical Services (2012) showed that the trend of north-south migration is increasing, as in 2000 the urban population was estimated at 43.8 % and in 2010 at 50.9 % (ibid.). This increase might be related to the fact that northern Ghana shows a comparable lower spatial development than southern Ghana and that the northern regions show the highest proportion of the poor population (Awumbila & Ardayifo-Schandorf, 2008).

Ackah and Medvedev (2012) state that internal migrants in Ghana are often male, younger and less educated in comparison to non-migrants. They migrate to find work, in particular in sales or the manufacturing sector. The reasons for Ghanaians to migrate within the country are, among others, educational reasons (13 %), marriage (14 %), and work (47 %) (ibid.). Ghanaians who migrated from the rural north to the south are likely to work in a job which is short-term, insecure and low-paid (Awumbila et al., 2016).
2.4 Social Networks

2.4.1 Social Networks - Definition

Due to the main focus of this research on the interrelation of social networks and mobility possibilities, it is important to conceptualize social networks.

Social networks can be seen as bonds which connects different people with each other (Scott, 2002). They are manifested in our society through interrelationships, dependencies, and friendship. The form of a direct relationship between two people is called dyad and relates to the relationship between two people which is the simplest form of a network (Kadushin, 2012).

There are four different relationships between people.

- two people are not linked at all in neither direction;
- person X relates to person Y;
- person Y relates to person X;
- people are related to each other (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

A triad means a social relationship, which includes three individuals. The extension from a dyad to a triad increases the relationship's complexity. For example, X and Y can be enemies, but X can also be friends with Y's friend Z, which would create a complicated relationship between X and Y and Z. Triads can be seen as an introduction to real social systems. Another important term is propinquity, which refers to the proximity of people. It explains that proximity increase the likelihood of people to become friends (Kadushin, 2012). Propinquity indicators can be classrooms, neighborhoods or voluntary organizations. Nearness between two people could provide the chance to build a close relationship. Still, if for example an old and a young man share one working place, it does not necessarily mean that they build strong social ties, as they might not be interested in building a relationship (Reagans, 2011). People are more likely to build a strong relationship if they show similar characteristics (Kadushin, 2012).

Homophily relates to the characteristics of individuals. If two people show similar characteristics or attributes, it is likely that they will build a friendship or an association. In conversion, if two individuals are connected, they also tend to have similar characteristics (Kadushin, 2012). These could include age, education, gender and race. If people with similar characteristics interact within close proximity, both factors might reinforce each other in order
to build a strong relationship (Reagans, 2011). Furthermore, people who are physically close to each other can build similar values and characteristics (Kadushin, 2012).

### 2.4.2 Social Networks and Mobility

Social networks have a large influence on migration processes. They are seen to have an impact on different parts of the migration flow, such as a migrant’s decision-making process, the direction of the migration process and the settlement (Hagan, 1998). Therefore, social networks are highly relevant for the different stages of migration.

One early approach to analyze social networks in connection to migration was conducted by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964), who conducted research about chain migration. Their theory is based on migrants from Southern Italy who migrated to the United States of America (USA). Chain migration illustrates the linkage between old and new migrants. For example, one male migrant could encourage and assist a prospective migrant to follow him to the USA. They would support their male relatives and friends to migrate and help to find work and accommodation. Another form of chain migration can be that those male migrants would bring their wives and children after they had settled. They stated that chain migration is illustrated as a movement, which facilitates the migration process of prospective migrants (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964). Hence, contacts\(^1\) in a receiving country or place can facilitate and increase the migration to this place.

Furthermore, Sagynbekova (2016) illustrated, that networks can increase the probability of migration because they can reduce the costs of migrating (ibid.). This link can be explained through Massey et al. (1987) who stated that international migration leads to the development of a social infrastructure between the sending and receiving place. Even though Massey et al., (1987), focus on international migration, presumptions can be made about internal movements. The authors stated that after a time the ties between the origin and destination areas grow and create a network which decreases the costs of movement (ibid.). Next to decreasing the cost of migration networks have also the potential to increase the likelihood to move by providing information of economic opportunities which can lower the risk to migrate (Hiwatari, 2016).

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\(^1\) In this research the term, 'contacts' refers to people which a returnee, a prospective migrant, but also a non-migrant knows in a different place
Social networks influence mobility on a smaller scale. Social spaces like motorways, hotels and airports can create places where an increased movement takes place. These places are about creating relationships and can also be less privileged spaces like street corners, public plazas and social gatherings (Hannam et. al., 2006).

2.4.3 Social Networks and Ghana

As previously told, social networks can be interrelated in the migration process. Some scholars (Sagynbekova, 2016; Massey et al., 1987; Hiwatari, 2016) explained that social networks can have a facilitating impact on migration processes. Strong social ties in between old and prospective migrants can lead to a reduction of people migrating (Hiwatari, 2016). Migrants can help prospective migrants, for instance, by finding work and assisting with accommodation (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964). This support is also shown in the north-south migration trend in Ghana as social networks can facilitate this migration process. Prospective migrants can be supported by other people through money, arranging jobs, food, and accommodation (Akinyoade, 2015). Awumbila et al. (2016) stated that migrants are often supported by others to find a job, to travel, to settle and also to make decisions. Their social networks can facilitate their migration process through financial support, but also through information about their destination area as many prospective migrants know already a person there. For example, a study of 1500 households in Ghana showed that more than half of the household's migrants knew at least one person in their destination area before they migrated (ibid.).

Furthermore, migrants in the urban south of Ghana use their social networks, mostly consisting friends and family, to enhance their economic survival. Hence, they use their social networks as a surviving strategy. It was evident that social networks can support migrants to find a job in their destination area as employers often inform friends, other workers, and relatives to look for prospective workers. Besides, social networks are important to help the migrants through accommodation, food and social support (ibid.). Awumbila et al. (2016) indicated that migrants from the Northern region tend to live with their friends after arriving at their destination and migrants from the Volta region tend to rely on their family members (ibid.).
2.5 Decision-making Process

2.5.1 Decision-making Process of Migration

One aspect of this research regards the decision-making process of young Ghanaians to stay or leave the village. Hence, a conceptualization is necessary. There are several theories which look at why people decide to migrate. One early representative is Lee Everett (1966) who gave a general overview of the reasons to migrate. He acknowledged that every migration process is impacted by factors of the origin area and destination area, personal factors, and intervening obstacles. Intervening obstacles can decrease the likelihood of migration, such as long distances, regulations, restrictions and transport costs. Personal factors, which can have an influence on migration process are intelligence, awareness of conditions in destination area, and personality. Areas of origin and destination can have influences on migration and either hold, attract or repel people (Everett, 1966).

In the Chart of Lee Everett (Figure 1) these aspects are marked with either +/-/0 depending on whether they have positive, negative or neutral impacts. These features can have similar effects on all people, for instance an uncomfortable climate can be a repellent factor in general. Nonetheless, every person reacts differently on the sets of positive and negative factors depending on their aspirations, personality, and needs.

It is important to differentiate between aspects related to the origin and destination area. People have a different relationship to their area or origin, as they often spend a considerable time of their lives there. The area of destination, nevertheless, always comes with a degree of uncertainty which can lead to an exaggeration of the good factors (Everett, 1966). The factors which influence migration can be separated into push and pull factors and can have an educational, economic, social and political background. The push factors are related to the aspects which are originated in the sending region and the pull factors relate to the receiving region. Pull factors can be professional development, better working condition, job opportunities and higher standards of living and improved safety in the destination and push factors can be concerns for personal safety and low employment possibilities (Kline, 2003).

A person's decision to migrate is also influenced by his or her social network as it can reduce the cost and risk of migration (Hiwatari, 2016). As mentioned above, the threshold approach is another attempt to explain the decision-making process of people to migrate or to stay. When a prospective migrant faces more keep than push factors in his home area and more
repel than pull factors in the destination area, this person is likely to decide to stay. On the contrary, if a prospective migrant is affected by more push than keep factors in their home area and by more pull than repel factors in the receiving place this individual is likely to leave (Van der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2016).

Figure 1: Origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration (Source: Everett Lee, 1966)

2.5.2 Reasons why Ghanaians Migrate to the South
There are multiple reasons why people in Ghana's rural north decide to migrate to the city. As previously mentioned, every migration process is influenced by different aspects of the origin and destination area, personal factors and intervening obstacles (Everett, 1966).

The migration trend in Ghana is influenced by the different poverty levels in the south and the north. The northern regions and the Volta Region are the least developed regions and therefore, tend to be the main sending areas of migrants. People from these regions often migrate to the southern sector because of job opportunities (Tsegai, 2005).

Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe & Castalado (2009) said that independence and money are one of the main reasons why young people decide to leave their villages in Ghana. They aspire to get a job in order to spend money according to their desires. Male migrants often want to learn a trade and girls rather wish to find solely a job. A facilitating factor for prospective migrants to migrate is having siblings in their destination place and opportunities to work with them. Further, it appeared that people returning from the urban south tend to bring items like
clothing and utensils and tell stories about the destination areas which increase the desire of young people to leave (ibid.).

Kwankye et al. (2009) stated that approximately half of the respondents of their study seemed to get financial support for their migration process with more females self-financing themselves than males.

Even though, the study indicated that approximately 80% of the examined migrants are not attending school, it was not shown that participants stated that lack of education was one of the reasons to leave (ibid.).

However, due to the demonstrated less formally educational level, it can be assumed that education has an effect on the migrant's decision to move, next to buying utensils, having contacts in the city and hearing stories about the destination area. Driving factors of young people to move to the city can be better job opportunities and an improved economic situation in the urban south, whereas guys tend to learn a trade and girls just leave to earn money. The movement seems to be facilitated by contacts in the city and financial support.

2.6 Gender

2.6.1 Role of Gender in Migration Studies

This research encompasses gender related differences. Thus, it is significant to conceptualize gender. Gender is a social construct which regards the differences between females and males, but also the ideas about femininity and masculinity.

In migration studies, the gender lens is significant since it encompasses the gender-related experiences, as well as how gender roles in distinctive cultures are influenced by spatial mobility (Brettell, 2016).

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) stated: "Gender affects reasons for migrating, who will migrate, the social networks migrants use to move, integration experiences and labour opportunities at destination, and relations with the country of origin." (ibid., n.d.). Hence, the distinction between females and males is important in migration studies.

One difference is that the motives of migration differ depending on the gender. Women can decide to migrate in order to earn money, to learn new skills or to escape dangerous circumstances (Githens, 2013). One study, conducted in Mexico, suggested that young men have more power about their decisions than females and that their reasons to migrate can be independence and financing themselves (Tucker, Torres-Pereda, Minnis & Bautista-Arrendo, 2012). Further, males and females tend to find work in different sectors. Women are more
likely to find work in the sector of health and education and men seem to be more involved in communication technology or corporations (Gabriel and Pellerin, 2008).

2.6.2 Gender-differences in Migration in Ghana

In Ghana, females, as well as males migrate from rural north to the urban south. However, there are obvious distinctions concerning the migrants' gender. Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf stated in 2008 that until "recently" (ibid., 2008, p. 171) the north-south migration trend in Ghana has been ruled by male actors. It was explained that traditional migration patterns in Africa were dominated by male actors, who migrated long term and long distance. However, this trend changed as the contemporary migration tendency in Ghana is dominated by young females who move independently. Those girls tend to be comparatively young in the age group from eight to 45 years and have often not obtained any formal education. These young girls come mainly from rural areas and work in the cities' markets. They work under poor conditions and tend to be vulnerable to health risks, but also to reproduction risks, such as sexually transmitted diseases (ibid.). In the markets, they often work as kayayeis (headporters), which means that they transport wares on their heads for customers by using none or solely basic utensils (Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011).

It was estimated that in the Northern Region in 2010, 50.5 % of the males over six years old have never attended school and 62.5 % of the females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Hence, females tend to be lower educated than their male counterparts.

The academic literature of north-south migration often regards the problems of young females who migrated independently, but also males migrate to the south to improve their livelihood. Kwankye et al. (2009) said that males tend to move to the south with the intention of learning a trade and that they often work as truck pushers, mechanics, technicians and street vendors (ibid.). Further, they tend to work as scrap dealers, for example, in Agbogbloshie. They migrate to find a new source of income generation and are often children or teenagers. Male migrants can face difficulties like a harmful environment, bad working conditions, and pollution (Coletto & Bisschop, 2017). Nonetheless, this became clear after examining an academic article about waste pickers in the informal economy and not about north-south migration.
2.7 Conceptual Model

It was shown that the concepts of migration, social networks, decision-making processes and gender have certain influences on each other.

Social networks have the potential to enhance the likelihood of migration by decreasing possible risks of migration (Hiwatari, 2016). Hence, they can influence prospective migrants before migrating and influence their decision-making process. Further, actors of social networks have an impact on newly arrived migrants by, for instance, assisting them with finding work and accommodation (Mac Donald & Mac Donald, 1964). Thus, social networks influence the migration process.

On the contrary, migration can also influence social networks since Massey et al. (1987) stated that migration leads to a development of social ties between the home and destination area (ibid.). This is why, movement in form of migration can expand social networks. Hence, social networks and migration show an interrelationship in both ways.

In addition, migration processes are influenced by certain factors of the sending and receiving region, personal factors and intervening obstacles, which have an impact on a prospective migrant's decision to leave or to stay (Everett, 1966). Therefore, the decision-making process has an impact on migration.

Moreover, social networks, the reasons to migrate migration experiences and labor opportunities differ depending on the gender (International Organization for Migration, n.d.).

These different relationships are demonstrated in figure 2.
Figure 2: Interrelationship of key concepts (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)
Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study was implemented during a three months internship with the Centre for Migration Studies in Ghana under the supervision of Dr. Delali Badasu. The internship organization is part of the University of Ghana which is located in Accra. Nonetheless, the field work was implemented in the northern part of Ghana due to the research's focus on returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the Northern Region. The decision to focus on the Northern Region was made as it is one of the main sending areas of migrants to the south (Awumbila et al., 2016; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Dr. Francis Jarawura served as a contact person in Tamale. He accompanied the first fieldwork day and presented the driver (Ghanew), the male translator (Yaya) and the female translator (Albertina).

As will be explained in the following sub-chapters, two focus group interviews, interviews about the villages' background information, three expert interviews and in-depth interviews were held. These interviews were mainly conducted in Dagbani, which were assisted by Albertina for female respondents and Yaya for male participants. Except for one, every in-depth interview was recorded and transcribed. The in-depth interviews were accompanied by the name generator method and the reflexive photography with the aim of getting distinctive insights into the respondents' social networks and their perceptions.

This study deals with young returnees and non-migrants from the Northern Region, in the age group between 13 and 35 years. The initial plan was to focus on independent child migrants in Ghana. However, after conducting first interviews, the focus was changed to the group of young Ghanaians in the age of 13 to 35 years. This decision was made in order to get a big picture on the issue of north-south migration in Ghana, and not only focus on children. This focus was elected to view also challenges of 'older' returnees and non-migrants, due, for instance, their social responsibilities.
3.2 Study Site

Map 2: Map of catchment area from the fieldwork (created by: Dinko Hanaan, 2017)

During the fieldwork, the villages Ziong, Tampion and Zaazi, which are located in the Savelugu Nanton Municipality were repeatedly visited. It was decided to focus on three villages with the aim of minimizing place-related biases. These villages were chosen since they are all located relatively close to each other, but also show some varieties. The following information of these villages were provided by resource persons in every village.

The decision was made to start the fieldwork in Ziong since its population size lies in between the one from Tampion (12,000 people) and Zaazi (600 people) and therefore illustrates the average size of the examined villages. Ziong is a village located in the north of the Savulgo Nanton Municipality with approximately 6000 people living there. The main occupation is farming and they are cultivating rice, maize, yam and cassava. They obtain their vegetables
from other communities close by. The animals living in this village are mainly goats, kettle, sheep and Guinea fowls.

Further, Tampion was elected because its population size estimates around 12,000 people, which is double the size of Ziang and 20 times of Zaazi's population. This decision was made in order to cover a comparatively 'big' village, in case the population size affects the characteristics of social networks. It is located in the north-east of the Savulgo Nanton Municipality. They cultivate maize, yam, cassava, millet, watermelon, sweet potato and groundnuts. This village includes a stock of sheep, goats, guinea fowls and kettle.

Zaazi was chosen since its population practice dry farming and interact with many NGOs. This village was elected due to the interest of examining the influence of dry farming on the migration stream in this village. It is located in the north-west of the Savulgo Nanton Municipality and the population estimates around 600 people. In this village, they grow vegetables during the dry season and cereals within the rainy season. Their animal stock includes sheep, goose, cows and guinea fowls. The sheep were donated by a local NGO.

After completing the fieldwork in the Savelugu Nanton Municipality, short interviews in Agbogbloshie (a market in Accra) were held with migrants from the Northern Region. This decision was made since some local people from Tamale had told in informal conversations, that it is one of the main destinations for people arriving from the north.

3.3 Qualitative Research
To approach this research the main part of this study comprises qualitative interviews with young non-migrants and returnees. Qualitative methods were suitable for this study, as the qualitative approach facilitates the understanding of complex social issues and social interactions between people (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011) and hence, can be used to study social networks. Qualitative methods are used to study individuals in their natural environment to get a better understanding on how their social and cultural influences have shaped their experiences and behavior (ibid.). This is crucial to consider, as migration processes are very complex. Therefore, it was important to observe how the environmental context influences the migrant’s situation with the aim of analyzing the final findings appropriately.
In the following sub-chapters, the different qualitative methods which were used for this research, its implementation and choices behind are explained. After the explanation of the methodology, sub-chapters comprising the data collection, data analysis and critical reflection follow.

3.4 Focus Group Interview

The focus group methodology is an approach to get a deeper understanding on how people in a group think about a certain topic or issue. This interview form helps to comprehend how people explain their thoughts and experiences and how they participate in discussions. Furthermore, observing the interaction within a group interview facilitates the understanding on how people perceive and create a meaning about an issue. Focus group interviews help marginalized groups to connect with each other and talk about their experiences and struggles (Liamputtong, 2011).

Before conducting the in-depth interviews, two focus group interviews were held in Ziong. They were useful in order to gain a first impression on how people from this village perceive the migration issue in their home region and to get a broad image on this topic from a local perspective. It was a useful tool to get a first understanding on this insightful topic and to revise the initial interview guideline.

![Implementation of the focus group interview](source: Ghanew, 2017)
3.5 In-depth Interview

The in-depth interview is a qualitative interview method. It is an interview form used to get a better understanding on certain topics, while conducting a medium structured interview. The main purpose of the in-depth interview is to get insights in the personal experiences of an interviewee. This interview form does not create the official interview feeling and helps to generate a conversation-like atmosphere (Hennink et al., 2011). It combines flexibility and structure as the interviewer encourages the interviewee to talk freely about a topic while key issues are discussed (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003). This interview form was useful for this research as returnees were interviewed about their migration processes and non-migrants about their experiences in the villages. Both can be sensitive topics, so, it was essential to create a trust base. In this research, in-depth interviews were conducted with a pre-structured interview guideline. However, every interview was adjusted depending on the interview flow and possible other questions were asked, if appropriate. The in-depth interviews were the main method used to answer the research question, but also the sub-questions.

3.6 Name Generator

This research regards, among others, the social networks of young returnees and non-migrants in Ghana. Thus, a suitable approach to complement the in-depth interview is the name generator method, which is a form of social network analysis. The name generator method is used to illustrate lists of people, who belong to a certain network and to gain insights in the social position of the examined person. For conducting this approach, a central person is discussed with the aim of understanding who belongs to his or her network (Bidart & Charbonneau, 2012). This method was a useful support in getting insights in the returnees' and non-migrants’ networks. It also helped to get a first understanding on who is involved and particularly important in the participants' networks. This method, as it helps to understand the nature of a person's social network, was particularly important to answer the second sub-question: Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks?
3.7 Reflexive Photography

The method of reflexive photography provides participants with the opportunity to reflect their individual experiences while taking photos to illustrate their perceptions. It is often used to complement other research methods, such as interviews. In this method, a participant gets a camera and takes photographs to support a special theme he or she should focus on. They select photos afterwards which they want to show to the researchers and bring these to a subsequent interview (Amerson & Livingston, 2014).

Yet, in this study, this method was modified to facilitate the implementation of the research. A camera was brought to every interview and the participants were asked to take pictures of objects which they perceive as important. Afterwards, when they took pictures, which could contribute to the research, questions were asked about the photographs. This method was used in order to get insights about their perception and feeling of belonging. However, the findings were rather small.
Picture 3: Example of reflexive photography: Music instruments which one respondent built (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)

Picture 4: Example of reflexive photography: Front yard of one house in the village (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)
3.8 Expert Interview
The expert interview is a semi-structured interview form in which the interviewee overtakes his role as an expert for a certain field. They are a useable approach to get a first exploration and orientation into a new study field. Expert interviews can be used to confirm results from previous interviews and therefore complement other conducted interviews (Flick, 2009).
In this research, three expert interviews with different actors were held. Two expert interviews with local NGOs were held before implementing the fieldwork. The NGOs were called 'Bibir' and 'Anam 4 peace'. 'Bibir' focuses on children and women in the Northern region and on how to improve their livelihood. 'Anam 4 peace', is involved in improving the live situation of girls in the Northern Region through education. These interviews were helpful to get insights into the research topic as they had knowledge about the north-south migration issue.
Additionally, after finishing the fieldwork an expert interview was held with the Senior Research Officer from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in Ghana. This contact was created after holding a presentation about preliminary findings of this research. This interview was helpful as it provided the opportunity to reflect the preliminary findings of this study with his knowledge.

3.9 Sampling Approach
As previously mentioned, the fieldwork was implemented in Ziong, Tampion and Zaazi. The initial plan was to conduct eight qualitative interviews in every village, separate the interviewees into the target groups of non-migrants and returnees and divide these into females and males.
In this research, the unit of analysis are young returnees and young non-migrants in the age between 13 and 35 years. The age, however is just an estimation as most of my respondents did not know their exact age. The unit of analysis in a research can be an object or a person from which the main data got collected. Units of analysis can be groups of people, individuals, organizations or social artifacts (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2005).
As mentioned above, non-migrants are individuals who face more keep than push factors and more repel than pull factors. They are people who stay in their place of origin. However, some of this study's non-migrants' told that they moved for schooling to a different city within the Northern Region. Nevertheless, they have never migrated to the south in order to work there and were also introduced as non-migrants. With the aim of making a comparison between non-migrants and returnees, the decision was made to put those respondents in the group of non-migrants.
As mentioned above, females and males tend to show different migration trends and processes and therefore, it was chosen to separate them into gender categories. Hence, the division of the respondents was the following:

In this research,

- two male non-migrants, one male returnee and two female non-migrants in Ziong
- three male returnees, two female returnees and two female non-migrants in Zaazi and;
- one male returnee, two male non-migrants and two female non-migrants and one female returnee in Tampion

were interviewed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Zaazi</th>
<th>Ziong</th>
<th>Tampion</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Zaazi</th>
<th>Ziong</th>
<th>Tampion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Migrants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returnees</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Interview division into non-migrants, gender and village (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)

### 3.10 Data Collection

Before every interview, the respondent was thanked for his/her time and that he/she agreed to conduct an interview. After that, a short explanation about the research topic and the main aims of this study was given. Then, the interviewee was asked if he/she gives the permission to the interview being recorded.

Every interview was separated into two parts. Firstly, the part of the in-depth questions and secondly, the part with comprises the name generator. The method of the name generator was always accompanied by interview question. After finishing with the name generator method, there was occasionally a third part added, which consisted a conversation about the findings of the reflexive photography, when the findings were perceived as relevant for the research questions.
3.11 Data Analysis

In this research, qualitative interviews were the main data source. In this research a triangulation of qualitative methods were used to obtain an in-depth and multi-perspective view on the study issue. Hereby, the methods of the in-depth interview, the expert interview, the focus group interview, the reflexive photography and the name generator were combined. The use of triangulation means to combine diverse methods, settings, and/or theoretical viewpoints with the intention of obtaining various perspectives on a research object (Flick, 2014).

In order to analyze the findings, the method of content analysis was used. It is a tool to interpret a text content subjectively by coding and identifying topics and patterns. Hereby, the researcher reads transcripts of the interviews repeatedly with the aim of recognizing key thoughts and codes. After the codes become clear, the researcher uses these codes to think out an initial coding scheme which he or she later puts into categories and sub-categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In this research, after the repeatedly reading the transcripts, Atlas.ti was used in order to make the initial coding scheme for the analysis. However, after finishing the initial coding in Atlas.ti, the decision was made to code manually with Microsoft Word. Four main categories were chosen.

The first category encompasses the decision-making process of former migrants and non-migrants. It included the reasons why the interviewees had migrated or stayed in their villages and which future aspirations they have. These were explained by, for instance, the role of education, social influences, and economic factors.

The second category regards social networks. It comprises who is involved in the respondents' social networks, who is particular important and particularly influential and why.

The third category encompasses mobility and the different dimensions mobility includes, such as means of transportation, the perception of being (im)mobile, social mobility.

The fourth category relates to the interrelation of possibilities for mobility and their social networks. It contains how social networks can increase or decrease the likelihood of the interviewees to migrate, but also to move within the home region.

These categories were chosen to divide the empirical chapters. However the third and fourth category were combined into one empirical chapter.
The categories are divided into sub-categories. Within the sub-categories codes are identified and linked to quotations of the text.

Table 2 provides an example of the coding scheme:
Table 2: Example of categories, sub-categories and codes of my research (source: Lisa Biermann, 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub-Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
<th>Condensed Quotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making Process</td>
<td>Reasons</td>
<td>Educational Impact</td>
<td>T: &quot;That she goes to school that’s why she didn’t want.” (Aisha)</td>
<td>Wish to stay due to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making Process</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Educational Impact</td>
<td>T: &quot;That no. Unless maybe she travels to Tamale to get educated. That’s the only reason that would send her to Tamale.&quot; (Aisha)</td>
<td>Wish to continue education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making Process</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Educational Impact</td>
<td>T: &quot;... Do you wish to go to Accra or Kumasi? Do you wish to go there as well to see your friends?&quot; T: &quot;... Why not?&quot; T: &quot;She wants... She just wants to get educated.&quot; (Aisha)</td>
<td>Wish to continue education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Network</td>
<td>Important actors</td>
<td>Living situation</td>
<td>T: &quot;And do you, do you live with your father and your mother?&quot; T: &quot;My grandmother.&quot; (Aisha)</td>
<td>Lives with grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Network</td>
<td>Important actors</td>
<td>Contacts to the city</td>
<td>T: &quot;[...] And do you have friends there or family who lives in Kumasi or Accra?&quot; T: &quot;There yes.&quot;</td>
<td>Has friends in Accra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.12 Critical Reflections

Overall, the access to the villages was easy since the people living there were very welcoming and interested in my research. It was also uncomplicated to find interview partners as in every village a resource person was provided who helped us to find a suitable respondent. However, it was sometimes challenging to find a person who would perfectly fit into our request which resulted in us being connected with a person who did not completely fit into the desired profile.

Overall, the methods used were satisfying as they helped me to gain insights into the life of non-migrants and returnees in the Northern Region of Ghana. Nonetheless, the implementation of the methods was sometimes challenging and at times less successful than expected. In my research, the most important method used was the in-depth interview. Those interviews were very helpful to gain insights into the research topic. Nonetheless, at times I faced some problems while implementing the interviews.

The main problem referred to communication misunderstandings with my male translator. I was sometimes challenging for me to understand his English and he also sometimes misunderstood what I was saying. Especially, the transcriptions of these interviews were difficult due to these communication misunderstandings. In addition, it was not easy to compare the interview transcripts from the
male translator with the ones from the female translator since they had different ways of talking to the respondents. The atmosphere and interview dynamics were very distinctive, as the female translator had more experience in conducting qualitative research and did the translations in a more academic manner. Nevertheless, I decided to carry on working with the male translator since he had a very profound knowledge about the villages and always provided me with advice.

Besides, the realization of the interviews was sometimes challenging out of different reasons. First of all, it was difficult to find an appropriate place to conduct the interviews. All the interviews were held outside, so it was sometimes slightly noisy because of the wind, other people or animals. Many times, during an interview, people, especially children, and old ladies, gathered around us which disturbed the trustful interview atmosphere. Even though, we tried sometimes to change the interview location or send the people away, that did not work, as after some minutes new people gathered around us. In particular, girls seemed to feel uncomfortable when too many people were around.

Secondly, I initially tried to conduct interviews with children (under 14 years old), but that proved itself to be not possible to implement, as the children did not feel comfortable talking to me and gave often very brief answers.

Thirdly, I had the feeling that in some interviews information got lost, as my translators sometimes shortened statements of my respondents into one or two sentences.

The name generator method was not as successful and useful as I hoped. I had the sensation that some participants did not mention important actors in their social networks. For instance, one respondent did not state a person who he later said is one of the main supporters in his life. This could be attributed to me having a different point of view on social networks than my respondents or due to a trust issue. However, this method was a good tool to complement the interviews as it sometimes helped to gain new insights which were not mentioned during the first part of the interview.

The reflexive photography was quite interesting, but the insights were not as relevant for my research as I thought they could be. It was fascinating to see what my participants perceive as important in their life and that a lot of respondents take a photograph of their families. Nonetheless, in my research, the findings took over just a very minor space. This is why, I sometimes did not record the interview parts after conducting the reflexive photography.
The focus group interview was both - problematic and useful. It was useful since I could gain first insights into the topic. The conversation about the migration topic in the village was very interesting and helped me to rewrite my initial interview guideline. It was definitely helpful to start my research and get a first sensation about the issue of north-south migration. Still, it was problematic because a lot of people were talking at the same time and therefore, my translator could not keep up with the conversation flow and translated just a minor part. He was also just summarizing what the people had said, so I had the feeling that a lot of information got lost.

The expert interviews were helpful to obtain first insights into my research topic and also to later reflect my findings. However, all of the expert interviews were held in a busy environment which led to the recordings not being understandable. I counteracted this problematic by taking notes during and after the interview. Nevertheless, I had the feeling that information got lost.

Lastly, I initially coded with Atlas.ti. However, I personally perceived this way of coding as unsuitable for me and made the decision to code manually with Microsoft Word.
4 The Reasons to Stay or to Leave

4.1. Introduction

As previously explained, the decision to focus on the Northern Region of Ghana was made as it is one of the main sending areas of migrants to the south. The fieldwork was, as above-mentioned conducted in Ziong, Tampion and Zaazi. The findings of the fieldwork are presented in the following empirical chapters (four, five and six) which look at different aspects of this research.

This chapter encompasses the reasons of young people to stay in their home region or to have migrated to the south. The second empirical chapter deals with the social networks of young Ghanaians and looks at the involved and particularly important actors of their social networks. The third empirical chapter deals with the interrelation in between social networks and their possibilities for mobility.

All chapters observe possible gender related differences and distinctions between non-migrants and returnees. This is why, the empirical findings are divided into female non-migrants, male non-migrants, female returnees and male returnees.

The quotes used in the empirical chapters are marked with a name and a * which states that the name has been changed. Most of the time, the quotes were translated by a translator and therefore are written in the third person (he, she, him, her).

This chapter regards the different reasons which impact young Ghanaians to migrate to the south or to stay in their home area and to which extend social networks play a role in their decision-making process. Further, it looks at possible mobility restrictors or facilitators, which have an influence on young people whether to migrate or to stay and on the role of education.

This chapter serves to answer the sub-question: Which are the driving factors for young people to migrate to the urban south or to stay in the rural north of Ghana? In addition, it considers the sub-questions which refer to the differences between gender and to the disparities between returnees and non-migrants in Ghana. The main argument is that education has a high impact on the decision of young Ghanaians to either move to the south or to stay in their home village.
4.2 About the Decision from Ghanaians to Leave or to Stay in their Home Region

Female Non-migrants

Abedo* is a young, 18 year old girl from the village Zaazi and has never been to Accra or Kumasi. Even though she knows people in the city, she does not want to leave her home region as she prefers continuing her education. She said that her parents used to pay for her schooling fees, but that she also received a sponsorship. Her parents supported her decision to go to school since they realize the importance of education. She said that she prefers staying in her school because she perceives farm work as too tough. "Because there I don't do this work. The work is hard for me." Further, she also has to take over household activities, such as fetching water and helping in the kitchen. She has just completed senior high school and is currently waiting for the letter from teachers training college as she wants to be a teacher. She aims to become a teacher, so she can help this community. She also showed close relation with former teachers since "they advice [her to] stay in school."

In the group of female non-migrants, all respondents had visited schools to some extent or are still visiting a school. Five of the six girls, including Abeda*, made clear that education is one motive to stay in their home region. "That she goes to school that's why she didn't went." (Mariam* translated by Albertina, March 2017).

Further, some girls mentioned that they do not desire to leave their home region and even prefer to stay in their village. The interviews have shown that educated girls tend to aspire to continue their education and learning a profession afterward, such as becoming a nurse or a teacher.

In addition, some participants, like Abeda*, explained that their family members pay or used to pay for their schooling fees. Therefore, members of their social networks can determine whether they go to school or not.

However, some interviewees stated that they would like to go to the city. Some girls made clear that they have the intention to go to Accra or Kumasi with the aim of working as a kayayei (headporter). They told that they would leave their home region after finishing a certain exam to earn money for their schooling fees, so they can continue their studies. "So, she is going to write her examen next year. So, after the examen she is going to Accra work.

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2 All the following quotes which were translated by Albertina or Yaya are labeled with the respondents' names. The * shows that the name was changed. Moreover, as every interview was conducted in March, it is just mentioned in this quote but applies to every other quotation. This is valid for chapter 5,6,7 and 8.
and save some money so that she can continue her education.” (Fatima*, 2017). Hence, it was shown that education is an important aspect for young females to decide to stay in their home region. Nonetheless, some interviewees said that they need to migrate and earn money, so they can carry on with their education.

In addition, another respondent explained that she aims to go to the south, but besides her education, her father does not want her to leave. "My father don't want me to go there." (Aisha*. 2017). Consequently, family members have the potential to take over a restrictive role in the decision-making process. This restraining role of family members was also shown by the girl who did not mention education as a reason to stay. She told that she would like to go to the south to earn some money and buy things and that she has never been out of her village. Her mother does not want her to leave as this respondent is the last girl in her household left and has to help her. Thus, it was shown that members of their social networks have the potential to influence or even make the decision for them to stay in the village.

It emerged that education is the main drive for young females to stay in their home area. Even though some girls aim to leave to the south to work as a kayayei, their intention to go is related to obtaining means for paying the schooling fees.

Solely one female did not mention education as a factor why she stays in her village. She is not allowed to leave as her mother needs her at home. It appeared that actors of their social networks have a particular impact on the females' decisions to stay by providing means for their schooling fees or restricting them to leave.

In general, female non-migrants tend to have good future perspectives, such as starting a profession.
Male Non-migrants

It came into view that the interviewed male non-migrants have some kind of educational background. All of them explained that they are either currently visiting a school or that they had visited a school to some extent. Two respondents stated that they did not migrate because of their education. It was shown that they have high future aspirations. "I just want to be a medical doctors" (Ibrahim*, 2017) "I want to become a manager of a bank or a chief." (Yakub*, 2017). It emerged that they indeed plan to achieve these goals and that these aims were more than just dreams. Both spoke fairly good English and the interviews were held directly in English. Yakub* mentioned that his parents pay for his schooling fees even though, it is not easy. His parents, as actors of his social network, have the potential to send him to school and thus, have an influence on his decision to stay in the home area.

Particularly interesting was that Yakub* told after the interview was finished, that more boys go to school than girls because he has the perception that girls do not take their education seriously and rather go to work as a kayayei.

Further, one respondent told that he does not desire to leave to the city since he has work in the village. He took over the family business of building musical instruments which he sells
either in the villages or in Tamale. Besides, his parents do not allow him to go to the south, as he is their only child left in the village. Therefore, his decision to stay had been influenced by his parents' mobility restrictions, but also by his job opportunities in the village. Hence, movement restrictions from social networks members of young Ghanaians' can determine whether they go to the south or not.

Another respondent said that he aspires to stay in the village because he wants to be with his family. "I prefer to be here with my parents than going to kayayei³" (Ahmed*, 2017). He helps his parents on the farm. In the future, he wants to become the head of his family. This is another example, which showed the importance of social networks on the decisions of people to stay in their home area.

It became evident that education is an important factor of the reasons from male non-migrants to stay in their home area. Further, social responsibility is an important aspect as well, as some mentioned that they support their families. Nevertheless, all of them have high aspirations and good opportunities in the village, such as becoming the head of the family, finishing university and selling musical instruments.

It was shown that social networks in form of family members have the possibility to impact the decisions of young males, whether to stay in or to leave the village.

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³ Even though, kayayei refers to female headporters, my translator explained me that they use the term kayayei also for male activities in the south.
The interviews have pointed out that the main reason why young people, independently from the gender, decide to stay in their home area is related to education. Participants, as shown above, said that they did not migrate or have not migrated yet since they want to continue their education - some until they start working and some until they write a certain exam. Hereby, it came into view that family members tend to pay for the schooling fees, which indicates that social networks have the potential to impact young Ghanaian's decision to stay in the village.

It was also made clear that when education was not the reason, the respondents either decided to stay out of their social responsibility towards their family, family restrictions to move or because of good future perspectives in the villages. The non-migrants who stay at home as a result of mobility restrictions displayed that social networks can have an impact on an individual's decisions to stay.

The reasons to stay in the home area between females and males were relatively similar. However, the female non-migrant who had been restricted by her mother stays in her village since she does not have a choice and that her future aspirations are low. The male non-migrant who had been restricted by his family, however, has good future possibilities.
Female Returnees

The group of female returnees appeared to have a low educational level. Just three of the six interviewed girls had visited school. Whereas, one of these girls explained that she has been to school just for a while and the other two girls clarified that they had not been able to continue their education because they could not keep up in school. "Okay. So that she wasn't good at school, so she decided to quit school, go to Accra and make some money." (Absira*, 2017). This displayed that the decision-making process can be interrelated to missing opportunities of getting educated. The aspect that school can be too difficult also emerged during the interview with the director of the local NGO 'Bibir'. The director explained that young girls often have to take over household activities which impede their studies.

Besides, some participants explained that they left their village since they had aspired to earn money and buy things. One girl had decided to leave her home due to the aim of earning money and the lack of job opportunities in her village. "She said that she left because no work in the village. She did not have a job in the village and especially in the dry season [...]" (Rukaya*, 2017).

Besides, some females mentioned that they went with relatives to the urban south, which facilitated their movement. One girl stated "that she went because her sister was going" (Bintu*, 2017).

Therefore, social networks in form of having contacts in the city or being taken a long by another person, can simplify and lead to movement. The role of social networks in the decision-making process was further shown, as some females explained that they ask their parents, in particular their mothers, for permission before leaving.

The different reasons, which lead to migration can be combined as well. One interviewee, for instance, said that she migrated because of the aspiration to earn money, difficulties in school and because her sister took her along.

During the interviews it became apparent that some participants associate living in the city with being free and further, that the interviewed returnees tend to desire to return to the city. Nonetheless, two will not return since they do not get the permission of their husbands to leave and another respondent will just go when her husband leaves as well. This demonstrates that husbands can take over a restrictive role in their decision to stay.

Overall, it was shown that the interviewed female returnees tend to have a less formal educational background and low future perspectives in the villages. The lack of education has the potential to lead females towards the decision to leave. Further, it was pointed out that
married females tend to be very dependent on their husbands and restricted in their mobility. Hence, actors of their social networks, such as husbands, can influence the returnees in their decision to re-migrate. Social networks can also play a role in females' decisions to leave the village since some have migrated because they have had contacts in their destination. Another factor which can lead to migration is the economic situation since some girls made clear that they left because they had aspired to earn some money. Girls tend to aim to return to the city, which could be an indicator of a preference to live in the city.

The interviews demonstrated that female returnees tend to have a less formal educational background and lower future aspirations than their non-migrant counterparts. Education seems to be one factor which influences females' decisions to leave or stay within their home area. Further, social networks play a role in both target groups' decision-making processes to determine whether individuals leave or stay. Female non-migrants are influenced by their social responsibility towards their family or by their parents paying for their schooling fees. Female returnees are impacted by social contacts in the urban south, by parental permissions and by mobility restrictions of their husbands.
Male Returnees
The group of male returnees showed a less formal educational background. Even though two males stated that they had been to school, they did not finish their education. One interviewee explained that it had been too difficult for him. The other respondents have not obtained any formal education at all.

A reason why the interviewed males had migrated was related to the lack of farming activity during the dry season. One person, for instance, stated that he had left the village "[b]ecause of no work in the dry season." (Mubarak*, 2017).

Another factor was shown to be the possibility to learn a new profession, such as masonry or butchery work. One interviewee mentioned that he had gone to the city with the aim of becoming a butcher. His movement to the urban south has been facilitated since he knew someone in the receiving city, who introduced him to this trade.

Another person made clear that his senior brother had already been working as a mason in the city, so it had been easier for him to move there. "His senior brother was there. So going there in a way don't suffer too much." (Mubarak*, 2017). Hence, social networks in form of having contacts in a destination have the potential to influence the decision to migrate. Social networks also influence the migration process in form of parental agreements, as some respondents explained that they had asked their parents for permission before migrating.

Further, the Senior Research Officer from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in Ghana indicated that young people are sometimes pushed to move to the south. However, this did not become visible during the interviews as the returnees seemed to rather make the decision by themselves.

Moreover, Mubarak* stated that he had first left the village because of the aspiration to learn Arabic. However, he left the Arabic school to follow his brother to a different city with the intention of working as a mason and earning some money. Therefore, it seems that the economic reason overtopped his religious aspiration. Moreover, two other respondents explained that they also visited an Arabic school to some extent.

The other participants have migrated to the urban south in order to work as scrap dealers. It emerged that one wants to become a Motorking\(^4\) driver in the future. "I will even prefer driving the Motorking to doing the butcher business [...] It is even my plan." (Dawuda*, 2017). Another guy aspires to continue with masonry work. Some respondents said that they will stay in the village. Karim*, for instance, explained that currently it would be difficult to

\(^4\) The term 'Motorking' refers to a type of transport used in Ghana (especially in the Northern Region). It can be seen as a motor bike with a load area
return to the south due to his social responsibilities. "Currently it would be very difficult for me [...] I have a lot to do for example my mother is asking me currently to send food to my junior brother." (Karim*, 2017).

It appeared that male returnees tend to be less formally educated and highly involved in farming activities during the rainy season. Their reasons of migration are often related to the dry season and its lack of job opportunities in the agricultural sector, but also to working possibilities in the receiving place. Another factor which influences the decision to leave is having difficulties in school.

Further, some respondents mentioned that they already knew somebody in the receiving place which facilitated their movement. Hence, social networks can play a role in determining the choice to leave. Nevertheless, it was also displayed that social networks can restrict mobility due to social responsibilities.

In general, it emerged that male non-migrants tend to have a high educational background and their returnee counterparts seem to be less formally educated. Moreover, it was displayed that
It became evident that male returnees, as well as female returnees have a less formal educational background. Some participants of the females and males stated that they had migrated because schooling was too difficult. The reasons to migrate of girls are dominated by the aspiration to buy goods and to earn money and the reasons of males are related to the lack of farming activity in the dry season and working possibilities in the destination.

In both target groups it appeared that respondents tend to aim returning to the city. Some females, however, were restricted by their husbands to not return and one male stated that he does not intend to go back because of his social responsibilities. Moreover, it emerged that in both returnee target groups having contacts in the city is a clearly facilitating factor to move to the south. Hence, social networks play in both groups a role in their decision-making process to leave.

In general, male returnees seem to have higher future aspirations than their female counterparts since males are more likely to follow a profession and females tend to either work as a headporters or to stay in the village.

**Summary**

Overall, it was displayed that education is a significant reason why people choose to stay or to migrate, independently from the gender. The non-migrants tended to be educated and some made clear that they stayed because they wanted to continue their education.

The interviewed returnees tend to be less formally educated and either have never visited school or quit school out of different reasons. Some participants said that they have left their home area since they perceived schooling as too difficult.

The conducted interviews made apparent that education plays a big part on the returnees' and non-migrants' decisions to leave or to stay. Hence, the argument that education has a high

male non-migrants tend to have more social responsibilities. However, one returnee clarified that he has currently a lot of social responsibilities which make him stay in the village.

Social networks play a role in both target groups. Male non-migrants seem to be influenced by their social networks as their parents pay for their schooling fees or since they feel socially responsible towards their family. The decisions of their returnee counterparts tend to be impacted by having contacts in the city and getting parental permissions to leave.

Even though, it appeared that both male target groups have high future aspiration, it seems that, in general, the male non-migrants have higher future perspectives than the male returnees.

It became evident that male returnees, as well as female returnees have a less formal educational background. Some participants of the females and males stated that they had migrated because schooling was too difficult. The reasons to migrate of girls are dominated by the aspiration to buy goods and to earn money and the reasons of males are related to the lack of farming activity in the dry season and working possibilities in the destination.

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The conducted interviews made apparent that education plays a big part on the returnees' and non-migrants' decisions to leave or to stay. Hence, the argument that education has a high
impact on the decision of young people to either move to the south or to stay in their home region was approved. The trend of mainly educated non-migrants and low-educated returnees could indicate a relationship between the likelihood to migrate and the educational level. Furthermore, it appeared that social networks can influence the decision of young people whether to migrate or not. Social networks have the potential to withhold people to move through social responsibility towards family members and movement restrictions of husbands. Social networks can also have a positive impact on the respondents decision to migrate like having social contacts in the receiving place and parental permissions.

Moreover, it was shown that non-migrants tend to have good future aspirations in their village, such as having potential job opportunities or obtaining formal education. Returnees, on the contrary, tend to have better possibilities in the urban south than in the villages. Their perspectives, however, tend to be lower than the ones of the non-migrants.

4.3 Discussion

The indication of Tsegai (2005) that the main reasons for people to migrate are job opportunities in the destination area was shown during the interviews. The male returnees made clear that they do not have working opportunities during the dry season and that this had determined their decision to migrate to the south. They either worked as scrap dealers or learned a profession. The female returnees mentioned that they had gone to the south since they wanted to earn money and buy goods.

The interviews with the non-migrants had shown that they mainly decided to stay in the north because they have a future perspective there or wanted to continue schooling. The aspect that people tend to not migrate when they have a perspective and/or job opportunity in the north could confirm the assumption that people tend to migrate in order to work. This can also be approved by Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe & Castalado (2009) who acknowledged that the main reason for young people to migrate is money and independence. Money and independence can result out of having a job after migrating.

Kwankye et al. (2009) also indicated that having a contact in the destination can facilitate migrating. Hence, social networks can have a positive impact on the migration process of prospective migrants. This positive relationship became also visible during the interviews, as some respondents stated that they either knew someone in the city before migrating or were taken along by another migrant.

The linkage between education and migration does not become apparent in the academic discourse of Tsegai (2015) and Kwankye et al. (2009). They told that economic factors like
job opportunities and money are the main drives for migration. However, Kwankye et al. (2009) explained that most of the examined migrants from their study showed a less formal educational background. Additionally, Ackah and Medvedev (2012) displayed that male migrants in Ghana are often less educated in comparison to non-migrants. This tendency of less educated returnees compared to non-migrants was also shown during the conducted interviews. Further, it emerged that education plays a role in the decisions of people to leave or to stay. Especially, the interviews with non-migrants made obvious that people tend to stay in the home region when they have possibilities to obtain a formal education. Some of the non-migrants even clarified that they did not leave their village due to their possibilities of education. In addition, some returnees stated that they have gone to the south because they could not follow their education in the village. Thus, even though, the link between education and migration is not shown as a main aspect in some academic discourses about north-south migration in Ghana, the interviews indicated that education plays a significant role in the decision-making process to migrate or to stay.

This chapter regarded the sub-question: *Which are the driving factors for young people to migrate to the urban south or to stay in the rural north of Ghana?* The main driving factor for young people to migrate is having job opportunities in their destination and therefore, the aspiration to improve the economic situation and to buy goods. This process is facilitated by contacts in the south who either provide support in the destination or who take them along to the city. The driving factors of people to stay in the village are mainly possibilities to obtain formal education and also a fairly good future perspective in the north. Another factor which can withhold people to migrate is social responsibility towards the family. This chapter is linked to the two following chapters, as it has encompassed the influence of social networks on the decision-making process of young Ghanaians from the Northern Region whether to stay or leave.
5 About Social Networks...

5.1 Introduction
This chapter examines the social networks of returnees and non-migrants in Ghana. It observes the fourth sub-question: *Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks?* The aim of this chapter is to create a base for answering the main question, which looks at the interrelation of social networks and mobility. In addition, it regards the third and fourth sub-questions, which deal with possible distinctions between returnees and non-migrants and gender-related differences. This is why, the analysis of the findings is divided into female non-migrants, male non-migrants, female returnees and male returnees. The argument of this chapter is that social networks of non-migrants and returnees show a clearly different characterization from each other.

5.2 Social Networks of Ghana's Returnees and Non-migrants
Female non migrants
The social networks of the interviewed female non-migrants mainly include family members and friends. It was displayed that family members are important since they have the potential to send young females to school or not. One female, for instance, told that going to school "is my parent's decision." (Abeda*, 2017). Besides, some girls made clear that their families provide financial support by paying their schooling fees. Hence, families can increase the likelihood of females to go to school by either making the decision to send them to school or by providing financial support. The interviews demonstrated that the family members who provide the main financial support tend to be parents, but sometimes also siblings.

Further, females tend to support their parents socially. For instance, one girl stays in her village out of social responsibility towards her mother. She started working in her job because her mother introduced her into the work and needed support. Moreover, some girls said that they have to support their family members, in particular their mothers, in household activities. "[E]ven when her mother is in charge of her making supper, she comes and help her mum." (Sana*, 2017).

Teachers can take over an important role in their social networks by giving advice. One respondent explained that her teachers are very important to her since they had advised her to stay in school. She told this during conducting the method of the name generator after I had asked who she perceives as important to her.
Moreover, it became evident that friends take over a significant role in the female non-migrants' lives, as well. Their friends tend to be mainly females. One exception was one girl who learned the male dominated profession carpentry. She made clear that she has male friends, as well as female friends. However, during the conduction of the name generator, she mentioned her female friends before her male friends, which could be an indicator that her female friends are more important to her.

In general, the female non-migrants had gotten to know their friends either in their villages, during schooling or at the market. When the female non-migrants have the opportunity, they tend to have a lot of contact with their friends, even though, their friends often live in different places like Tamale, Accra or Kumasi.

However, this contact is just possible if they own a phone and have the phone numbers of their friends or have the chance to use a phone of someone else. Friends have also an impact on the desires of female non-migrants. One example could be that one interviewee had friends living in the city who are currently working as a kayayei. She told that she had the aspiration to follow her friends after finishing her exams to work as a kayayei, as well. That girl clarified that she would go to the south if someone returned from the city and would take her along.

Additionally, their friends can also give social support, such as helping them in school. One girl mentioned that she has a friend who helps her with her homework.

One interesting factor was that not all of the non-migrants' direct siblings grew up with their parents, but with other parts of the family. The sister of Sana*, for instance, "grew up with her aunt" (Sana*, 2017).

It appeared that family members of female non-migrants take over an important role in their social networks. They tend to provide financial support and to take over main decisions, such as sending them to school or restricting them to leave. Furthermore, female non-migrants are likely to support their families socially by helping with household activities. It became clear that female non-migrants seem to have mainly female friends with who they tend to have a lot of social interaction with. Teachers can take over a significant role in the female non-migrants' social networks as well since one girl explained that her teachers supported her by giving advice.
Male non-migrants

The interviewed male non-migrants include mainly friends and family members in their social networks. For instance, some male non-migrants made clear that their family members can influence the decision of education by sending them to school or not. One male mentioned that he was sent to school by his parents. Moreover, some participants stated that their parents pay for the schooling fees. One interviewee told that his parents pay the fees, even though, it is sometimes difficult. Financial support is not only limited to paying schooling fees, but also generally provided. One male clarified that his brother is a business man and always sends his family money. "It was Abdul* who gave us money to go there" (Ibrahim*, 2017). Further, Abdul* also paid for their house. Hence, family members are shown to provide economic support. This support can be mutually. Some male non-migrant stated that they support their families economically as well. One interviewee, for example, told: "I decided to help my parents in the farm" (Ahmed*, 2017). Another person took over the family business of building musical instruments with the aim of helping his family.

However, economic support is not the only aid families can provide. One respondent made clear that his family is supportive by creating a feeling of comfort. He stated that his home is very important to him because at home he has an easier, more comfortable life. "At home you are not struggling to do something. Your parents will take care for you." (Yakub*, 2017). This
shows that his home plays an important role on his well-being and that his family takes care of him socially. Family can also be supportive by providing accommodation in nearby cities. One interviewee stated that in his school holidays he always stays with his uncle in Tamale which enables him to work there.

Friends, who are mainly males, play an important role in the male non-migrants' lives as well. Some interviewees made clear that they call their friends and family members in other places regularly and that they also visit each other. One guy clarified that his friends from Nanton (a neighbor village) sometimes come to visit him. "Some of them even visited me this morning." (Ahmed*, 2017). Further, friends can also provide social and economic support. One participant explains that his friend sometimes pay for him. The same respondent mentioned that his friends in school are sometimes more helpful than his family members and that they visit each other during vacation. He also stated that he has a very good relationship with his former teacher. He said about him: "Still we have a relationship. And he advice me." (Yakub*, 2017).

It emerged that for male non-migrants families play an essential role in terms of financial and social support. However, some respondents return this support by helping in the farm or in the family business. It was shown that their friends are mainly males and that they take over an important place in their social networks. For instance, they communicate frequently and visit and help each other. Teachers can be significant as well, as one male explained that his teacher supports him with advice.
Social networks of female and male non-migrants are quite similar and just differ slightly. One difference is that female non-migrants tend to support their families by helping with household activities and male non-migrants support their family by helping in the farm or in the family business. Nonetheless, both groups seem to receive financial support by family members. In both groups participants stated that their families take over important decisions about their life, such as sending them to school. Moreover, some participants explained that their teachers were important, as they provide advice.
Female Returnees

Bintu* is a 30 year old female from Ziang who has migrated three times to Accra. She is currently staying in her village because her mother "is not feeling well". The first time she has migrated was because "she didn't want to be home without her [brother] because her [brother] was going. Even though her mum was against her going to Accra she still tried and then eh.. they had to let her go with her [brother]." She lived together with her brother and other males in one room in Accra. Her friends in Accra are from the Northern Region as well and she had even known some before she went. She states that it is very normal to support each other. They still have a lot of contact with each other and for instance: "[S]he is home now not working she doesn't have a job. When she needs money she can call her friends in Accra and ask for money. They can send it here it with mobile phone." And also in Accra the support is significant. When someone, for instance, does not earn any money, they provide food for each other. She feels home in her village because "[a]t home she doesn't need to do anything. Someone in the house will cook and serve some for her to eat." She seems to have a close relationship with her husband as she took a picture of him during the reflexive photography and stated that she would miss her husband. However, she aspires to return to the city and will go when her husband wants to leave as well.

Families and friends take over an important role in the female returnees' social networks. Families are essential for determining the decisions to leave. In particular, their husbands and mothers play a significant role in their decision-making process. Some respondents, for instance, mentioned that they ask their mothers before making the decision to go to the city. Some other females told that they have to ask their husbands for permission before they are allowed to leave the village. One interviewee stated that "she wants to go back but her husband says she shouldn't go." (Fulera*, 2017). The interview with the Senior Research Officer from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in Ghana displayed that early child marriage is another reason why young females decide to migrate as they want to avoid being married at a young age.

Family members can be also important, when a female decides to migrate to the south. Some interviewees, like Bintu*, stated that they had gone with a family member while migrating for the first time. This is why, family members can facilitate the migration process, as they can either take them along to the city and/or help finding an accommodation and/or job.
Nonetheless, some female returnees mentioned that they found their jobs by themselves by solely buying a headpan and walking around. It was shown that some other females had not known anybody before migrating and had moved alone.

The interviewed females seem to not receive a lot of financial support before migrating. Just two respondents made clear that they got some kind of financial support, in form of money or bus tickets.

Family members of female returnees appear to provide different kinds of support. For instance, two respondents, who have children, stated that their families provide support by taking care of the respondents' children when they are in the city. Hence, it appeared that families support the female returnees socially by taking them along to the city and taking care of their children.

Further, some female returnees provide financial support by sending remittances. One girl explained that she sends money to her family whenever they need it. "She didn't have a job in the village and especially in the dry season they only farm so there is no work to do in the dry season. So, she travels to Accra to work. And whatever she earns when there is a problem in the house she send the money. So they use the money to solve whatever issues." (Rukaya*, 2017).

Next to family members, it came into view that friends are also important for female returnees. In particular, friends which they had gotten to know in the city appear to be significant. Some participants stated that after returning to the village they keep in contact by phoning frequently. When they are in the city they often live and/or work with their friends. These friends are likely to be female and from the same village or at least from the same area. One exception was Bintu* as she lived together with other males in the destination since she accompanied her brother.

It became clear that their village plays an important role in their life, even after migrating. One girl who had migrated independently said that after arriving in the city, she had just asked for the place where people from her village live in. "So, she went, asked around for where people from this village always stay. Then eh.. She found them and then she started living there." (Fahatma*, 2017).
All of the females told that they support each other with their friends in the city. They help each other by providing food or giving money. Bintu*, for instance, said that when she needs money, her friends in the city would send her financial support by mobile money5. Further, some interviewees explained that they initially worked as a kayayei, but eventually have found work in a shop. Their employees seem to be important since the female returnees tend to return working with their previous employees after coming back to the city. One respondent said that her employee even takes care of her child while she is working. She clarified that when she gets a job "she leaves the baby with the shopowner and then she carry the things and go and come." (Absira*, 2017).

Overall, it emerged that the family members of female returnees tend to support them socially, but also in a small scale economically. The returnees can return financial support as one interviewee told that she sends back remittances when she is in the destination. Further, it became evident that friends are important by providing economic support and also play a key role in their social life. Hereby, it became clear that the friends they got to know in the city, and/or lived together are particular significant. Their employees seem to be important as well since some respondents explained that they always work with the same employees in the city. Furthermore, their sense of identity towards their village seems to play an important role while migrating, as the interviewed female returnees tended to live with people from their village even if they did not know them before.

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5 In Ghana, mobile money is a way of transferring money via the mobile phone.
Figure 9: The social network of female returnees

The social networks of female returnees and their non-migrant counterparts appear to be different from each other. In both target groups it was displayed that their families take over a role in making decisions, such as going to school, staying in the north or leaving to the south. Returnees, as well as non-migrants receive financial support from their families. The non-migrants, however, seem to receive more support by family members than the returnees. The role of the returnees' friends differ from the role of the non-migrants' friends, as returnees seem to have a closer relationship to their friends, than non-migrants, since they used to live or work together and supported each other socially and economically. Another distinction is that non-migrants can have a close relation to their teachers and returnees to their employees.

Male Returnees
The interviews with the male returnees have shown that family members and friends play an important role in their social networks. Some participants explained that their parents provided money and supported their decision to migrate. This economic and social support is mutually. Some interviewees mentioned that they remit money whenever they have the possibility and that they sometimes return to the village to help their parents in the farm or to greet them. It seemed that their fathers play a particular role in the decision-making process.
whether to migrate. One respondent, for instance, said that he always tells his father before migrating and if he agrees, then he leaves. "He is saying that whenever he is to go on his trips he do tell the father" (Ismail*, 2017).

Moreover, one respondent clarified that his family is very important to him. During the method of the name generator, he took a picture of his parents and stated that he always thinks about them while being in the city.

Family can also play a role in terms of providing job opportunities in the destination. One guy, for example, went to the city with the aim of learning masonry work from his senior brother, who also accommodated him. Hence, families play an important role in the male returnees' networks as they support each other economically and socially and also take part in the decision-making process.

Friends, who seem to be mainly males, take over another central role in the male returnees' networks. They support each other economically and socially. Some interviewees stated that they support each other whenever someone has an economically weak day by providing food and money and moreover, they also phone each other frequently.

Their friends have the potential to facilitate the migration process, as well. One respondent, for example, clarified that he knew some friends in Accra and that he had contacted them before he had migrated there. They supported him with accommodation and food which simplified his migration. "When I go there.. first they will accommodate me. And the second is.. they will feed me. Sometimes they even loan me some money for me to start my own. Because if they give you money for you to start your own you feed yourself you accommodate yourself and you pay back that money. And sometimes they give you the money free." (Sharif*, 2017). One respondent explained that he went alone to the city, but that he just asked for people from his village after arriving, who later accommodated him.

Other important actors in the male returnees' social networks were for one guy his Arabic teacher and for another one a friend of his father. The Arabic teacher of one respondent accommodated him and taught him Arabic. The friend of the respondent's fathers introduced him into the butchery work and also accommodated him.

The social networks of male returnees are mainly influenced by family members and friends who provide social and economic support. Family members have the potential to facilitate migration by supporting the male returnees financially and socially. For instance, some family members can take males along to the city, agree with their decision or give some money.
Further, male returnees tend to support their family members financially and socially as some respondents returned to help in the farm and remitted back some money. Their friends are important as well, as they have frequent contact with each other and some returnees followed their friends to the destination. Other important actors in the social networks of the interviewed returnees were, for instance, an Arabic teacher and for another person the friend of his father.

Social networks of male returnees differ from the social networks of their non-migrant counterparts. Families and friends seem to have similar significant impacts on the returnees', as well as on the non-migrants' lives. Respondents from both groups told that they support each other economically and socially and that their families have influences on their decisions. The economic support, nonetheless, is different as the families of the male non-migrants pay for the schooling fees and the families of the male returnees support the migration process. Another difference is that in the non-migrants' social networks teachers can play a role by giving advice and in the returnees' social networks distinctive actors were involved, such as the friend of a father and the Arabic teacher.
The social networks of male and female returnees are quite similar, but it seems that the family of male returnees provide a bigger financial support than the families of female returnees. Some male returnees mentioned that they were given money by family members before migrating and just two females clarified that they were supported by family members. Moreover, it seems that for female returnees their husbands and mothers are particularly important in the decision-making process and for male returnees their fathers. Female returnees seem to be more restricted than their male counterparts, as three participants explained that they will not go back to the south, if their husbands do not allow it. Moreover, they also have more social responsibilities when having a child.

Another difference can be that females tend to follow family members to the south. The contacts of males in the city, however, show a larger variety as they either contacted family members, friends or other actors, like for instance the friend of the father, or an Arabic teacher. Nonetheless, this can also just be a coincidental finding, depending on this research's compilation of interviewees.

**Summary**

On the whole, it appeared that every target group showed particular characteristics in terms of their social networks. It became clear that in every group family and friends take over main roles in their social networks. Nonetheless, in every target group family and friends seem to take over different roles.

The social networks of female non-migrants and returnees appear to differ particularly in the role that friends take over in it. In general, friends tend to play a bigger role in the female returnees' lives than in the female non-migrants' lives. They support each other economically and socially, especially in their destination area. Nevertheless, in every group, friends were shown to be important. In every target group respondents mentioned that they have a lot of contact with their friends, especially if they have the means of communication, such as a telephone.

Family members play an important role in the social networks of every person as well. Some non-migrants told that their families take over a significant role in making decisions, like whether to go to school or to help in the family business. Also the interviews with the returnees have shown that their family members play a role in their decision-making process. However, these decisions rather regard whether to leave to the south or not.
Furthermore, it was shown that the support females provide tend to be helping with household activities and that males seem to rather help in their family businesses. However, one girl stated that she helped her mum in the family business of selling food. During the interviews, it emerged that some family members are important in providing financial support. However, the economic support tend to be different as family members of non-migrants provide the money for schooling fees and family members of returnees can provide financial support for the migration process.

Further, important actors in the non-migrant groups can be their teachers, as they provide advice. In the returnee groups employees were significant. In every target group it was displayed that females tend to have mainly female friends and males tend to have mainly male friends.

Overall, it became visible that the argument of this chapter that social networks of non-migrants and returnees show a clear differentiation can be approved. Even though, all social networks showed certain similarities the dynamics, characterization and roles of actors appeared to be different.

5.3 Discussion

Awumbila et al. (2016) mentioned that prospective migrants in Ghana use their networks in order to facilitate their migration process to the south. Actors within the potential migrants' social networks can provide information about the destination area, help to find a job, and provide financial support. These assumptions were approved in the interviews with the returnees. Some of the respondents confirmed that they followed friends or family to the south in order to work in the urban areas. Some of these interviewed individuals stated that they had obtained financial support from their families. Nonetheless, the female returnees clarified that their social contacts helped them mainly with accommodation and money and not by providing a job. The male participants, however, told that their contacts in the city also supported them to find a job or to learn a profession. Another divergence in between the article of Awumbila et al. (2016) and the interview findings were that the article indicated that migrants from the northern regions tend to rely on friends while migrating which was not confirmed during the conducted interviews. All females who had contacts in the south followed family members and not friends. The male respondents, however, followed friends as well as family members. Nevertheless, as this is a qualitative study in can also be related to a coincidence of the interviewee constellation.
Further, Kadushin (2012) stated that it is more likely for individuals to build a relationship when they demonstrate features which are alike. This also emerged during the interviews as some returnees stated that their friends in the city were also from the Northern Region and some explained that their friends were even from the same city. The respondents who had not known anyone before migrating stated that they just went to the city and asked for people from their village. This might be traced back on a feeling of solidarity towards the people from their own village, it might be related that their similar characteristics created a feeling of sympathy or needless to say to the shared language.

This chapter regarded the sub-question: *Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks?* It became clear that main actors in young returnees and non-migrants' social networks are their families and friends. Even though, in every group it was stated that friends are important, it was shown that young female returnees seem to have stronger ties to their friends than their non-migrant counterparts. In every target group family members tended to provide financial and social support. However, the economic support in the non-migrant group seemed to be for education and in the returnee group for migration. Moreover, it emerged that females seem to face more mobility restrictions than their male counterparts. In particular, married female returnees were shown to be the most restricted target group.

This chapter was regarded to the nature of social network of every target group and therefore is highly related to the following chapter six.
6 Interrelation between Ghanaians' Social Networks and their Possibilities for Mobility

6.1 Introduction
This chapter looks at the interrelationship of social networks and mobility possibilities of young returnees and non-migrants in Ghana. Thus, it serves to answer the main research question: How do social networks of young (less than 36 years old) returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the Northern Region in Ghana interrelate with their possibilities for mobility? Like the previous empirical chapters, the findings are divided into female non-migrants, male non-migrants, female returnees and male returnees with the intention of considering the third and fourth sub-questions which regard differences between returnees and non-migrants and the distinctions of gender. The argument of this chapter is that social networks have a higher impact on mobility opportunities than vice versa. Mobility, in this context, relates to migration, but also to spatial mobility within a region and social mobility.

6.2 The Interrelation of Possibilities for Mobility and Social Networks in a Ghanaian Context
Female Non-migrants
The interviews with female non-migrants have shown that their social networks interrelate with their possibilities for mobility. It became clear that social networks have a large impact on the movement potential of female non-migrants in a restrictive, but also in an enhancing manner. An increasing factor of spatial movement can be having contacts in a neighbor city and/or village, as this enhances the likelihood to move to or visit this place. One respondent stated that she sometimes visits Tamale to "greet her family members" (Fatima*, 2017). Another interviewee said that she has friends in Accra, which is why she aspires to migrate there as well, so she can work as a kayayei. Hence, social contacts can increase moving in a small context like visiting a nearby place or in a large context like potentially migrating to the south.

Another feature which can increase spatial mobility is economic support by family members. One girl mentioned that she got a bicycle from her family, which increased her opportunities to move around the villages.
Further, some female non-migrants explained that their family members support them financially and pay for their formal education. This can have a facilitating, but also a restrictive influence on their mobility. The opportunities to obtain a formal education can enable female non-migrants to visit schools in neighbor cities. Like this, they have the possibility to go to another city and meet people from other villages.

Moreover, education opportunities can lead non-migrants to socially move in an upward direction, as education can enable individuals to get the chance to work in a desired profession and hence, improve future perspectives. This was shown as some participants explained that their future aspirations were, for instance, becoming a nurse, a teacher or a doctor.

However, education can decrease spatial mobility as some interviewees explained that they do not want to go to the south since they have the chance to obtain formal education in their home region. The quote which was already mentioned in chapter four underlies this argument: "That she goes to school that's why she didn't went." (Mariam*, 2017). Therefore, financial support in form of paying for schooling fees can increase spatial, as well as social mobility, but can also decrease the likelihood to move to the south.

A further aspect how social networks have the potential to decrease movement opportunities are mobility restrictions. Some respondents stated that their parents forbid them to leave the village and that this is a reason why they do not go to the south to work. Parental mobility restrictions can be connected to social responsibilities towards the family. One girl, for example, said that she has to help her mother in the village. She is the last girl of her family in the village left and her mother restricts her to leave.

Thus, social networks can have positive, but also negative impacts on female non-migrants' mobility possibilities. The influence of movement opportunities on social networks, however, seems to be rather small. One example can be that the chances for females to visit a school in a neighbor village enable them to get to know new people from other villages and hence, expand their social networks.

It appeared that economic support from members of non-migrants' social networks can have positive, as well as negative influences on their mobility opportunities. Decreasing factors on movement are parental mobility restrictions and social responsibility towards family members. An increasing factor is having contacts in the village and in the city. This can be in a small context by visiting people in neighbor villages or in a large context by having the
aspiration to follow friends or family to the city. Mobility possibilities can have an expanding impact on social networks as they provide the occasion to meet people in other villages.

Figure 11: The interrelation of social networks and possibilities for mobility of female non-migrants

Male Non-migrants
The interviews with male non-migrants have shown that there exist an interrelation between social networks and possibilities for mobility. Social networks can have decreasing, but also increasing effects on movement opportunities of male non-migrants. An example of this ambivalent impact can be economic support of family members. One interviewee made clear that his parents had given him a bicycle which provides him with the potential to move around the villages more easily.

Furthermore, one interviewee mentioned that his brother is a business man who always provides the family with money. He stated that he had recently been to Tamale and that his brother had paid for his travel cost.

Other participants explained that their parents pay for their schooling fees, which increase their small-scale spatial mobility. Schooling enables non-migrants to obtain education in nearby cities or villages. This allows them to visit these places regularly and move around.
Moreover, it also gives non-migrants the chance to move socially upward by getting educated and hence, get a good future perspective.

Nevertheless, economic support can also decrease the likelihood of movement. Some respondents stated that their parents pay for their schooling fees and that they do not want to leave their home region, as their only goal is to get educated.

In addition, social responsibility is a factor which can increase and decrease spatial mobility. One person clarified that he has never migrated since his parents limit him to leave since they need his help at home. Hence, his social responsibility towards family members restricts him to leave the village.

Nevertheless, social responsibility can have increasing effects on mobility as well. Ahmed* told that in his home region he has opportunities to move around because he lives with his household head. The head of his family had given him responsibility, which increases his movements. He explained: "if there is a [mumbles] ceremony the family member can not go by himself or herself will send you." (Ahmed*, 2017). Hence, if the head of his family cannot attend a meeting or something else, he would send Ahmed*, which increases his movements.

Another factor which can increase the likelihood to move is having contacts in other villages and cities. One interviewee told that he had visited Accra and Kumasi because he has family and friends there. One other respondent told that his uncle lives in Tamale and allows him to live with him during his school holidays. He explains: "When it is time for vacation I come to Tamale. There is one work with vodafone. I am going there." (Ibrahim*, 2017) This possibility enables him to work in Tamale, which can lead to upward mobility due to earning money during the school holidays.

The above-mentioned factors do not stand alone, but complement each other. One male non-migrant explained that he had gone to Tamale in the morning because he had been send by his grandfather. Furthermore, he said that he has family there and that he had the opportunity to go because the money had been provided by his brother. Hereby, the facilitating factors of knowing people in the city, being send by a family member and being economically supported by another family member played a role for this movement. "I told you that I went to Tamale this morning. I went there. We have a family there and I was send by my grandfather. It was Abubakar* who gave us money to go there." (Ahmed*, 2017).

The interrelation of social networks and mobility potential is bidirectional as possibilities for movement can have an expanding effect on social networks as well. An increased mobility in form of regularly visiting a school in a nearby city can expand their social networks as they get the opportunity to meet new people from other villages.
Overall, it emerged that their social networks have a high impact on movement potential, but the impact of their possibilities for mobility on their social networks is rather small.

It was demonstrated that the social networks of male non-migrants interrelate with their possibilities for mobility. An increasing factor can be having contacts in the city or another village as this enhance the likelihood to go there. Besides, it became evident that economic support and social responsibility are both aspects, which can have positive or negative effects on mobility. It also appeared that possibilities for mobility have a potential expanding effect on social networks as for instance, visiting a school in a different city enabled some participants to meet new people.

![Diagram showing the interrelation of social networks and possibilities for mobility of male non-migrants]

Figure 12: The interrelation of social networks and possibilities for mobility of male non-migrants

It was shown that the interrelationship of social networks and mobility opportunities of male non-migrants is very similar to the one of their female counterparts. It appeared that in both groups economic support can either be seen as a positive or negative effect on the potential to move. Further, it was shown that having contacts in a different place can increase movement and that parental mobility restrictions have a negative influence on mobility. However, social
responsibility has decreasing effects on female non-migrants' mobility, but can either restrict and enhance male non-migrants' movements. In addition, mobility opportunities were in both groups identified as having an expanding impact on social networks.

**Female Returnees**

During the interviews with female returnees it was noticeable that their social networks and movement opportunities demonstrated an interrelation. It was shown that economic responsibility can increase their mobility potential. First of all, it can be a motivational factor for girls to move to the south. One girl clarified that she travels to the south to help with the household expenses.

Secondly, it can also increases spatial mobility in a smaller context. One respondent, for instance, mentioned that she traveled to Savelugu to buy clothes which she aims to sell in order to earn money. "Okay that recently she went to Savelugu [...] It's a town close by. She went to Savelugu and bought some of the clothes that she sell." (Fulera*, 2017). She chose to buy clothes in Savelugu because a friend of her introduced her to the women who sells these clothes. Hence, her travel to Savelugu was influenced by a contact person who introduced the women to each other. This respondent might have the opportunity to move socially upwards since she has the possibility to improve her livelihood due to economic activity.

One factor which can facilitate the migration process is having contacts in the city. Some interviewees stated that they had gone with family members to the south, who were assisting their settlement by, for instance, providing an accommodation.

Further, some interviewees clarified that after their first migration, it was easy to return back to the city since they tend to stay with the same people and work for the same employees. "So, she said that when she comes home and go back the room that she used to live in Accra her friends are there. So, when she is going, she is going back to the same room and whatever trade she was involved in. When she goes back she goes to continue with that same trade. She doesn't change." (Rukaya*, 2017). Hence, it emerged that having contacts in the city can facilitate the migration and also the re-migration process. Knowing people in the city or a neighbor village can also increase spatial movement in a small context. Some girls explained that they know people in close by villages who they visit sometimes.

Another factor which can increase movement is getting the permission of family members (in particular by their mothers). Some respondents said that they ask for consent before migrating and when the permission is granted they leave. Two respondents even clarified that they got some financial support - one in form of a bus ticket and the other one in form of money.
Nonetheless, this can also result in a mobility restriction as some interviewees mentioned that they would like to return to the city, but their husbands forbid it. Hence, mobility restrictions by husbands decrease the likelihood to migrate.

Another aspect which can diminish the female returnees' mobility is their sense of belonging towards the village. Some interviewees stated that they had decided to return because they had missed their home. Overall, it emerged that social networks have a particular impact on their mobility possibilities.

However, the interviews also showed that movement of female returnees to the south can expand their social networks. Some interviewees told that they had gotten to know new people in the city after they had migrated. These new acquaintances tend to be from the Northern Region as well and are often even from the same villages.

Further, some participants mentioned that they had met people who are from neighboring villages, who they sometimes visit. Hence, their migration to the south had expanded their social networks and this expansion had increased their mobility to other neighboring villages.

Moreover, some respondents clarified that every time they return to the city they get to know new people. Thus, their networks expand whenever they go back to the urban south. It appeared that there exist a type of solidarity towards people from their own village. One girl clarified that she did not know anybody before she had migrated to the south, however, she just went to Accra and asked where people from her village had settled. After a while, this girl was guided to the people from her village, who later accommodated her.

It was evident that social networks of female returnees can increase or decrease their mobility potential. Facilitating factors can be economic responsibility, having contacts in the city and or village, feeling of solidarity towards people from the home village and parental or husbands' permission. Possible limitations can be missing their home and mobility restrictions of their husbands. Their mobility possibilities can have an enhancing impact on their social networks. Firstly, because their movements to the south can enable them to meet new people from different places. Secondly, because returning to the city often results in getting to know new people.
The conducted interviews showed that there exist an interrelation between social networks and possibilities for mobility of female returnees. However, it seems that this interrelation differs from the one identified of female non-migrants.

It emerged that social networks of female returnees tend to facilitate their movement and the social networks of non-migrants rather restrict their mobility. However, female non-migrants and returnees have both to face mobility restrictions, whereas the mobility restrictions of non-migrants come from their parents and the one of returnees come from their husbands.

The female non-migrants are more likely to obtain economic support which can increase but also decrease their movements. Female returnees also obtain some financial support, however, this support seemed rather small. Yet, they have the tendency to provide economic support, which can be identified as one motivation to move to the south.

Both target groups stated that having contacts in the city or village can have positive impacts on their mobility. Participants from both target groups mentioned that they visit people in other villages and that having contacts in the south has a facilitating effect on the migration process. Nevertheless, the returnees said it out of experience and some non-migrants explained that they aspire to go somewhere where they know people.
The female non-migrants tend to obtain formal education, which facilitate their movement around their home region, but prevent a migration down south. It seems that mobility opportunities of female returnees have a larger enhancing effect on their social networks compared to non-migrants, as they tend to expand their networks every time when they move south. Nonetheless, in both groups it emerged that movement in general, enables individuals to expand their social networks.

**Male Returnees**

Sharif* is a 30 year old guy from Tampion. The first time he migrated to Accra he was 18 years old. He knew some people there, but travelled alone. After arriving in Accra, he asked where the people from his village live. "When he went to Accra he asked where the Tampion people settled. Where they are and he was directed." In Accra, he started working as a scrap dealer with the help of another guy working in this profession. "There was one who was already dealing in the scrap business, so when I went there I was accompanying him wherever he was going we go together." He stated that his friends in Accra support him a lot. "When I go there first they will accommodate me. And the second is.. they will feed me. Sometimes they even loan me some money for me to start my own. Because if they give you money for you to start your own you feed yourself you accommodate yourself and you pay back that money. And sometimes they give you the money free." He also explained that every time when he returns to Accra he calls his friends, who always support him with.

The interviews with the male returnees illustrated that there exist an interrelation between their mobility possibilities and social networks. One factor which can increase the potential to move around and to migrate to another place is having contacts in a city or neighbor village. Some respondents, like Sharif* told that they had already known someone before migrating to their destination city. These people had helped the respondents after arriving in the city. Those contacts were supportive by providing a job and accommodation. "When I went to Accra Mohammad* was who accommodating me. He was feeding me. He even loan me some money to start the scrap business." (Karim*, 2017).

This mobility facilitating effect of having contacts elsewhere was also seen in a smaller context. One interviewee stated that he and his friends visit each other in neighbor communities. Hence, having contacts in different places can have an increasing effect on mobility in a small and large context.
Further, a factor which can simplify the migration process to the south is the feeling of solidarity between people from the same village, which was already indicated in the previous chapter. One respondent clarified that when he had arrived in the city, he had been looking for persons from his village and had even stayed with those people.

Another aspect which can facilitate movement to the city is economic and social support of family members. One participant explained that, before moving to the city, he told his parents about his plans and they agreed and gave him money. The same person also mentioned that he remitted money back to his parents after he had earned some.

Moreover, social responsibility can have a negative effect on migration. One respondent stated that he does not plan to return to Accra because he has too much to do in the village due to household responsibilities. Yet, he said that it increases the movement within his home area, as he has, for example, to bring food to his brother in Tamale.

Hence, social responsibility can increase, but also decrease possibilities for mobility. Increased movement through social responsibility in form of attending a wedding or a social gathering can lead to meeting new people. One interviewee explained that he had gotten to know some of his friends through these kind of occasions. Thus, a growing social responsibility can lead to an increasing movement within the home area and this can lead to an expansion of their social networks. Movement in a bigger context can also lead to an growth of their social networks as some respondents clarified that they always meet new people when they re-migrate to the south.

Social networks of male returnees tend to have almost just positive influences on their mobility possibilities. Facilitating factors can be economic responsibility, parental permissions, economic support, feeling of solidarity and contacts in the city. The only factor which might decrease their movement are social responsibilities. It was shown that their social networks have a big impact on their potential for mobility, but not as much the other way around. However, movement to the city, but also within the home region can have an expanding impact on their social networks.
The interviews with male and female returnees showed some similarities and differences in terms of the interrelation of their social networks and mobility opportunities. In both groups it emerged that economic responsibility, feeling of solidarity, parental (or husband's) permission and having contacts in the city can have an increasing effect on their movements. However, female returnees seem to face more mobility restrictions as some interviewees mentioned that they stay in their village since they need the allowance of their husbands if they want to re-migrate.

In both groups it appeared that their movements enabled them to get to know more people and that some, when they return to the city, tend to expand their networks each time.

The interrelation of possibilities for mobility and social networks of male returnees and non-migrants differ from each other. Similarities are that both target groups benefit from contacts in the city or a neighboring village and that social responsibility can have a facilitating and decreasing impact on their mobility. In general, male returnees tend to have social networks which facilitate and increase their mobility and male non-migrants are more likely to face mobility restrictions. However, it appeared that male non-migrants are more likely to improve their social mobility and male returnees tend to increase their large-scale spatial mobility.
Summary

Overall, it was demonstrated that each group showed different interrelations of their social networks and mobility potential. In every group it was shown that having contacts in another village or city has an increasing effect on their movements. Nevertheless, returnees, in particular males, seemed to be influenced by more facilitating factors regarding their mobility than non-migrants. Their movements are facilitated by parental permissions, economic responsibility, economic support and feeling of solidarity. Female returnees tend to face a lot of mobility increasing aspects as well, such as economic responsibility, parental permissions and feeling of solidarity. However, they seem to be more affected by mobility decreasing factors than their male counterparts like mobility restrictions from their husbands.

Non-migrants, in general, tend to face more movement declining factors like mobility restrictions. They are also influenced by factors which can either decrease or increase their mobility like economic support. Social responsibility is for female non-migrants a mobility limiting factor and in the male non-migrants group a facilitating and at the same time decreasing aspect. For male returnees, social responsibility was also seen as an increasing and decreasing factor.

For female, as well as male returnees, mobility opportunities can expand their social networks. First of all, as their travels to the south enable them to get to know people from other places. Secondly, when they return to the city they tend to meet new people.

In the non-migrant group, this influence seemed to be less visible and mainly related to visiting a neighboring place. In every target group, it was evident that their social networks have a bigger impact on their mobility opportunities than the other way around. Hence the argument that social networks have a higher impact on the possibilities for mobility than vice versa was confirmed.

6.3 Discussion

Hitwatari (2016) indicated that social networks can reduce the risk of migration since social networks have the potential to simplify migration processes. This was also shown during the conducted interviews with the returnees. Some respondents stated that they had contacts in the south before migrating and that those contacts helped them to move.

Further, Hagan (1998) stated that social networks can impact migration as social networks can influence the decision-making process and also the migrant's settlement. This was also demonstrated during the interviews, as some returnees stated that permission of family members, financial support or by having contacts in a destination place has facilitated their
migration process. This was also displayed during the interviews with non-migrants as some interviewees explained that they aim to follow their friends to the city in the nearer future. Awumbila et al. (2016) mentioned that social networks can facilitate the migration process. Contacts in the city can help prospective migrants to find a job, to settle and/or to give information about the destination area. This was also shown during the interviews with the returnees. Some of the interviewees clarified that they had followed family members or friends to the south and that these contacts had helped them to find a job, accommodation or supported them with money. Yet, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, female returnees tend to also find jobs by themselves.

Further, Kwankye et al. (2009) indicated that more females than males self finance their migration. This was also shown during the interviews. Even though, two females stated that they got some financial support for their migration, this support seemed rather small, for instance in form of a bus ticket.

This chapter served to answer the main research question: How do social networks of young (less than 36 years old) returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the northern region in Ghana interrelate with their possibilities for mobility? It was shown that there existed an interrelation between social networks and the potential for mobility in every examined group. However, every interrelation demonstrated a different characterization.

In each target group it became clear that contacts in the city or in another village can have an increasing effect on their mobility. However, returnees, in particular male returnees, tend to face more mobility increasing factors than non-migrants. The non-migrants seemed to face more restrictive aspects. It became visible that non-migrants are less mobile than returnees. The influence of mobility possibilities on social network seem to be more visible in the returnee group than in the non-migrant group. Yet, this influences seem minor compared to the influences which their social networks have on their movement.
7.1 Conclusions
In Ghana, people migrate from the north to the south with the aim of improving their livelihood possibilities. Hereby, prospective migrants, but also returnees and non-migrants are often influenced by actors from their social networks. The main aim of this research was to get an in-depth understanding on the interrelation of mobility possibilities and social networks of young returnees and non-migrants in the Northern Region of Ghana.

The first empirical chapter considered the sub-question: *Which are the driving factors for young people to migrate to the urban south or to stay in the rural north of Ghana?* It appeared that young Ghanaians are influenced by different factors regarding their decision-making process whether to leave the village or not. The key insight of the first empirical chapter was that education has a particular impact on the interviewed Ghanaians' decisions to migrate or to stay. It was shown that education can determine the future opportunities of Ghanaians in the villages in the rural north. The possibility to obtain a formal education seems to be dependent on the individuals' social networks since family members often decide to send a young person to school and also tend to provide the schooling fees.

Further, Tsegai (2005) indicated that high poverty levels in the northern regions impact people to make the choice to leave to the urban south, as the city provides more working opportunities. This was also demonstrated in the conducted interviews since participants stated that one of the main reasons to go to the south are job opportunities in the informal sector. Some returnees explained that they aimed to earn money, so they can buy goods or remit money back home.

It emerged that the interviewed returnees tend to not have good job perspectives in the villages due to their lack of formal education. Some respondents mentioned that the decision to leave the village was impacted by perceiving schooling as too difficult. Further, some returnees explained that they have no job opportunities in their home region, especially in the dry season. On the contrary, the interviewed non-migrants seem to be well educated and tend to have better future perspectives in the villages. Besides they seem to have high future aspirations, like becoming a doctor, a business man or a nurse. It came into view, that
education, but also social responsibilities are the main reasons why non-migrants decide to stay in their home area.

In the non-migrant group, as well as in the returnee group similar tendencies regarding their decision-making processes were shown, independently from their gender. However, in both groups females were shown to have lower future aspirations, than their male counterparts. Besides, they seem to face more social responsibilities, such as helping in the household.

Hagan (1998) has indicated that social networks of individuals can have an impact on their decision-making process of migration. This was also demonstrated during the conducted interviews. Some participants told that they had known someone in the city before migrating, which had an influence on their decision. These contacts often facilitated their migration process by taking them along to the city, helping with finding an accommodation and in some cases finding a job opportunity. Further, some returnees explained that they moved to the south because their family approved their decision to leave and some family members even provided financial support.

Overall, the interviews have shown that education have large impacts on the decision-making process of the interviewed young Ghanaians to leave or to stay their home region. Further, social networks have influences on those decisions as well, by either having contacts in the city, financial support, social responsibilities or by making the decision to send the young individuals to school.

The second empirical chapter looked at the sub-question: Which actors are involved and particularly important in the returnees and non-migrants' social networks? The key insight of this chapter was that social networks of every target group (female non-migrants, female returnees, male non-migrants, male returnees) show particular characteristics. Even though it was in every group demonstrated that friends and family members are significant actors in the interviewees social networks, the role of those differed, depending on the target group.

The interviewed returnees have shown that friends are particularly important. Some returnees explained that they live with friends when they are in their destination place and that they support each other a lot, socially and economically. Non-migrants seem to have a close relationship with their friends as well, as some interviewed non-migrants stated that they call each other and visit each other often. However, it seemed that female returnees have a closer relationship to their friends, than their non-migrant counterparts as they provide economic support to each other. Non-migrants and their friends also tend to support each other, but
rather socially than economically. It emerged that in all target groups females tend to have mainly female friends and males tend to have mainly male friends.
In addition, it appeared that non-migrants face a particular impact by family members. Their families seem to influence their decisions, such as going to school or staying in the village. Further, female non-migrants tend to take over social responsibilities, such as cooking, fetching water and cleaning. The returnees seem to be affected by their families as well, as some participants mentioned that they ask for parental permissions before leaving and some also received financial support.
In the academic discourse Awumbila et al. (2016) suggested that migrants from the northern regions rely rather on their friends than on their family members (ibid.). Nevertheless, during the interviews it appeared that females tend to mainly depend on their family members while migrating. Males, however, did not show a tendency as they seem to either rely on friends, family or other acquaintances - one respondent, for instance, lived with the friend of his father and another one with his Arabic teacher in the destination. These findings, however, could be solely a coincidental result depending on the respondents compilation of this research.
Awumbila et al. (2016) indicated that social networks could support prospective migrants by giving information about the destination area, providing financial support and helping to find a job. This also emerged during the interviews as some returnees explained that they had contacts in the city who supported their migration process. Yet, some female returnees said that they found their jobs by themselves.
Apart from friends and family, it was evident that other actors are significant as well. The interviews with non-migrants have shown that teachers are important in their life, as some respondents told that their teachers provide advice. Further, female returnees with a child tend to be reliant on actors of their social networks since they need someone to look after their children while working. It was shown that employees or family members like the aunt or sister can take over this role. Moreover, if married, female returnees seem to be dependent on their husbands, as they have the power to decide for their wives whether to stay in the village or to leave.

The third empirical chapter regarded the main research-question: *How do social networks of young (less than 36 years old) returnees and non-migrants in the rural parts of the Northern Region in Ghana interrelate with their possibilities for mobility?* The key insight of this empirical chapter was that social networks have major impacts on mobility possibilities of the young interviewed Ghanaians since social networks can either restrict or facilitate potential
movements. However, mobility has an effect on social networks as well, as opportunities to move to another place enable people to meet new individuals. Yet, this influence is minor compared to the impact of social networks on mobility possibilities.

Overall, it emerged that every target group (female non-migrants, male non-migrants, female returnees, male returnees) demonstrated interrelations between social networks and mobility possibilities. However, these interrelations were shown to be distinctive, depending on the participants. It was shown that in each group having contacts in a different place has the potential to increase mobility potential. On a small scale, it was pointed out that knowing friends or family members in a neighbor village or city simplifies opportunities to travel. Some interviewees mentioned that they visit neighbor places in order to greet people they know. On a large scale, it appeared that having contacts in the urban south can facilitate movement in form of migration. Contacts in the city can support potential migrants in form of providing accommodation or taking them along to the city. This was also indicated by Awumbila et al. (2016) who stated that social networks can facilitate migration.

The groups that faced many increasing factors towards an improved spatial mobility were returnees since actors in their social networks tend to support and enhance their movements. In particular, male returnees face the most facilitating aspects. Their non-migrant counterparts seem to be less mobile in terms of large scale movements. Female non-migrants tend to be affected by the most decreasing factors towards their spatial mobility, such as parental mobility restrictions and social responsibility. However, due to their educational possibilities interviewed non-migrants tend to have the potential to move socially upward. Educated non-migrants seem to have opportunities to get a good job after finishing their education. Yet, there are also exceptions as not all non-migrants follow an education. One female non-migrant, for instance, stayed in her village due to social responsibility and not because of education. She seems to be very immobile and has not a lot of opportunities to visit neighbour villages.

Economic support can have positive, but also negative impacts on spatial movements. Economic support can increase the likelihood to move by financing the migration process or schooling. Schooling, on the one hand, increases mobility as it enables young people to go to neighbor villages for obtaining formal education. On the other hand, it potentially prevents young people to move to the south as respondents stated that they do not want to leave due to their education.

The male and female non-migrants tend to face similar restrictive and facilitating impacts on their mobility and hence, seem to show a similar interrelation between their mobility
opportunities and social networks. Nevertheless, the influence of social responsibility is one factor which differs between both groups. For female non-migrants it has just a negative influence on their mobility. For male non-migrants, however, it does not just decrease, but has also the potential to increase movements, as it can enable individuals to visit other villages due to responsibility duties.

Female returnees face many mobility facilitating aspects, such as obtaining parental permission, having economic responsibility and feeling of solidarity. Nonetheless, female returnees, if married tend to be restricted by their husbands. Male returnees face similar enhancing factors, whereas their only possible restrictive factor is social responsibility, which can be as well an increasing factor.

This research has shown that the interviewed Ghanaians tend to have strong ties within their social networks. They interact a lot with family members and friends, and impact each other economically and/or socially. It appeared that the relations of the conceptual model, which were presented in chapter 2 were also displayed during the interviews. It was pointed out, that social networks potentially influence the interviewees' decision-making processes whether to leave or to stay in the village. Further, the decision-making process determines, if people migrate and hence, has an influence on the migration stream. Moreover, migrating has the potential to expand social networks of involved actors, as it was shown that mobility opportunities can expand social networks - the more a person moves around, the more possibilities the person has to meet new people. In addition, social networks have an influence on migration processes, since it was shown that contacts in the city can support migrants before, during and after their movements to the urban south. It also came into view, that social networks, the decision-making process and migration show all particularities depending on their gender.

With this research I aspired to add something to the academic discourse about north-south migration in Ghana. I hope that my focus on returnees and non-migrants could be a possible contribution as scholars, like Kwankye (2011) and Adaawen and Owusu (2013) who regard internal migration within Ghana mainly focus on migrants rather than on returnees or non-migrants. This is why, I wish to show a new perspective on the north-south migration issue. Awumbila et al. (2016) explained that there is still more examination needed on the role of social networks during the migration process. Therefore, I hope that the research on the role
and characteristics of social networks and mobility possibilities will show to be a relevant addition.

It seems that scholars (Hiwatari, 2012; Massey et al., 1987; Sagynbekova, 2016) examine the linkage between migration and social networks, but they tend to leave out the link between small scale mobility and social networks. With this research I hope to show a possible new perspective on this topic.

7.2 Critical Reflections
During conducting this research I faced some challenges, which are reflected in this sub-chapter.

One of the main problems was finding an adequate research question and sub-questions as narrowing down the topic, in order to find a relevant research theme was problematic for me. Initially, I intended to focus on internal child migrants in Ghana, which proved itself as not being possible to follow. Even though, I conducted some interviews with children, I could sense that they feel very uncomfortable talking to me and just gave very short responses. This is why, I decided to change the focus of my research to young Ghanaians up to 35 years, as I could have more fruitful interviews with this target group.

Further, it was challenging to separate non-migrants and returnees clearly from each other. At times, I was brought together with a non-migrant and during the interview it would become apparent that this person has already lived in a close by city out of educational reasons. Nonetheless, I made the decision to keep these participants in the non-migrant group as they were apparently perceived as non-migrants. Besides, they also have never left their home region with the intention of working in another city.

Another problem regarded my time management. During my fieldwork, as well as afterwards, I realized that my initial time plan was difficult to follow. Before starting I set a very intense and over-ambitious time frame as I underestimated the amount of time I would need to elaborate all my findings in a profound way. However, I am convinced that taking more time than planned for my fieldwork and post-processing was valuable for me since I have learned a lot during the different processes of my thesis elaboration.

7.3 Recommendations
It appeared that young people often leave their home region due to missing job perspectives in the north. People, who made the decision to migrate, tend to not having obtained any formal
education and lacking job opportunities, in particular, in the dry season. Therefore, young people decide to go to the south, in order to earn money. Local NGO's, but also governmental actors could focus on creating working opportunities in the Northern Region. They could organize small workshops in which young people could learn useful handcrafts like tailoring or building music instruments. Especially young girls often do not obtain any formal education. Further, they tend to have too many household responsibilities, so they do not have enough time to study for their education. It would be important to inform families in the villages on how essential formal education can be in the long run, so they might support their children to obtain education. Local NGO's could try to explain the importance of education to people living in the villages. In addition, during the interviews it emerged that bicycles can enhance young people's mobility within their villages. Having a bicycle can bring an improvement, as it offers more opportunities to visit family members or friends in other villages. Local NGO's could try to provide villages with old bicycles, if they have some available. Besides, they could also create workshops in which villagers learn how to fix bicycles appropriately.

This research showed that rural-urban movement can have positive consequences for Ghanaians. Many young people with no perspectives in the villages use migration as a strategy to enhance their livelihood. The north-south movement enables Ghanaians to earn money in the south, which some use to buy goods or remit to their home village. Hence, it is important to focus on improving life situations and infrastructure in the urban south. One approach could be to provide migrants with basic English courses since many people from the north are not able to communicate in any other language than their own local one. With the knowledge of English they might have more working possibilities in the south and could improve their life in a bigger context. Furthermore, it would be essential to provide migrants with secure, hygienic and affordable accommodation in order to decrease any potential physical danger.

7.4 Future Research

The interviewed non-migrants seem to have high future aspiration due to their formal education. They stay in the Northern Region due to job opportunities or the continuation of their education. Future research should focus further investigation on non-migrants with no formal education and without any possibilities to leave their village. It would be relevant to understand how this group of non-migrants uses their social networks and who takes over a particular role in restricting their mobility.
Further, Awumbila et. al. (2016) indicated that migrants from northern Ghana mainly rely on their friends while migrating. Nevertheless, in my research a different tendency became visible since female returnees seemed to solely depend on family members in their migration process. However, as I used a qualitative approach and only interviewed a limited number of people, this finding might be coincidental. Hence, quantitative research could potentially shed more light on the form, as well as the involved actors of young migrants' social networks in Ghana.

My research showed that there are gender-related differences in the social networks, decision-making processes and mobility possibilities of young Ghanaians. Future research should further illuminate gender perspectives within this context, in particular the role of female emancipation in a rural context. The conducted interviews showed that some women associate migration with 'freedom'. Besides, female returnees explained that they aspire to return to the city. However, some were not allowed to go back because of mobility restrictions from their husbands. It would be relevant to investigate how migration has an influence on the role of women in the villages in the Northern Region.

During the interviews of my research it became apparent that some females appeared to not have a close relationship with their husbands and seemed to be subordinate to their them. However, one female appeared to have a close relationship with her husband. It could be interesting to further investigate relationship dynamics in marriages in the rural north.

7.5 Limitations and Suggestions for Improvement

Concerning the used methodology, it would have been good to conduct longer interviews with the respondents and put a bigger focus on the name generator method. I should have asked the interviewees to state the first and last name of the different actors involved in their social networks. This would have been helpful in order to understand connecting points between different interviewees.

During the method of the reflexive photography some participants took pictures of mosques within the villages. However, the importance of their religion was mostly not shown in the interviews. Even though some respondents stated that they have learned some Arabic, solely one guy explained that he left to the south with the aim of attending an Arabic school, so he can follow his religion more intensely. It would have been desirable, to ask more questions about the role of religion in the interviewees life and if this role has changed during their migration.
Further, it would have been preferable, to go more into depth regarding the characterization and form of young Ghanaian's social networks. It would have been nice to research more about their responsibilities towards other family members and friends and also about their role in the household and how they perceive their role. Moreover, it would have been desirable, to further examine how young Ghanaian's recognize the influences of their social networks on their life.

In the discussions of the three empirical chapters, I mainly used literature containing a Ghanaian context. It would have been preferable to have used more general academic literature while comparing the empirical findings. I used, in particular, the article of Awumbila, Teye, & Yaro (2016) as it regarded social networks and migration in Ghana. Therefore, it was an important article for my research. However, it would have been preferable, to consider more distinctive literature in the empirical chapters.

This study can be biased due to the participants experiences and my personal perceptions. However, I intended to minimize these biases by conducting interviews directly with respondents in the villages. Moreover, I tried to limit the potential of biases by conducting the expert interview with the Senior Research Officer from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in Ghana after finishing my field work and discuss my findings with him.

This mentioned expert interview had shown that girls decide to move to the south in order to avoid early child marriage. None of the females had mentioned this as a reason. Moreover, the expert interview has also shown that young people are sometimes pushed by family members to move to the south. However, this was not shown during my interviews neither. It would have been preferable, to put a focus on this aspect in the interviews as well. However, this topic might have been avoided by the participants since this is a sensitive topic.
Literature


Appendix 1

Interview Questions - Returnees

Note: This is solely the guideline. The interview questions differ in every interview depending on the connection with the interviewee, the interview flow and the atmosphere. In every interview I added additional questions in order to go more into depth, but sometimes I also left some questions out.

Interviewee information
What is your name?
How old are you?

Before migrating
Have you ever migrated?
How old were you?
Where did you go to?
How many times did you go to the city?
Why did you decide to go to the city?
Did your family support you?
Did you go to school back then?
Did you know people in the destination?
If yes: How did they support you?
If no: Was it difficult to migrate alone?

In destination
What did you do there?
With who did you live?
Did you support each other?
Did you keep contact with your family in the village?
Did you like it in the city?
Was it sometimes difficult?
Why did you decide to return?

After returning
Why did you decide to return?
Do you have contact with the people you met in Accra?
Are you planning to go back to the city?
If yes, will you stay and work with the same people?

Social network analysis
Who is important to you and why?
How have you met them?

Reflexive photography
What do you miss while being in the city and why?
Interview Questions - Non-migrants

Note: This is solely the guideline. The interview questions differ in every interview depending on the connection with the interviewee, the interview flow and the atmosphere. In every interview I added additional questions in order to go more into depth, but sometimes I also left some questions out.

Interviewee information
What is your name?
How old are you?

Life situation in the village
Have you ever migrated?
Why not?
What do you do in the village?
Do you go to school?
If yes, who supports you?
If no, why not?
If no, did you go to school?
If no, what is your occupation?
With who do you live?
Do you visit neighbor places?
If yes, why and how?
If not, why not?

Aspirations
Do you know people in the city?
Do you also want to go?
If yes, why?
If yes, would your family support you?
If no, why not?
Do you have contact to people in the city?
What are your aspirations for the future?

Social network analysis
Who is important to you and why?
How have you met them?

Reflexive photography
What do you like about this village and why?
Appendix 2

Field Notes

Ziong was the first village I visited. I went there with Dr. Francis Jarawura (my contact person in Tamale), my male translator Yaya and my driver Ghanew. After arriving in this place, I realized immediately the nice and calm atmosphere and the friendliness of the people. I could also feel the poorness, as the children looked malnourished and the people, in general, were wearing dirty clothes. After arriving, we introduced ourselves to one sub-chief of the village, who is a very friendly, elderly man who could not speak any English except the obligatory 'welcome'. We brought him tea as a welcome present and he offered us in exchange pure water (little plastic sachets of water). After we explained him our aspiration, he approved it and called a young man who would be our resource person for the following days and who would help us organizing the interviews. The first day started with two focus group interviews, one with females and one with males. On the following days, I would return with my translators. Yaya, translated the interviews with the male participants and Albertina, the sister of Francis, accompanied me to the interviews with females.

Tampion was the second village I visited. Tampion seemed very big compared to Ziong and also the atmosphere did not seem as friendly, open and calm. After we arrived in Tampion for the first time, we had problems to find a person who could show us how to find the chief of the village. Yaya knew fortunately a man who lives in this village and after Yaya phoned him, he came and helped us to find a place where we could introduce ourselves to the chief of the village. He brought us to a small roofless hut out of mud where we waited for a responsible person. After a while a small group of men arrived and we introduced ourselves to the group. The group consisted, among others, of some sub-chiefs of Tampion. After we shared some cola nuts we were granted allowance to conduct some interviews in this village. Two of the sub-chiefs, two elderly reserved men, were our resource people for that time.

Zaazi was the third and last village I visited during my interviews. My first impression of Zaazi was that it seem richer and cleaner than Tampion and Ziong. After we arrived in Zaazi, we had to ask some people who is responsible in this village. An old lady told us to wait and that she would send someone to bring a responsible person who would talk to us. After we waited for a while, a young, nice man appeared who brought us to the chief of the village. We
met him very briefly and he allowed us to conduct interviews in his village. After meeting him the resource person for this village showed us proudly toilets they had built in collaboration with a local NGO. They were holes in the ground with a privacy shield out of straw. To me, Zaazi seemed cleaner than the other villages I have seen before. Besides, the people seemed more used to strangers coming to the village, as they were not as curious about us as I had perceived it in the other villages.

After returning from the Northern Region, I decided to supplement my fieldwork with interviews and observations in Agbogbloshie. I aspired to sense the living atmosphere there and get an impression about the differences between the market and the villages. Agbogbloshie has a negative reputation as the people living and working there are very poor. I was not aware of the extend of this negative reputation until I had finished my fieldwork there. After approximately one week, I got two requests from two different women who wanted to go there as well and if I could give some advice. One woman wanted to conduct interviews for an article and another one wanted to write a blog entry about it. Both females told me that they were warned about visiting Agbogboloshie. They were not sure about going there because they have heard it is very dangerous and one even wanted to be accompanied by a police escort. I was honestly surprised by that fear as the people I have met there were very friendly. I went to Agbogbloshie with a young man called Hamza who works at the art market in Accra and speaks fairly good English. He served as my translator during my fieldwork there. I went to the market, the electronic waste area and the housing area. My first impression of Agbogbloshie was dominated by the poor living and working condition. The people literally live on rubbish as most of them sleep, work and eat there. The whole area is very grey and dirty and has a bad smell. The people, however, were very friendly and happy that someone was interested in what they were doing. Whereas the males were more friendly and open than the females I interviewed. I had the feeling the females were more shy than the boys, but still friendly.