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**CHANGING MIGRATION PATTERNS IN AFRICA AND KNOWLEDGE
PRODUCTION: A RESEARCH AGENDA**

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INTRODUCTION

Migration is an enduring theme of human history and is considered one of the defining global issues of the twenty-first century, as more and more people are on the move today than at any other point in human history. There is growing recognition that migration is an essential and inevitable component of the economic and social life of every state, and that orderly and properly managed migration can be beneficial for both individuals and societies. In recent years, it has become an expanding field of scholarly enquiry and policy analysis. However, it has rarely been adequately contextualized and conceptualized.

In Africa, migration in general is largely informal and undocumented, making accurate data on the phenomenon extremely scant. This notwithstanding there is evidence of an increase in the wave of migration on the continent with little prospects for its abatement or reversal (Akokpari, 2000). These movements, which have increased considerably because of economic and technological developments, generate various forms of adaptation to new economic, political and

socio-cultural environments, including relations that are forged with the existing populations. Yet migration is not very often understood as a central element in the recomposition of human society. The conventional causes of migration including conflicts, political oppression, economic crises and environmental factors have in recent years been reinforced by globalization which unleashes fresh pressures that either facilitate or compound the seemingly unmanageable migration “problem” in Africa. Yet while globalization theoretically breaks down state borders facilitating free movement of goods and capital, developed countries are increasingly closing their borders to labour.

This paper explores migrations in Africa as movements defying national boundaries and existing concepts of borders and the nation-state, and seeks to analyse migration as an intrinsic part of broader processes of structural change instead of a problem to be solved. It focuses on West Africa using mainly Ghana as an example and draws on the experiences and challenges of the newly established Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana in knowledge generation for migration studies. It identifies knowledge gaps in the area of migration studies and makes suggestions for a new research agenda in Africa which would ensure that African voices are heard globally projecting their own knowledge and culture into the global arena.

MIGRATION IN AFRICA: PATTERNS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Africa’s migration history is both dynamic and complex, and present-day migration trends are deeply rooted in historical antecedents. The literature indicates that migration has always played a central role in livelihood and advancement strategies of both rural and urban populations in Africa. For example international migration within West Africa, and between the region and the

rest of the continent, dates back to time immemorial. The trans-Saharan caravan routes are among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars and religious clerics (Boahen 1966). Adepoju (1998, 2005) argues that before independence migration in West Africa resulted from wars between tribal groups over resources notably land, from natural disasters and from trading activities. Intra regional movements in Africa were therefore initially dominated by traders, fisherman, and nomadic farmers. Boahen (1966) argues that the arrival of Europeans on the West Coast in the 15th century however disrupted the traditional patterns of trade and movements and created new patterns of movement, first through the slave trade and later colonisation, within the sub-region and with the rest of the world. Adepoju (2005) argues that economic development policies of colonial governments had a strong influence on intercontinental migration during colonial times and immediately after independence in many African countries. With an often unstable political situation in most newly independent countries and with economic conditions deteriorating “waves of migration” resulted particularly of migrants and refugees seeking better living conditions elsewhere. The new dynamics that emerged continue to the present day.

By the 1980’s migration had become a coping strategy for individuals and families particularly In West Africa and migration especially to Europe and America had become one of the surest means of acquiring skills and also improving the living standards of both the skilled and unskilled labour force. By the mid 1990s, it was estimated that between two and four million Ghanaians, or 10 to 20 percent of Ghana's approximately 20 million people, were living abroad. Skilled workers and professionals dominated early flows from Ghana, but, by the 1980s, many semiskilled and unskilled workers chose to leave as well.

Empirical research from the African Migrations workshop (IMI / CMS, 2007), indicates that migration patterns on the African continent as elsewhere are characterized by a tremendous diversity. Although media and research focus is often on African migration to Europe, most migration takes place within the African continent and often to neighbouring countries within regions. Movements out of the continent continue to represent a small fraction of total migration. Many African countries are also immigrant receiving societies, and are confronted with similar issues on integration and diversity very similar to those, which are sometimes perceived as typically “Western” concerns.

Colonial and linguistic links are still very important in explaining migration patterns. Divides between French, English and Portuguese speaking countries still play a major role in determining the destinations of migrants, both within and outside the continent. Through migrant networks, such “colonial” migration patterns are often reproduced over generations. Thus despite a trend towards greater diversity, statistics from the Ghana Immigration Service for example shows that most migrations into or out of Ghana have involved only a few countries with special historical, cultural and geographic ties. African nationals currently form the majority of migrants in Ghana ranging from 51% to 76% between 1999 and 2002, while about 98% of the African migration has been within West Africa mainly involving countries with common boundaries, ethnic affiliation and common colonial history. ECOWAS protocol that allows free movement of population and goods also appears to account for the intra-regional flows within West Africa. Outside Africa, political and historical ties continue to influence the direction of Ghanaian migration flows. The UK forms the majority of European arrivals and departures in Ghana

(Twum-Baah, 2005). However this is changing. Increasingly the United States, Netherlands, Germany, Italy and other non EU countries are becoming important destination points for Ghanaians (OECD Migration Database 2005).

However, since the 1980s there has been a clear diversification of migration patterns within and from the continent away from migration patterns determined by colonial divisions. For instance, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Moroccans and Senegalese emigration has increasingly focused on countries outside their main language community. Intercontinental migrants have begun to go to countries other than the respective former colonizers. The OECD (2005) data shows that Ghanaians for example are increasingly moving to non English speaking European countries. In the same period, intra-African migration has undergone significant change as a consequence of the rise and fall of “African migration poles”. While countries such as Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria have lost much of their former position of major immigration countries, countries such as Libya, Gabon, South Africa, and Botswana have emerged as major migration destinations, attracting migrants from all over the continent. Within West Africa, Ghana is increasingly being seen as an attraction with several West African migrants especially professionals moving into Ghana.

Changing Destinations and Actors

However despite the dominance of migration within the continent, since the 1980s there has been growing regular and irregular migration from Africa to Europe, the Middle East, Asia, North America and beyond; for example, there is some evidence of new migrations from West Africa to Japan and Korea. There has also been growing migration towards Africa, such as the increasing numbers of Chinese settling across the continent and the development of retirement

migration from Europe into North Africa and in some instances in South Africa. An increasing number of West and East Africans have migrated to Southern Africa, such as Ghanaian, Nigerian and Ethiopian health workers now found in South Africa, and Botswana. Likewise, more and more Central and West Africans have migrated to Libya and Maghreb countries, creating a vital link between sub-Saharan, North African and trans-Mediterranean migration systems. In this process, many regions and countries simultaneously experiencing internal migration, immigration, transit migration and emigration, both within and outside the continent. This makes it difficult to classify countries as either immigration or emigration countries (IMI/ CMS, 2007).

Women are playing an important and presumably increasing role in international migration. The traditional pattern of migration within and from Africa which has been male-dominated is increasingly becoming feminised. A significant share of migrants is now made up of women who move independently to fulfill their own economic needs and not simply joining a husband or other family members. In Ghana the proportion of female migrants increased from 41% in 1960 to 47% in 1990 (Twum-Baah et al, 1995, 2005). Women dominate short distance emigration to nearby countries, accounting for 64, 57 and 56 per cent respectively of the Ghanaian emigrants in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo in the mid 1980s, and are often younger than male migrants. Some studies have highlighted the way that women are moving independently of men as skilled workers, entrepreneurs and traders. Increasingly professional women especially female nurses and doctors now engage in international migration often leaving their spouses at home to care for the children, thus providing as noted by Adepaju (2005) opportunities for gender role changes within the African family. Research from southern DR Congo suggests (Ngoie

Tshubambe, 2007) that moving between DR Congo and Zambia provides women with new opportunities to strengthen their livelihoods and gain economic independence.

However the extent to which a feminization of African migration has really occurred has been questioned (IMI and CMS, 2007), as it is argued that in the past many women have always been involved in migration but may have been omitted from the prevailing picture of (male-biased) migration research as there is a lack of historical comparative and empirical data to really understand the nature of African migration patterns. However the extent to which the mobility of women may be changing gender roles in Africa requires further focus as in many cases women's mobility is still largely determined by unequal gender relations that either inhibit their movement or force them to leave their homes. Despite this the gendered nature of migration drivers and processes needs to be recognized. The feminization of migration may rather refer more to shifts in the character of women's movements, rather than a dramatic increase in numbers (which has always been greater than traditional recognized). The absolute number of females may be increasingly rapidly, but the reasons for migration have also been shifting and diversifying.

Illegal migration and trafficking in persons is a problem of growing scale and importance in Africa but little is known about this phenomenon. Trafficking in human beings, especially, women and children has become one of the most rewarding illegal economic activities and one of the easy sources of income with the knowledge and networks previously being used for drug businesses being transferred to the trafficking business. In West Africa, the internal trafficking of children and women remain one of the biggest challenges. Ghana for example is both a

source, transit, and destination country for women and children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation and forced domestic and commercial labour (USOMCT, 2006, IOM, 2006)). Ghanaian children are trafficked internally for forced domestic labour in fishing villages, cocoa plantations, and stone mines for stone quarrying, and to urban areas in the south to work in exploitative conditions as domestic servants, street vendors, and porters. In Ghana, traffickers are known as “Connection Men” or “Visa Contractors” who promise their victims jobs and better economic well-being if they are assisted to travel abroad (Adomako-Ampofo, 1997). Ghanaian children are also trafficked to Cote d’Ivoire, Togo, Nigeria, and The Gambia for exploitation as labourers or domestic servants. Ghanaian women and girls are trafficked to Western Europe - principally Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands - for sexual exploitation. Some young Ghanaian women are trafficked for involuntary domestic servitude in the Middle East (USOMCT, 2006). Nigerian females moving to Western Europe for sexual exploitation transit through Ghana, as do Burkinabe on their way to Cote d’Ivoire. Foreign victims include children brought to Ghana from Cote d’Ivoire, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria for forced labour, involuntary domestic servitude, and sexual exploitation (USOMCT, 2006). Although much of the data has focused on women and girls there is also a massive trafficking of boys as well, especially within the country for different forms of labour exploitation including engagement in sexual activities in the tourist industry (IOM, 2001). These raise issues of the human rights of such vulnerable groups such as migrant women and children.

Thus both legal and illegal migrations have raised new sets of concerns for African Governments as well as Governments in the Developed world and various stakeholders. In Ghana for example the Human Trafficking Act was passed in 2006 to serve as a comprehensive tool in the fight

against trafficking in persons. The traditional pattern of migration within and from Africa are therefore changing resulting in new migration patterns that are accelerating, diversifying and feminizing.

These changes have also brought new strategies adopted by people who want to migrate. Konadu-Agyemang (1999) examines the international movements of Ghanaian migrants. In a study of travel patterns of Ghanaian migrants in Toronto, he finds that the strict immigrant selection processes that destination countries use has spawned a new breed of immigrants who do not fit into the common typology. For an increasing number of Ghanaians the journey abroad may involve a series of step-wise moves resulting from, among other things, 'structures and barriers' erected by receiving countries and/or their agents. He also points out that step-wise migration in the international arena involves travelers gravitating from 'lower status, easy visa' countries to the desired 'higher status countries', whose visa requirements are often too stringent and/or discriminatory.

Migration and Development

International migration has the potential to contribute to sustainable development through remittances, skills and knowledge transfer, investment, brain circulation and Diaspora networks. Remittances have been noted to play important roles in national development of several African countries. Several studies have highlighted the transfer of remittances and its role in improving livelihoods in migrant's households and in the decision making process (Black et al, 2003; Quartey, 2006, Addison, 2004). In 2005, the Bank of Ghana for example estimated the level of remittances at \$1.5 billion, more than foreign direct investment and official development

assistance to Ghana, and more than the value of Ghana's principal exports of cocoa and gold. They also represent almost one third of Ghana's Gross Domestic Product. Nuro (1999) estimated that remittances from professional migrants in the United Kingdom to Ghana ranged between \$1,000 and \$14,000 per annum. The bulk of remittances sent are used mainly for private consumption, such as living expenses, school fees, funerals and other social activities, as opposed to using them for investment purposes (Asiedu, 2003, Tiemoko et al,2003, Quartey, 2006). Nevertheless remittances affect the economy through investment in housing and also the spin-off effects on a large number of businesses that are involved in funeral ceremonies and other social functions (Mazzucato, 2004). The Ghana Living Standards Survey 3 and 4 also reports that remittances significantly improved household welfare (GSS, 1995; 2000).

It is however unclear what impact remittances have had on poverty reduction as they are not necessarily received by the poorest people. GLSS 4 for example in Ghana shows that relatively better off regions receive more remittances than savanna regions. Nevertheless in areas where they are received they have an important distributive effect because they reach the rural areas and are mostly received by women. Additionally, sending countries can also gain through the transfer of knowledge, skills and social capital, in itself is an investment in human resources.

While benefiting from migration, at the same time, sending countries can also suffer negatively from migration, particularly from the "brain drain", involving the loss of trained and educated from developing countries to advanced industrialized countries where they expect to find better economic and social opportunities. By the 1980's migration out of Africa had become a coping strategy for individuals and families and migrating especially to Europe and America had become one of the surest means of acquiring skills and also improving the living standards of

both the skilled and unskilled labour force. Skilled workers and professionals dominated early flows from Ghana, but, by the 1980s, many semiskilled and unskilled workers chose to leave as well. Consequently, skilled personnel, particularly from the health and education sub-sectors left the country at an alarming rate with its socio-economic consequences. For instance, Buchan and Dovlo (2004) report that both the nurse and doctor vacancy rates doubled between 1998 and 2002, a period characterized by rapid migration of health personnel from Ghana to Europe and the USA. There are currently more African scientists and engineers working in the United States than there are in Africa (IOM). The IOM estimates Africa's brain drain has cost nearly \$9 billion in lost human capital and growth potential since 1997.

Migration of nurses and doctors from Africa has consequences for health delivery and the well-being of its populations, including children. The Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GSS, 2004), indicates an increase in infant and under 5 mortality between 1998 and 2003, a period characterized by a rapid emigration of health professionals from the country.

While the loss of skilled professionals trained at Ghanaian institutions is a serious cause for concern, the “brain drain” can be turned into “brain gain”. Black (2004) argues that return migration can also be a path to job creation and poverty reduction as it is a mechanism for providing capital for the development of small enterprises, particularly amongst poorer and less-skilled migrants. Diaspora Net works can also contribute to social capital, improve communication and enhance exchange of knowledge and skills, trade, market activities, capital flows and growth (Twum-Baah, Nabila et al. 1995; Ammassari 2004, Sjenitzer and Tiemoko 2003, Quartey, 2006). Increasingly migrant communities are making important contributions to the development of their home communities in Africa.

While acknowledging the positive impact that migration can bring to the economies of African Countries, it also raises questions such as who are those sending the money, under what conditions are they working?. Migration, development and human rights are intrinsically linked. Respect for human rights is a necessary foundation for the beneficial effects of international migration. These indicate that the linkages between migration and development are contested and complex. Although it is often assumed that migration and remittances can significantly contribute to poverty reduction and development in countries of origin, it has also been observed that in many cases migration and remittances are not a solution to solve more structural development problems. Remittances are private money and as observed by several researchers it is important that they are not to be viewed as a substitute for official development assistance, foreign direct investment or debt relief. International migration cannot be a substitute for development and the need to incorporate migration into the development agenda as well as integrate migration issues into national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies.

The extent to which migration may inhibit development, especially through the departure of highly educated workers in Africa, and the extent to which this inhibition is offset by a “brain gain” is highly debated. Papers presented at the African migrations workshop for example (IMI/CMS, 2007) indicated the fundamental heterogeneity and sensitivity of migration-development interactions and therefore the need for more comparative and empirical research for a deeper understanding of the contextual factors explaining this heterogeneity.

Causes of Migration

Studies indicate that most African migration is driven by essentially the same social, economic and political forces as in other world regions. Despite this similarity, studies also indicate that the causes of migration are also often complex. While it is often assumed that most African migration is driven by poverty, warfare and other crises, in reality a much more complex mix of factors have helped to shape People's movements across and beyond Africa. In general, it is not the poorest of the poor that migrate especially in international migration. Often many migrants are not among the poorest and most destitute, thereby drawing attention to the need to re-examine the standard push-pull models within a contemporary African context. Another anomaly is indicated by the fact that the highest emigration rates to Europe from Africa takes place from relatively developed and stable African countries, such as South Africa, the Maghreb, Ghana, and Senegal, pointing to the need for more and comparative empirical research to provide more understanding into the complex and multi-layered causes of migration (IMI/CMS, 2007). Adesina (2007) for example draws attention to the fact that in the case of Nigerian emigration, the assumption that every migrant is escaping from poverty, squalor, deprivation and want, and that the focus of such migrations out of the country is Europe and the western world does not necessarily hold and that such popular assumptions neglect an important aspect of migration out of Nigeria, the social factors that determine migration. This is the gap between social need and social reality and the tension engendered between the middle class ideology of consumption and the reality of social upward mobility.

The diversity, complexity and dynamic nature of African migration experiences also highlight the often blurred distinctions and fluidity of African migration experiences. For example distinctions

between migration categories such as places and countries of origin and destination, temporary or permanent immigrants, categories such as labour migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Studies show that these often do not adequately reflect the mixed and changing motivations, perceptions, experiences and aspirations of migrants in the process of movement. Terms such as irregular / illegal migrants need to be examined further as there are many degrees and forms of irregularity, and the actual implications of technical irregularity for migrants' lives are very different across different national settings (CMS /IMI, 2007).

The role of African states and regional blocs are also important in shaping migration dynamics in Africa. Although many African states do not have clear policies on protocols on freedom of movement within regional blocks such as ECOWAS, SADC and the Maghred Union have an impact on inter-regional mobility and particularly on the direction of labour migratory flows. However many factors often impinge on its practical implementation.

The conventional causes of migration in Africa however remain conflicts, political oppression, economic crises and environmental factors reinforced by globalization. In particular diminishing environmental resources as a result of sustained exploitation have led to violent conflicts among resource users which have in turn induced forced migration in many African countries. In Ghana since the 1990s there have been violent clashes between ethnic Dagombas and Konkombas, Nchumurus and Gonjas and Gonjas and kokombas and more lately in Bawku in northern Ghana (Brukum, 1996) and in Nigeria (Obi, 1997) over land ownership and farming rights. Akopkari (2000) argues that globalization may be seen as a catalyst for migration through the deepening of disparities between countries, which encourages the movement of people from the poor to the

more affluent countries. Yet while globalization theoretically breaks down state borders facilitating free movement of goods and capital, developed countries are increasingly closing their borders to labour for a variety of reasons. This imbalance between increased migration and the shrinking immigration opportunities leads to the adoption of informal alternatives by emigrants to get to their destinations. At national levels, globalization has deepened the disparity between the traditionally advantaged urban area and the deprived rural communities. This has in turn facilitated rural-urban migration in several African Countries with the attendant human and socio-economic consequences.

Current Research Practices In Africa And Knowledge Production For Migration Studies

As pointed earlier, much of migration in Africa is largely informal and undocumented, making accurate data on the phenomenon difficult. An annotated bibliography on Migration in Ghana produced by the Centre for Migration studies, University of Ghana in March 2007 (CMS, 2007), indicated that although there have been several studies on migration in Ghana, official data on migration flows is patchy and poor, and there are no reliable official estimates of the numbers of Ghanaian migrants. For example, a much-used source of migration data, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) generates data which is probably more useful for documenting movements of non-Africans, and has limitations for accurately distinguishing between types of international movement. There has also been little coordinated activities investigating the related and multidisciplinary nature of migration, and as well as no official policy or strategic framework on migration in Ghana in spite of the far-reaching impacts of migration on several areas of national life. These have led to calls for more and better data on migration and particularly for African researchers to generate their own data through innovative, empirical research.

This paucity of reliable data then opens up the question of how knowledge on migration in Africa is generated? In Africa most knowledge on migration apart from official sources, is generated within universities and institutions involved mainly in teaching, research and dissemination. However since the 1970s when funding for universities became scarce, much of research in African universities was generated as consultancies and commissioned work, with predefined Terms of References (TORS), often determined by institutions and international agencies in the developed world. Research partnerships with international agencies and universities from the north were often unequal, with the research agendas often set by the northern universities. In these kinds of partnerships, researchers in the south often became more like research assistants, often generating rich empirical data, while the northern scholars produced the theories and the research publications. There was very little scope for south-south partnership within these partnerships.

A history of the development of higher education in Africa provides a very useful framework around which to discuss and understand higher education challenges in relation to research across the continent. Teboho Moja (2006) traces three distinct phases in higher educational policy development throughout Africa in the 20th century. The first wave followed independence in the 1960s and 70s and focused largely on mechanisms for the expansion of higher education. However the collapse of many national economies from the early 1970s and the accompanying destabilization of social structures led to prolonged crisis for many institutions including higher education. Following the adoption of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) from the early 1980s, with its attendant educational sector reforms which imposed particular demands on higher educational institutions, the situation of higher education institutions worsened with serious

impacts on all aspects of academic life including teaching and research (Manuh, 2002). As a result for much of the eighties and nineties, many universities in Africa had very little funds for research and tended to rely on donors for funding often therefore following the research agendas of donor agencies.

The third phase, came in the wake of the collapse of apartheid and the establishment of the African Union and the New partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in the 1990s. This led to a change in policy development for African research with the World Bank and other international agencies changing direction and identifying higher education as a key driver for African economic growth and poverty eradication (Bloom, Canning and Chan 2005). In line with this the NEPAD has called for input from African universities into the creation of an African Science and Innovation Facility for the funding of research initiatives across the continent. In Ghana this has been reflected in the establishment of the World Bank Teaching and Learning Fund (TALIF) in the early 2000s, which focuses on funding research in higher educational institutions and provides funds for public universities research and conferences fund. African universities (with the exception of South Africa) have thus until recently been radically undermined by decades of structural adjustment programmes, starved of resources and struggling to retain staff and carry out research, let alone publish or disseminate that research.

Gray (2006) points out the need for a recognition of the marginalization of African research in the global knowledge economy, particularly of African research produced by Africans, out of Africa. If Africa is to meet its urgent development needs, this is a situation that needs to be addressed. The challenge then is for Africa to bring together its own traditions of knowledge and culture and the potential offered by new technologies and new ways of networking and

collaborating with other research institutions. Africa urgently needs to be able to meet this challenge and to use the latest technologies to make their voices heard globally, projecting their own knowledge and culture into the global arena.

The real need, then, is for policies and strategies that would ensure an increase in quality research output and effective dissemination of Africa-based research in and from Africa, for African development. In this regard, the collaboration between the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana and the International Migration Institute, Oxford university is an example of a mutually rewarding partnership. The collaboration with IMI which culminated in a workshop brought together researchers from various parts of Africa to map the current state of international migration research in Africa and generate ideas about joint research projects and other forms of collaboration in research on African migrations (IMI/CMS, 2007). A unique nature of this workshop were the efforts made to bridge disciplinary boundaries as well as to bridge the linguistic and cultural divide which has kept many parts of Africa apart. Outputs from this workshop have the potential to generate south –south collaboration. The recently started NUFFIC funded collaboration between the CMS and some Partners in the Netherlands aimed at building the capacity of the CMS to contribute to migration research also has the potential to be mutually rewarding if properly worked out.

The establishment of Migration Research Centres and Policy Initiatives

In many parts of Africa, researchers are often accused of producing research which is not relevant for policy and often not disseminated thus being left to sit on book shelves. Policies on migration for example need to be based on reliable evidence and data and be coherent with other

related policies. The links between policy and research are therefore important for a better understanding of migration realities and policy development to ensure that migration contributes to sustainable development, and that in turn development also helps to facilitate managed migration. On the other hand there is the viewpoint held by researchers that policy-driven research agendas may inhibit new perspectives and may result in policy-dependency of research. This therefore points to the need for a careful balance between policy relevance and academic independence.

In this regard the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana was established in November 2006 partly in response to the needs of policy makers such as some Government Ministries, as well as development partners such as the Ghana Immigration Service, the National Population Council and bilateral and multilateral agencies such as the UNDP and the EU and other stakeholders for a well-designed and nationally responsive programme to drive the debate on migration in Ghana and provide relevant services, including data and training. This demand for reliable data on migration issues in Ghana, and the paucity of migration information, highlighted the need for a central body to co-ordinate and sustain research into migration studies. On the other hand, the increased demands and need for more policy focused work revealed the weak institutional capacity and existing knowledge base to adequately fulfill these demands in both the short to medium term facilitate managed migration. This led to the establishment of the CMS by the University of Ghana in line with its strategic objectives. The CMS thus focuses not only on research, teaching and training, but also on capacity building, and policy assessment, formulation and dissemination in the area of migration studies.

In other parts of Africa, the Forced Migration Research Centre, American University, Cairo, Egypt, and the Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of Witwaterstrand, South

Africa are examples of institutions set up within university settings to generate knowledge on migration. A few Research networks exist such as the Network of Migration Researchers in Africa (NOMRA) based in Nigeria and the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), based in Cape Town South Africa in collaboration with the Queen's university, and University of Ottawa, Canada, also provide information on migration. Several other networks on Africa but based in the developed world such as the Ghana TransNet Research programme based in the Netherlands have also been developed. Research networks can be powerful instruments to improve exchange of existing data and studies, as well as for collaboration in research, training and capacity building across national, linguistic, disciplinary and regional boundaries.

In addition to these a few NGOs have focused on the issue of migration and trafficking within Ghana for example, but they mainly offer education, advocacy and provision of welfare services. Local NGOs such as Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS) 'Street Girl AID' (S. AID) provide refuge, health and education to street children in major urban areas most of whom are migrants. APPLE (Association of People for Practical Life Education) provides refuge for trafficked children who have been rescued. In the last two years a few NGOs are providing training and placement in jobs in the Middle east and Canada for semi-skilled workers.

Conclusions and Suggestions for a New Research Agenda

This overview of migration patterns and trends in Africa has shown that although migration on the African continent is characterized by tremendous diversity as found elsewhere, there are also specificities to the African continent which show clear changing trends. Several themes have been highlighted from the literature which show continuities as well as discontinuities in African

migrations requiring further research. The need for a more historically-grounded, comparative and all encompassing analysis of migration issues is especially highlighted in order to better understand these migration patterns.

The paper indicates that although migration is a growing phenomenon and a key component of development in Africa, knowledge production for migration research and policy has not kept pace with this trend in Africa. There is a general lack of official data and relevant empirical work as well as a lack of communication between researchers and policy makers as some of the factors explaining why there are so many gaps in our understanding on African migrations.

The paper also notes that there has been a marginalization of African research in the global knowledge economy, particularly of African research produced by Africans. The paper urges the need for African researchers to make their voices heard globally, projecting their own knowledge and culture into the global arena and determining their own research agenda and new ways of working . In this regard it would also be useful to look beyond the continent to make links with migration research in Latin America and Asia as well as the developed world.

Given the paucity of research funding and difficult access to publication opportunities for their research findings as well as problems of accessing relevant studies on past and current African migrations by African researchers in a resource-challenged context such as in Africa, it has been suggested that improving access to online publishing in Africa may help solve some of the problems which have marginalized African researchers. In fact, electronic dissemination of

research output can impact most effectively in precisely those areas in which African publishing suffers most.

In this regard, the formation of research networks among researchers in Africa bridging the linguistic divide as well as collaboration with the developed world can be powerful instruments to improve exchange of existing data and studies, as well as for collaboration in research, training and capacity building across national, linguistic, disciplinary and regional boundaries.

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