

Migrants Expectations versus Realities: Ghana's North-South Migration Experiences of the internal migrants in the Kumasi Metropolis

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Abstract

Various studies suggest that rural-urban migration could be part of a collective household survival strategy due to the all-round positive picture of urban life painted to the rural folks. However, the key question is about whether this is really the case. The main aim of the study is to compare the expectations and the realities of north-south migration in Ghana. Based on cross-sectional research with 389 respondents in the Kumasi Metropolis who were sampled using purposive and accidental sampling procedures, the study applied frequency tables and content analysis. The results revealed that migrants move to their destination with high expectations of making a living.

However, these expectations become unrealised which leave migrants in a state of disappointment. It was discovered that migrants are better off in some socio-economic conditions before than after migration. The study recommends that a planned programme and coordinated efforts to bridge the gap between the north and the south be established in order to reduce the north-south migration if not totally eradicated.

Keywords: *Rural-urban Migration, Ghana, Poverty, Unemployment, Coping Strategies*

Introduction

Even though migration is as old as humanity, its theories are relatively recent. These theories were categorised by Hagen-Zanker (2008) based on the level of attention. Individual decisions about migration are the subject of micro-level theories. These ideas include Lee's (1966) push-pull framework, which examines migration from both the supply and demand sides. He contends that both favourable and unfavourable factors at the point of origin and destination encourage and discourage migration, which is further complicated by outside variables like immigration restrictions and influenced by an immigrant's subjective perception of the circumstances. Beyond financial considerations, people might relocate based on intentional choices. Crawford's (1973) cognitive value-expectancy model highlights that the strength of a potential immigrant's migration intentions is determined by multiplying the values of migration outcomes by the expectancies that migration would truly result in these results. The degree of migratory intentions, the indirect effects of personal and societal factors, and the moderating effects of barriers and enablers all play a role in migration.

On the other hand, macro-level theories examine overall migratory trends and provide macro-level justifications for them. According to these neoclassical views, migration is a necessary component of economic growth. Geographical disparities in labour supply and demand, primarily between the urban modern manufacturing sector and the rural traditional agriculture sector, lead to internal migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). The models created by Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) to elaborate these theories offer a substantial explanation of the urban unemployment that was observed in many less developed nations. They contend that there are risks associated with migration because arriving in a new city does not guarantee employment.

However, as long as there is a positive predicted real income gap, migrants will still relocate to urban areas. The cost of migration, the urban employment rate, and the strict, institutionally set metropolitan wages all influence the income that migrants expect to get (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Asante et al., 2018). Despite unemployment in cities, migration is advised due to differences in predicted positive income (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970).

Alternatively, migratory reasons and persistence can be explained at the meso-level (household or community level) (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). The methods concentrate on either individual migration decisions or collective migration movements. Thus, they believe that although family structures might have an impact on migration decisions, individuals must make the decision to migrate on their own (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). If the family's net gain is positive, they all move. The family only moves if the profits of one person offset the losses of the other, even if just one partner finds a (better) job at the new location. Stark's (1980) work, *The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)*, takes a step further in explaining that decisions are frequently made by household members jointly and with the welfare of the family in mind.

There is a strong inclination for people to migrate to places with greater wealth and economic development (Braunvan, 2004). In other words, social amenities and employment opportunities serve as pull factors in metropolitan areas while acting as push factors in rural regions when they are scarce or insufficient (de Haas, 2008). They typically pay less attention to the issues that may arise during the process and are more focused on the advantages they anticipate obtaining from moving. Due to fast population expansion, poor policy execution, and institutional shortcomings, most migrant-targeted metropolitan districts, including Kumasi and Accra, have recently had significant development issues and have become extremely unstable. Hence, the potential of urban areas to meet the expectations of migrants has wad through time. This may affect migrants' wellbeing. Hence, the call for investigation.

Notwithstanding the substantial body of study on migration and urbanisation in Ghana, important questions remain, most notably the question of whether migrants who are less educated and come from lower-class families see an improvement in their standard of living after migration. In the context of Sekondi-Takoradi in Ghana's emerging oil boom, Eduful and Hooper (2019) examine the relationship between housing and urban migration. They

researched on resource boom-driven urbanisation, and the ways that urban migration both forms and is impacted by housing circumstances. Urban social assistance is a topic that Cuesta *et al.* (2021) examined, applying their findings to Ghana and examining the obstacles that lie ahead.

The paper examines the difficulties in developing social assistance programmes that target the urban poor, concentrate on particular urban vulnerabilities, and establish suitable payment schedules in urban regions. In order to shed light on the origins of young people's rural-urban migration from northern to southern Ghana, Adaawen and Owusu (2013), Owusu and Teye (2014) and Edwin and Glover (2016) looked at the factors that influence this movement. The majority of research neglect to examine whether or if migrants are better off now that they have moved. Thus, this gap is the source of this study.

This study is vital and relevant given Ghana's urban population's rapid growth. According to estimates from the Africa Housing Finance Yearbook (2023), Ghana has a housing deficit of more than 1.8 million units. Slums have grown and developed in Ghanaian cities as a result of urban migration, which has made the housing crisis worse (Danso-Wiredu and Loopmans, 2013; Eduful and Hooper, 2019). Also, numerous research on Ghana's rural-urban migration concurs that the desire for better employment possibilities in Ghana's cities over those in the country's rural areas is one of the main causes of internal migration. However, a number of studies conducted in various emerging nations have noted a rise in rural-urban mobility and a dearth of employment opportunities in urban areas (Osei-Boateng, and Ampratwum, 2011; Tacoli, McGranahan, and Satterthwaite, 2015; Kwankye, 2012; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Awumbila, 2014; Awumbila, Owusu, and Teye, 2014; Eduful and Hooper, 2019; Cuesta et al., 2021). Various studies suggest that rural-urban migration could be part of a collective household survival strategy due to the all-round positive picture about urban life painted to the rural folks. However, the key question begging for an answer is, is this really the case? This paper's contribution stems from its efforts to better understand the answers to this question. Hence this study seeks to investigate migrants' expectations against their realities in the Kumasi Metropolis.

The rest of the study is structured as follows. Section 2 looks at the policies and programmes put in place by various governments to cushion migrants and

how these have been impactful. Section 3 discusses methodological issues including study design, sampling and data collection methods and how the analysis was carried out. Section 4 situates the analysis in perspective comparing the findings to previous studies. Section 5 concludes and makes relevant recommendations.

Review of migration policies and programmes in Ghana

Ghana does not have national migration policy. In April 2016, Ghana formally launched a national policy on migration and an implementation plan was put in place but since then, something concrete is yet to come from this plan. Schraven (2010) held the opinion that the initiatives that have been put in place over the years to date are to blame for Ghana's present migration problems. The North's socioeconomic status has been comparatively disadvantaged due to the pattern of development strategies implemented by different administrations in succeeding development projects. Since succeeding administrations maintained the colonial administration model of development and concentrated development initiatives in the south at the expense of the north, the north-south movement remained largely unchanged from the colonial period.

The North Educational Trust Fund was established by the CPP-led government in an effort to address the underdevelopment in the north. Over the course of eight years, enrolment increased dramatically from 20,000 to 90,000 (DES UK, 2010). In order to provide migratory workers in the north with jobs, import substitution policies led to the creation of state-owned businesses and agro-industrial facilities like the rice mill in Bolgatanga and the tomato and meat factory in Pwalugu. Internal migration decreased at this time, mostly from the north to the south (Schraven, 2010). To guarantee a consistent supply of raw materials for regional industry, farmer-based incentive programmes and significant subsidies were implemented for agricultural inputs. To ensure year-round farming, work on building irrigation dams was initiated (Laube, 2007). The 1966 coup of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah caused difficulties for the northern development goal.

During the colonial and post-independent periods, Ghana became a destination for immigrants from other West African nations, including the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Mali, Upper Volta, and Niger. Immigrants were drawn to the nation by the economic growth as well as the thriving mining and cocoa industries.

8.5% of the population in 1960 was foreign-born (Nabila, 2003). The availability of inexpensive labour from interior countries was a contributing factor in Ghana's cocoa sector development (Manuh, 2006). According to Awumbila *et al.* (2008) and Bosiakoh (2008), Ghana became a net immigration country.

North-South Migration Movement was affected by the Alien Compliance Act and Ghana Business Registration Act number 334, which were introduced in August 1970 by Prime Minister Dr. Abrefa Busia. All foreign nationals without residency permits were required to depart under the Act (Yeboah, 2008) and 100,000 foreigners were ordered to leave consequently (Gould, 1974). Due to the expulsion of foreigners from Ghana, a void in the labour market was filled by Ghanaian women, mostly from the northern and Volta areas (Yeboah, 2008).

The north-south migration movement was further intensified during President Rawlings' administration by the execution of the IMF and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The Ghanaian economy was developing at a negative rate and was going through an economic crisis in the early 1980s (Anarfi *et al.*, 2003). Acute crop failure and a protracted period of political instability brought on by frequent government changes were the causes of the economic crisis. The government implemented the World Bank and IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in an attempt to stabilise the faltering economy. This led to historically high public sector spending cuts, widespread layoffs, and the removal of subsidies for social services like transportation, health care, and education. Low output was the outcome of the elimination of agricultural input subsidies (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Yeboah, 2008). Layoffs that affected low-level public sector workers in the north, such as labourers, watchmen, messengers, and civil servants, exacerbated the region's economic situation (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Abdul-Korah, 2007). The administration of President John Agyekum Kufuor started a several initiatives to stop the flow of migrants from the north to the south. To meet the development needs of the then three northern regions, the Northern Development Fund (NDF) was founded. The implementation of social protection initiatives including the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), the National Youth and Employment Programme (NYEP), and Livelihoods Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP).

It has been established that LEAP has been implemented as a national social protection programme with the aim of providing a buffer against extreme hardships for the poor by strengthening the ability to withstand vulnerability and have positive impact on children education and health (Handa, Park, Darko, Osei-Akoto, Davis, and Daidone, 2013). However, eligibility for these pro-poor activities is limited; in order to participate in LEAP, a person must be extremely impoverished and over 60 years. The minimum requirement for NYEP is a junior high school graduation certificate, and in order to receive basic healthcare, NHIS beneficiaries must pay premiums. All of these social protection measures may be able to deter young people from moving south, where they believe there are more economic prospects.

The Savanna Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) was founded by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in 2010 under the direction of Prof. Evans Atta Mills. The Ghanaian government's adoption of the SADA law of 2010, Act 805, showed his commitment to closing the developmental divide between the north and south. SADA seeks to close the development disparities between the north and south by boosting investments in the savanna region. A bold Development Authority, Modernisation of Agriculture, Private Sector Development, Strategic Infrastructure Development, Livelihoods, Social Protection, and Environmental Resilience are the five pillars around which SADA is built, according to Rumnet (2011). SADA includes the northern portions of the then Brong Ahafo and Volta regions, as well as the Upper East, Upper West, and Northern regions. Despite being an admirable policy programme aimed at strengthening the north, SADA's effectiveness has been undermined by incompetence and corruption, rendering its impacts intangible.

The Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo government of the NPP also brought in series of good policies aimed at improving rural livelihoods and reducing rural-urban migration though some did not materialise. Some of these policies include the Free SHS, Planting for Food and Jobs, One Village One Dam, One District One Factory, among others. However, almost all of these policies fall short of being impactful in the rural areas especially due to bad implementation.

Out-migration of the youth from the north has been exacerbated by the colonial government's purposeful underinvestment in the three northern regions, as well as by succeeding administrations' disproportionate

concentration of development in southern Ghana and biased urban policies favouring wealthier regions. The pre-colonial and colonial establishment of northern Ghana as an economic periphery, together with poor governance from civilian to military administration, are the main causes of the long-term economic stagnation. Northern migrants will continue to be drawn to the highly industrialised cities of Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi because of their abundance of economic opportunities.

Ghana is among the emerging nations experiencing a growing urbanisation. As a result, metropolitan areas see a concentration of development activity at the expense of rural communities. The lack of proper infrastructure across the board, including roads, schools, and hospitals, puts more strain on the ones that are available. The rate of unemployment is rising as a result of the lack of job creation to match the rate of population growth. As a result of more individuals pursuing subpar goods and services, there is also an increase in the cost of consumable goods and services. Because of this, low-income migrants find it challenging to adjust to their new circumstances.

The ILO labour treaties contain the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Socioeconomic rights have been neglected in favour of civil and political rights by governments. The right to food and health must be understood as part of the right to life. Ghana's constitution's Chapter Six on Economic Rights is ambiguous and always dependent on funding availability for implementation. This forces governments to shirk their duties and responsibilities to give their people fulfilling lives.

One of the factors contributing to urbanisation is migration, according to the research (Asante *et al.*, 2018). Solid waste generation, pressure on housing, school facilities, transportation, traffic congestion, crime, and immoral and indecent lifestyles are some of the issues that come with urbanisation. While both immigrants and non-immigrants deal with these issues, migrants are more susceptible. The process of solving these issues has not been without challenges. The International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families has been ratified by Ghana. This crucial agreement for the best possible protection of all migrants has not yet been domesticated. Regarding internal migration, Ghana does not have a migration policy. For a nation like Ghana, where data points to a rising rate of internal migration, this is quite regrettable. It is imperative to devise

efficacious policies, initiatives, and programmes that offer enduring resolutions to these issues.

Both internal and international migration have been discovered in Ghana's available migration literature (Awumbila, 2008; Awumbila *et al.*, 2009; Yeboah, 2008; PPVA, 2011). The majority of internal migrants from Ghana labour in the unorganised sector, where their pay is insufficient to raise their level of living. Some migrants give their employers inexpensive labour in order to make a life. As this is going on, migrants must pay for everything they use in the city, including food, lodging, and even convenience stores, the costs of which are so high that they are unaffordable for them.

Methods

Data from impoverished north-south migrants in the Kumasi Metropolis were gathered using a cross-sectional survey design. A mixed-method approach, which combines qualitative and quantitative techniques for data collecting and analysis, was used. This is to complement the limits of both types of data and provides a more comprehensive understanding of a study subject than either approach alone (Creswell, 2010).

Sample size and sampling procedure

The purposive sampling technique was first used to select study sites (Kejetia, Central Market, Adum, Asafo market, Manhyia and Bantama Market) in the Kumasi Metropolis. Afterwards, accidental sampling technique was used to select 389 respondents. Purposive and accidental sampling were used to recruit the respondents because the targeted north-south migrants work in these commercial areas of Kumasi, and they could easily be identified there. The sample size was selected using Yamane (1967) formula based on the 2010 population and housing census which indicated that 91693 north-south migrants were living in the Kumasi Metropolis.

Data collection approach

The data were collected by administering questionnaires with individual migrants who constituted the key unit of analysis. Moreover, two focus group discussions were held in each selected location, each group containing a minimum of six and maximum of ten members. This was to ensure the free flow of responses in the discussions and to allow each gender category to relate their experiences without intimidation. In addition to field notes, interviews

were audio recorded with participants' informed agreement. The intention was to prevent important information from being lost during notetaking by giving the researcher the chance to record participants' statements in their own words and review them later.

Data analysis method

The data gathered was analysed using descriptive statistics (frequency tables and charts) and content analysis. Data that could not be quantified were recorded, transcribed and used to support the quantitative data.

Results and Discussions

Demographic characteristics of respondents

The ability of migrants to exercise choice and access chances to strengthen their asset base and livelihood strategies is significantly impacted by their demographic features, including age, gender, and level of education.

Sex of respondents

From Table 1, out of the 389 total respondents, 130 representing 33.4 percent were males and 259 representing 66.6 percent were females. Hence, there were more female migrants than male migrants in the study. This is supported by the view of some scholars that modern-day north-south migration flow is largely dominated by young girls and women in their reproductive years (Agyei *et al.*, 2015; Shamsu-Deen and Alhassan, 2014).

Age of respondents

The study found that the North-South migration predominantly involves people who are in their youthful age. As shown in Table 1, the age of majority of the respondents (327 representing 84.05 percent) ranges from below 18 years to about 30 years, 30 of the respondents representing 12.34 percent were between 31 to 40 years while 14 of the respondents' representing 3.60 percent were above 40 years. This shows that majority of the north-south migrants who responded to the questionnaire are youthful. The implication is that; the youth are those who are mostly into this kind of migration. This is in line with what Shamsu-Deen (2013) and Agyei *et al.* (2015) observed in their work that many of the migrants in southern Ghana are in their youthful stages with majority falling within the ages of 10-35 years. It is likely that such people migrate for livelihood security.

Table 1: Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents

| Characteristics | Category | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Sex | Male | 130 | 33.4 |
| | Female | 259 | 66.6 |
| Age | Less than 18 years | 43 | 11.1 |
| | 18 – 25 years | 193 | 49.6 |
| | 26 – 30 years | 91 | 23.4 |
| | 31 – 35 years | 30 | 7.7 |
| | 36 – 40 years | 18 | 4.6 |
| | Above 40 years | 14 | 3.6 |
| Marital status | Single | 163 | 41.9 |
| | Married | 211 | 54.2 |
| | Divorced | 10 | 2.6 |
| | Separated/Abandoned | 5 | 1.3 |
| Number of Children | None | 150 | 38.6 |
| | 1 – 3 | 209 | 53.7 |
| | 4 – 7 | 28 | 7.2 |
| | 8 and above | 2 | 0.5 |
| Level of Education | No formal education | 232 | 59.6 |
| | Basic school | 155 | 29.6 |
| | High school | 35 | 9.0 |
| | Others | 7 | 1.8 |
| Length of Stay in Kumasi | Less than 1 year | 156 | 40.2 |
| | 1 – 4 years | 141 | 36.2 |
| | 5 – 9 years | 48 | 12.3 |
| | 10 and above years | 44 | 11.3 |

Source: Field Survey, (2017)

Marital status and number of children

North-south migration is taking another step where more married people are getting involved in the process. The results indicate that, majority of the respondents specifically 211 (representing 54.24 percent) were married while 163 of the respondents were not married. Furthermore, 10 respondents representing 2.6 percent had divorced and 5 representing 1.3 percent had separated. It is quite uncommon that married respondents migrate more than single people. Hence, this result departs from past studies such as Afriyie *et al.* (2015) who found the contrary in their study. The seasonality of

employment in the north as well as inability to get money to pay their children's school fees were some of the reasons why most married people are now involved in north-south migration.

Also, the results indicated that 209 of respondents representing 53.7 percent had from one to three children while 28 of the respondents, representing 7.2 percent had from four to seven children. Furthermore, two of the respondents representing 0.5 percent had eight or more number of children. It was quite surprising to see majority of the respondents travelling down south even though they had children. There is the likelihood that such people could not cater for their children hence migrated to seek greener pastures to be able to take care of themselves and support their children's' education. However, 150 representing 38.56 percent were without children.

Level of education

The north-south migration is predominantly among the youth who have little or no education (Mahama, 2013). The research findings showed that most of the respondents had no formal education as indicated in Table 1. According to the results, 232 respondents (representing 59.64 percent) were without formal education. For those with formal education, 155 representing 29.6 percent had attained basic education while 35 of the respondents' representing 9.0 percent have had secondary education. Seven (7) respondents representing 1.8 percent had attained other levels of education which included Technical, Vocational, University, Polytechnic and Training College education. This trend agrees with similar findings by Frempong-Ainguah *et al.* (2009) that, majority of the youth who migrated down-south from the rural areas of Northern Ghana had little or no education. Despite the free basic education policy in Ghana and the social interventions such as the capitation grant, free school uniforms, school feeding programme in some schools among others to support education, most of the migrants have not taken advantage of them. According to Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009), the low educational attainment in the three regions of the north is as a result of poverty and culture. Most of the migrants were unskilled and lacked any form of formal education. However, job opportunities available for the urban poor including migrants require employable skills (Osei-Agyemang *et al.*, 2014). This makes it difficult for them to obtain job in the formal sectors and semi-formal sectors.

Areas of operation of migrants in the Kumasi metropolis

Migrants operate in areas where they can easily get employed. Table 1 shows that 98 of the respondents representing 25.2 percent operate at Adum, 90 of the migrants' representing 23.1 percent operate at Manhyia. Moreover, 75 of the respondents representing 19.3 percent operate at Asafo, 56 of the migrants, representing 14.4 percent operate at the Central Market, 38 of the respondents' representing 9.8 percent operate at Kejetia, and 32 of the respondents representing 8.2 percent operating at Bantama. This means that most of the migrant respondents interviewed operate at Adum, Manhyia and Asafo. These are places where commercial economic activities are predominant. Due to their limited livelihood options for these places offer them some opportunities in the informal sector to engage in low-income activities. However, as shown in Table 1, the majority of the respondents (76.3 percent) have not stayed in these areas for five years and only few of the migrants (23.7) have stayed in these areas for five years or more.

Factors that influence people to migrate from the north (Push Factors).

There are push factors in the rural areas that force migrants out of their place of origin (Darko, 2013). These factors are influenced by the strength of the local economy. A lot of people migrate because of dislike of socio-economic conditions which confronts them in their places of origin especially when they see better opportunity elsewhere. The push factors that cause north-south migration in the study area include poor weather condition, inadequate health facilities, poverty (low income) inadequate educational facilities, poor housing, infertile land and unemployment. As shown in Table 2, the most important push factors include unemployment and poverty (low income).

Table 2: Factors that Influence People to migrate from the North (Push Factors)

| Factors | Responses and Magnitude | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------|------|------|-----|-----|----------|-----|-------|------|
| | Very High | | High | | Low | | Very Low | | Never | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Poor weather condition | 22 | 5.7 | 45 | 11.6 | 34 | 8.7 | 10 | 2.6 | 278 | 71.5 |
| High rate of unemployment | 138 | 35.5 | 198 | 49.6 | 16 | 4.1 | 8 | 2.1 | 34 | 8.7 |
| High rate of poverty (low income) | 193 | 49.6 | 158 | 40.6 | 16 | 4.1 | 2 | 0.5 | 20 | 5.1 |
| Outmoded cultural practices | 5 | 1.3 | 12 | 3.1 | 26 | 6.7 | 29 | 7.5 | 317 | 81.5 |
| Inadequate health facilities | 8 | 2.1 | 11 | 2.8 | 25 | 6.4 | 27 | 6.9 | 318 | 81.7 |
| Inadequate educational facilities | 11 | 2.8 | 12 | 3.1 | 27 | 6.9 | 26 | 6.7 | 313 | 80.5 |
| Infertile land | 10 | 2.6 | 32 | 8.2 | 38 | 9.8 | 24 | 6.2 | 285 | 73.3 |
| Poor housing | 7 | 1.8 | 13 | 3.3 | 29 | 7.5 | 19 | 4.9 | 321 | 82.5 |
| Non existing social amenities | 12 | 3.1 | 9 | 2.3 | 25 | 6.4 | 18 | 4.6 | 325 | 83.5 |

Source: Field survey, (2017)

Generally, unemployment and underemployment are major determinants of migration in these modern days. The probability of one migrating to a new place to seek a job is very minimal if the person is gainfully employed. Table

2 shows that, majority of the respondents (85.1 percent) noted that, unemployment situation was high in the home region and that influenced their movement to the Kumasi Metropolis. The respondents explained that,

the major employment opportunity in our place of origin is farming but before you do it you need capital to start and even if you want to do it in a small scale, you cannot even get money to take care of yourself. Another person added that farming activities could not give them enough money.

Others noted that when you sell you do not get people to patronise the goods. These assure them unrealistic expectation in livelihood activities. It is in this vein that Afriyie *et al.* (2015) explained that the desire to attain a sustainable livelihood coupled with the harsh economic conditions such as unemployment in the north has caused the young females to migrate southward. It could be said that monotony of job at the place of origin may be a contributing factor to north- south migration. This is evident in the work of Owusu (2007) that most people move from the rural areas to the cities for variety of job opportunities that are available.

Others explained that they are students, and they needed money to continue their education but their parents cannot afford their fees so they travel down south to work in order to get money to supplement what their parents will give to them.

Moreover, migration to a larger extent is seen as an investment that most people use to overcome poverty. People will migrate if their poverty situation is worsened and try to seek better livelihood elsewhere. Table 2 shows that, majority of the respondents (90.2 percent) admitted that poverty rate (low income) was high/very high in their home region hence migrating to Kumasi Metropolis. One of the respondents noted that,

“in the north, you only get what to eat from the farm but money to buy some other things was not easy to come by.”

In finding out the causes of outmigration from Nanumba District, Mahama (2013) made similar statement that, people migrate to overcome economic problems and accumulate capital for investments in rural areas, increase their income and to increase their sources of income. There is the likelihood that,

many youths who are not able to make ends meet will continue to migrate out of poverty. Kwankye (2012) agreed with this finding by positing that, due to the problem of the lag in development and the fall in agricultural productivity, many families in northern Ghana see migration as an avenue to earn some income in the form of remittances. This affirms that majority of the respondents were below the national upper poverty line of GH¢1314.00 prior to their migration and explains why the northern part of Ghana recorded the highest incidence of poverty in the country (GSS, 2014). It is likely that majority of migrants could not meet their basic socio-economic needs at their place of origin.

Migrants' expectations that influence them to migrate from the north to Kumasi metropolis

The propensity for people to migrate towards areas of wealth and economic prosperity is very enormous (Braunvan, 2004). There were expectations that drew the attention of the respondents to Kumasi Metropolis. Darko (2013) identified such expectations as pull factors at the destination that catch the attention of migrants to urban centres. Having high expectations is influenced by the strength of the local economy. Respondents expected Kumasi Metropolis to offer opportunities so that they can meet their basic needs. Among them include the following: good weather condition, employment opportunities, low poverty (high income), good cultural practices, adequate educational facilities, good social amenities, fertile land, adequate health facilities, good houses and remittance sent home by colleagues. The most critical among them are employment opportunities, low poverty (high income), and remittance sent home by colleagues. This shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Migrants Expectations that Influence them to migrate from the North to Kumasi Metropolis.

| Factors | Responses and Magnitude | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------|------|------|-----|-----|----------|-----|-------|------|
| | Very High | | High | | Low | | Very Low | | Never | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Good weather condition | 8 | 2.1 | 15 | 3.9 | 36 | 9.3 | 16 | 3.9 | 315 | 81.0 |
| Employment opportunities available | 160 | 41.1 | 168 | 43.2 | 17 | 4.4 | 4 | 1.0 | 40 | 10.3 |
| Low rate of poverty | 196 | 50.1 | 149 | 38.3 | 15 | 3.9 | 0 | 0 | 29 | 7.5 |
| Good cultural practices | 5 | 1.3 | 12 | 3.1 | 33 | 8.5 | 16 | 3.9 | 324 | 83.3 |
| Good access to health facilities | 10 | 2.6 | 10 | 2.6 | 36 | 9.3 | 15 | 3.9 | 318 | 81.7 |
| Good access to educational facilities | 10 | 2.6 | 5 | 1.3 | 31 | 8.0 | 17 | 4.4 | 326 | 83.8 |
| Fertile land | 8 | 2.1 | 10 | 2.6 | 35 | 9.0 | 15 | 3.9 | 321 | 82.5 |
| Availability of good housing | 9 | 2.3 | 8 | 2.1 | 33 | 8.5 | 19 | 4.9 | 320 | 82.3 |
| Presence of social amenities | 9 | 2.3 | 4 | 1.0 | 29 | 7.5 | 12 | 3.1 | 335 | 86.1 |
| Remittance sent home by colleagues | 140 | 36.0 | 41 | 10.5 | 26 | 6.7 | 9 | 2.3 | 173 | 44.5 |

Source: Field Survey, (2017)

Employment opportunities at a destination act as an incentive for people to migrate to a new area. From Table 3, majority of the respondents representing 84.3 percent noted that availability of employment opportunities in the host region highly influenced their migration to the Kumasi Metropolis. The respondents explained that there are job opportunities available in the metropolis due to commercial activities that go on in the city and this attracted them to this area. To them, they have strong belief that when you sell, people buy and any job that you do generate money. It has been admitted by several scholars that, availability of jobs acts as major pull factor in urban centres while meagreness of these acts as push factors in rural communities (Mahama, 2013; de Haas, 2008).

Similarly, many people perceive that migration serves as a means to run out of poverty and this perception is generally evidenced in this study. The results in Table 3 show that, majority of the respondents representing 88.3% indicated that relatively high level of income in the host region influenced their movement from their place of origin to the Kumasi Metropolis. It was explained that inadequate income at the home region influenced their decision to move southward where poverty level is relatively low. Kwankye and Anarfi (2011) posited that, migration helps to minimise the effects of economic shocks on household welfare through remittances that are sent home. This is evidenced in the work of Mahama (2013) when finding causes of outmigration from Konkomba and Nanumba District that, people migrate as an investment to overcome economic problems in rural areas, increase their income and to increase their sources of income.

In addition, remittances that most migrants send home cannot be overlooked when discussing drivers of migration. Such items entice other able young men and women to join the migration stream. From Table 3, it is noted that quite a significant number of respondents (181 representing 46.5 percent) admitted that remittance sent home by colleagues from host region influence their movement from the northern Ghana to the Kumasi Metropolis. However, quite many migrants (173 representing 44.5 percent) noted that this did not influence their movement from their home region. The explanation was that colleagues who travel come home with expensive clothing and other items to show off that is why they decided to follow them. Others too come or send money home to support family project, pay hospital bills etc. According to

some of the respondents, they were influenced by their friends who said there are better condition of life in the south where they will get jobs and more money. There is the likelihood that a household may invest in their members to migrate because Adaawen and Owusu (2013) noted earlier that, migration is a coping and livelihood diversification strategy to poverty and poor agricultural productivity in Northern Ghana. Therefore, households may invest in their members to migrate so that they can relieve the family in times of need.

Relating the results to Lee's (1966) push-pull framework and Crawford's (1973) cognitive value-expectancy model, unemployment, underemployment, and poverty are the main unfavourable factors at the place of origin that discourage young men and women from staying, thereby acting as push factors. These conditions worsen their livelihood prospects, making migration the ultimate alternative.

On the other hand, the pull factors are the perceived expectations that attract migrants to their destinations, influenced by the cognitive value-expectancy of the migrants. The findings indicate that the most influential factors in choosing a destination include employment opportunities, lower poverty levels (higher income), and remittances sent home by peers. These findings align with Adaawen and Owusu (2013), who assert that migrants strongly anticipate earning income to remit and support the well-being of their families back home.

Realities on the ground at the migrants' region of destination

Table 4 represents the realities faced by migrant respondents in the Kumasi Metropolis. This was necessary to verify whether their living conditions based on their perception on urban condition exist in the Metropolis. Indicators such as unemployment situation, cost of accommodation, cost of health care, cost of education, cost of food, and cost of clothing, utility charges, poverty situation and general cost of living were used to examine these conditions. These specific conditions are often not examined by migrants prior to their decision to migrate to the cities. It was observed that, most migrants get trapped in high rate of unemployment, growing incidence of urban poverty and high cost of living. This made the expectations in the metropolis unrealistic. For example, from Table 4 in a multiple response inquiry, 52.7 percent of the migrant respondents (205 respondents) admitted that

unemployment situation at their destination was either high or very high; 84.8 percent of them (330 respondents) noted that cost of living generally was either high or very high and the incidence of poverty was considered either high/very high by about 65 percent of the migrants. A lot of literatures support that, rapid urban growth has led to unprecedented increase in unemployment situation, sanitation problem, rising cost of living, urban accommodation problem and urban food security, supply and distribution systems (Afriyie *et al.*, 2015; Adaawen and Owusu, 2013).

Even though migrants have established the fact that their expectations in the current destination are unrealistic and neck-breaking, comparing the conditions in the cities studied in the Kumasi Metropolis, it is observed from Table 4 that the migrants in Adum, Bantama and Manhyia experience much disappointing situation in terms of cost of food, utility charges and general cost of living according to their self-reported cases. Employment situation for migrants is significantly good in Adum and Asafo than the rest of the study areas. The reason is that most of the economic activities are concentrated in these areas which create job opportunities for most migrants. These areas are where porters and fish mongers are concentrated. Generally, it can also be observed from Table 4 that those in Central market experience relatively better condition than other areas studied while those in Bantama experience worse condition.

Table 4: Cross Tabulation showing Migrants Perception on Volatile Urban Situation

| Real Conditions at Destination | Areas of Operation | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|------|-------|---------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| | Rank | Adum | Asafo | Manhyia | Central Market | Kejetia | Bantama |
| Unemployment situation | High | 43 | 35 | 50 | 29 | 21 | 26 |
| | Low | 55 | 40 | 40 | 27 | 17 | 6 |
| Cost of accommodation | High | 86 | 65 | 81 | 49 | 33 | 28 |
| | Low | 12 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Cost of health | High | 50 | 62 | 48 | 32 | 27 | 19 |
| | Low | 48 | 13 | 42 | 24 | 11 | 13 |
| Cost of education | High | 54 | 48 | 44 | 27 | 23 | 19 |
| | Low | 44 | 27 | 46 | 29 | 15 | 13 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Cost of food | High | 91 | 64 | 85 | 35 | 35 | 29 |
| | Low | 7 | 11 | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 |
| Utility charges | High | 80 | 62 | 70 | 35 | 35 | 27 |
| | Low | 18 | 13 | 20 | 21 | 3 | 5 |
| Cost of clothing | High | 69 | 52 | 67 | 25 | 25 | 18 |
| | Low | 29 | 23 | 23 | 31 | 13 | 14 |
| Poverty situation | High | 60 | 56 | 57 | 29 | 26 | 23 |
| | Low | 38 | 19 | 33 | 27 | 12 | 9 |
| General cost of living | High | 88 | 67 | 71 | 38 | 35 | 32 |
| | Low | 10 | 8 | 19 | 18 | 3 | 0 |

Source: Field Survey, (2017)

Socio-economic situation of the migrants before and after migrating to their current destination

To be better informed about the disappointment that migrants found themselves in at their destination, the researchers present the results on the socio-economic situation of the migrant respondents before and after migrating to their current destination. This was necessary to verify whether their living conditions based on their self-reported cases are improving or worsening. In order to examine these indicators such as employment situation, accommodation, health conditions, sense of belonging and relationship with family members, nutrition, income level and general wellbeing were used.

Generally, it can be argued that the socioeconomic conditions of majority of migrants for most of the indicators used have seen improvement. For example, considering employment status, about 37.8 percent and 68.9 percent of the respondents respectively admitted that their employment status before and after migration was good as shown in Table 5. Similarly, with regard to income level, 26 percent of the migrant respondents indicated that their situation before migration was good, but 63 percent noted that their income level was good after migrating. It therefore implies that migration has led to the betterment of the migrants even in the face of the volatile urban scenarios. However, majority of the migrant respondents claimed that their

accommodation condition, health condition, access to regular and quality food and sense of belongingness were better before migration than after migration as shown in Table 5. This implies that improved employment status and increased income levels have not translated into improved standards of living and wellbeing for most of the migrants at their host urban destination.

Table 5: Socio-economic situation of the migrants before and after migrating

| Indicators | Responses and Magnitude | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|------|------|------|---------|------|-------|------|------|------|---------|------|
| | Before | | | | | | After | | | | | |
| | Good | | Poor | | Neutral | | Good | | Poor | | Neutral | |
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Employment situation | 147 | 37.8 | 178 | 45.8 | 64 | 16.4 | 268 | 68.9 | 114 | 29.3 | 7 | 1.8 |
| Accommodation situation | 340 | 87.4 | 34 | 8.7 | 15 | 3.9 | 160 | 40.1 | 219 | 56.3 | 10 | 2.6 |
| Health care | 272 | 70.0 | 31 | 8.0 | 86 | 22.0 | 204 | 52.4 | 81 | 20.8 | 10 | 26.7 |
| Sense of belonging | 345 | 88.7 | 26 | 6.7 | 18 | 4.6 | 305 | 78.4 | 65 | 16.7 | 19 | 4.9 |
| Access to good nutrition/ food | 338 | 86.9 | 41 | 10.5 | 10 | 2.6 | 285 | 73.3 | 86 | 22.1 | 18 | 4.6 |
| Cost of clothing | 250 | 64.3 | 120 | 30.8 | 19 | 4.9 | 300 | 77.1 | 64 | 16.5 | 25 | 6.4 |
| Income level | 101 | 26.0 | 275 | 70.7 | 13 | 3.3 | 245 | 63.0 | 120 | 30.8 | 14 | 3.6 |
| General wellbeing | 226 | 58.1 | 91 | 23.4 | 72 | 18.5 | 250 | 64.3 | 106 | 27.2 | 33 | 8.5 |

Source: Field Survey, (2017)

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has explored north-south migrants' expectation verses reality in the Kumasi Metropolis. The study found out that females are mostly involved in north-south migration than their male counterparts. Again, most of the migrants were married with children which is contrary to existing findings of some researchers. Furthermore, most of the migrants who were involved in the north –south migration was in their youthful age with little or no formal education; hence, they were mostly employed at the informal sector where they engage in porting, food vending, petty trading, domestic work, hawking etc with low-income levels.

The study revealed that pull and push factors were the drivers that influence north-south to the Kumasi Metropolis. Push factors were identified as the constraints at the home region that make the place highly unbearable for

people to live hence look for alternative livelihood elsewhere. The study identified unemployment and poverty (low income) as dominant push factors that have led to the continuous movement of people from the northern part of Ghana to the Kumasi Metropolis.

The research also identified some socio-economic conditions in the metropolis that make lives unbearable in the city. Among them include high rate of unemployment, housing deficit, high rate of poverty, rising cost of living, high interest rate, high cost of food, etc. These situations make expectations of migrants highly unrealistic.

Drawing on the results from the survey, it can be concluded that, even though the employment situation and income level of north-south migrants were improved after migration, they were better off in their hometowns before migration and worse off in their destination sites after migration.

The research recommends that central government in partnership with other agencies should plan and implement programme that can bridge the development gap between the north and the south so as to reduce the north south migration if not totally eradicated. This could be done by establishing vocational institutions that will absorb these people.

The Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly in collaboration with immigration service and Ghana Statistical Service Department should provide adequate data on migrants who are found in the Metropolis at any point in time. This will help in proper planning of the city and the country at large. This can be done by strengthening internal migration laws and also frequent conduction of population and housing census.

Ethical Statement

The study took into account all ethical standards.

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Authorship contribution:

Oppong-Mensah: Introduction, literature and the summaries and conclusion of the article. Atuilik: Methodological and analysis of article. Adjei: Supervision. Konadu: Data collection, proofreading.

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