South-South Migration: Examining the Links Between Food Security and Migration from Ghana to Qatar

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Abstract

This dissertation contributes to the migration-development literature by integrating food security into the analysis of South-South migration. While migration and development have been extensively studied, the connection between migration and food security remains underexplored, particularly in South-South migration contexts. The dissertation highlights the role of migration as both a coping strategy for food insecurity and a source of vulnerability for migrants in the specific context of temporary labour migration between Ghana and Qatar. Addressing this gap, the research examines how migration decisions are influenced by food insecurity in Ghana, the food security challenges faced by Ghanaian migrants in Qatar, and the impact of remittances on the food security of migrant-sending households.

The study adopted a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Data was collected through 200 household surveys in Ghana and 58 in-depth interviews with migrants in Qatar, alongside five key informant interviews. Quantitative methods, including multinomial regression analysis, were employed to assess household food insecurity using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) and the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS). Qualitative interview data provided contextual insights into the migration-food security nexus, revealing complex and nuanced connections. The research is grounded in a theoretical framework that integrates the Push-Pull Plus (PPP) model, the Aspiration-Capabilities framework, and the concept of translocal households. The PPP model provides a lens to analyze migration as a response to interconnected drivers such as food insecurity, economic hardship, and social networks. The Aspiration-Capabilities framework emphasizes the interplay between individuals' migration aspirations and their resources or capabilities to act on those aspirations, highlighting structural constraints like poverty and unemployment. The

translocal household perspective examines the bidirectional flows of resources and responsibilities across geographically dispersed household members, framing migration and food security as interconnected processes that span origin and destination contexts.

The research identifies key determinants of food insecurity, including household expenditure, educational attainment, and dietary diversity. Increased household expenses and limited dietary diversity were associated with higher odds of food insecurity in Ghanaian households. The key empirical finding is that food insecurity acts as a significant push factor for migration from Ghana to Qatar. Over 80% of migrant households in Ghana were found to be food insecure, with mild to moderate food insecurity being the most prevalent. Households adopt migration as a livelihood strategy to mitigate food insecurity, relying on remittances for food purchases, children's education, and basic needs. However, remittances do not guarantee complete food security, as challenges related to household structure, income levels, and dietary diversity persist. However, remittances do mitigate the severity of household food insecurity. Female-centred households were particularly vulnerable to food insecurity, reflecting broader gender inequalities in access to resources and decision-making.

In Qatar, Ghanaian migrants experience distinct food security challenges influenced by their immigration status, employment type, and cultural factors. Migrants on company-sponsored visas generally receive regular meals but face limitations in dietary diversity and cultural appropriateness. Freelance migrants, however, face greater food insecurity, struggling to access consistent and nutritious food due to erratic incomes and unpaid food allowances. Cultural dislocation further exacerbates the issue, as many migrants find it difficult to access traditional Ghanaian foods, leading to reliance on less preferred diets. Coping strategies include communal

cooking, skipping meals, and consuming inexpensive foods, highlighting the precarious nature of migrant livelihoods in Qatar. The study also underscores the bidirectional relationship between food security in Ghana and Qatar. Migrants' remittances significantly contribute to improving food security and reducing poverty in Ghanaian households. However, the pressure to remit can exacerbate food insecurity among migrants in Qatar, forcing them to prioritize financial support for their families over their own dietary needs. This dynamic reflects the interconnected nature of translocal households, where resources flow between origin and destination but with varying implications for food security.

In conclusion, this research demonstrates the complex and reciprocal relationship between migration and food security. While migration offers a pathway to improved household food security in Ghana, it simultaneously creates vulnerabilities for migrants in Qatar. By adopting a translocal perspective, this dissertation advances understanding of the migration-food security nexus, providing valuable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars seeking to address food insecurity in the context of South-South migration. The findings emphasize the need for targeted policies to address the interconnected challenges of food security and migration. Recommendations include enhancing support systems for migrant workers in destination countries, ensuring fair labour practices, and improving access to culturally appropriate foods. In origin countries, policies should focus on addressing the structural drivers of food insecurity, such as unemployment and inadequate agricultural support, while leveraging remittances to promote sustainable livelihoods.

Keywords: Food Security, Migration, remittance, Labour Migrants, Ghana, Qatar

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Statement of Originality

This is to certify that the content of this thesis is my work and that it is a true copy of the thesis, including any required and final revisions as accepted by the supervisory committee. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.

I understand that this thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Acronyms and Abbreviations	Meaning
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GCC	Gulf Corporation Council
A-C	Aspiration and Capability Framework
PPP	Push-Pull Plus Framework
AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
HFIAS	Household Food Insecurity Access Score
HFIAP	Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence
HDDS	Household Dietary Diversity Score
FCS	Food Consumption Score
CSI	Coping Strategy index
FANTA	Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background and Contribution

The study of international migration and its impacts on countries of origin and destination is disproportionately focused on the movement of people from the Global South to the Global North. However, many more international migrants are located within the Global South and between developing countries in the South. Until recently, studies focused on migration within the Global South had not paid much attention to the food security of migrants and their households. This dissertation therefore focuses on and contributes to the neglected issue of the links between food security and international migration in relation to temporary labour migration within the Global South. As such, it aims to make two main contributions to the literature: first, it shows the importance of examining the interconnections between the food security of migrant-sending households at places of origin and migrants at places of destination. Second, it demonstrates that a mixed methodological and conceptual approach is a prerequisite for unravelling these complex connections between international migration and food security. By exploring and understanding the interaction of migration and household food security both at the place of origin and destination, this dissertation aims to make a vital contribution to the emerging debate on the migration and food security nexus.

The limited body of Ghanaian research on labour migration to the Gulf region has focused on several themes, including the exploitative nature of the employment of temporary Ghanaian labour

migrants in Qatar and elsewhere in the Gulf (Atong et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019a; Von Martius, 2017) and the abuse, harassment, poor working conditions and other difficulties that labour migrants go through in their journey to and from workplaces in Qatar (Atong et al., 2018; Apekey et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019a). Other recent studies have focused on the migration industry, the role of brokers and recruiters, gender, and the reintegration experiences of return migrants (Apekey et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019a; Rahman & Mohammed, 2021; Von Martius, 2017). What is missing from the Ghanaian literature is any consideration of the relationship between labour migration to the Gulf region and individual and household food security in Ghana and the Gulf. As a result, this study is a timely reminder of the importance of the linkages between migration and food security in Ghana and Qatar.

The remainder of this chapter proceeds as follows: Section 1.2 highlights and discusses the problem statement of the study, Section 1.3 describes the objectives and research questions, and Section 1.4 describes the research context in Ghana and the Gulf region as a destination for Ghanaian migrant workers and the research context of Qatar. Section 1.5 explains the conceptual underpinnings of this dissertation. Finally, section 1.6 concludes the chapter.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The migration literature sees it as a longstanding phenomenon that is a crucial part of globalization and involves the movement of people around the globe from and within the Global North and South (Crush & Frayne, 2007; de Haas, 2010; Nyberg-Sorenson & Van Hear, 2002; Skeldon, 2020). The migration-development nexus has become a central theme in the research literature and global

development circles since the 1990s (Crush 2003; Crush & Frayne 2007; Gundel 2002; Van Hear & Nyberg-Sorensen 2003). At the same time, migration and development have traditionally constituted separate policy fields (Crush & Frayne 2007; Nyberg-Sorensen et al. 2002). Scholars have emphasized the need to study migration and development together rather than separately (de Haas 2012; King & Coollyer 2016). Crush & Frayne (2007) argue that the connection between migration and development has been identified in three distinct ways: (a) migration impacts development negatively, (b) migration impacts development positively, and (c) the migration-development nexus is complex and place-specific.

Migration's positive impacts have been conceptualized in the literature as a 'triple win' for the origin country, the destination country, and the migrants themselves (Castle & Ozkul 2014; Crush & Frayne 2007; Rahim et al. 2021). The 'triple win' is manifested through remittances, skills transfer, and diaspora engagement (Crush & Frayne, 2007; de Haas, 2012; Nyberg-Sorenson et al.,2002; Ratha & Shaw, 2007). Empirical findings in the literature suggest that migration, and more specifically migrant remittances, helps alleviate household poverty and sustain livelihoods, primarily through the emigration of low-skilled workers. Skilled labour migrants can transfer ideas, skills, and knowledge back home to develop their home country (de Haas 2010). The potential benefits of migration to the home country's development can be seen in terms of diaspora investment and remittances. Remittances are seen as vital to the development of the home country of the migrant, but are traditionally thought to flow mainly from the Global North to the South. However, there are equally high levels of remitting between countries in the Global South, and remittances constitute a significant percentage of the GDP of many nations in the South (Crush & Frayne, 2007; Ratha & Shaw, 2007; Skeldon, 2020).

Critics of the ‘triple win’ argument suggest that the benefits of migration are greatly exaggerated. The loss of skilled migrants, human resources, revenue, and a potential labour force in the form of a brain drain weakens the economic foundations of the home country and its development prospects (Lowell & Findlay, 2002; Sharma, 2012). Despite the contrasting views on the connections between migration and development in the literature, migration is an important issue and critical part of the broader process of development and social transformation in many countries in the Global South, and as such, it has considerable implications for public policies (Castle et al. 2014; de Haas 2021). There is a consensus that appropriate policies are needed to make migration outcomes positive for development (Castle et al. 2014; Taylor 1999). Crush & Frayne (2007), for example, suggest that instead of viewing migration and development as different policy spheres, mainstreaming migration into public policy is a way to harness the full potential and value of migration, as well as understand how public policies on migration can constrain or facilitate the pace of development in the Global South.

Despite the extensive literature on the relationship between migration and development, significant gaps remain underexplored. Crucial among them is the connection between international migration and food security. As several scholars have pointed out, the connections between migration and food security are still on the periphery of research and public policy (Choithani, 2017; Crush, 2013; Karamba et al., 2011; Monirazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022; Sharma, 2022). This is despite the growing research evidence that indicates a strong connection between migration, remittances, and food security (Choithani, 2017; Crush, 2013; Karamba et al., 2011; Monirazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022; Obi et al., 2020; Zezza et al., 2010).

Recent literature shows that remittances can positively impact food and nutritional security in communities and households in the home country by increasing household food consumption, purchasing power, and dietary diversity (Choithani, 2017; Crush & Tawodzera, 2017; Sulemana et al., 2018; Zezza et al., 2011). However, other studies suggest that remitting can harm the nutritional security and health of migrants at their destinations (Sulemana et al., 2018; Zezza et al., 2010). Furthermore, others have argued that the legal status of migrants impacts their food security with higher food insecurity rates among irregular, low-skilled, and displaced people, such as refugees (Dharod et al., 2011; Hadley et al., 2007). In their different ways, these studies demonstrate a complex reciprocal relationship between migration and food security. However, there is still a dearth of studies on temporary labour migration and food security within the Global South.

In Ghana, as elsewhere in the developing world, international migration is commonplace, though it is largely informal and undocumented, making accurate migration data scant (Arthur, 1991; Awumbila et al., 2008). Despite the lack of data, the literature points to a long history of emigration beginning in the late 1960s. (Anarfi et al. 2003; Bump 2006; Yaro 2008). However, in the last two decades, new migration trends emerged due to globalization, a decline in the economy, and socio-political instabilities resulting in increasing diversity and complexities in both internal and international migration (Awumbila et al., 2019a). Although the migration stream was male-dominated and long-term, since men were considered breadwinners in their families, new patterns have emerged, including independent female migration to the Gulf region and Europe, because of Ghana's deplorable socio-economic conditions (Apekey et al. 2018; Awumbila 2019a; Rahman and Mohammed 2021).

In recent years, there has been an increase in the migration of unskilled and low-skilled Ghanaian labour to the Gulf region, including Qatar. This has been precipitated by the high rate of unemployment, poor remuneration, and heightened poverty that many Ghanaian households face in the country (Atong et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019a). Also, the proliferation of brokers, recruitment, and work placement agencies in Ghana has facilitated the movement of migrants to the Gulf (Deshingkar et al., 2019; Awumbila et al., 2019a), with many low-skilled and unskilled migrants recruited to Qatar and other Gulf countries as domestic workers, security men, construction workers, and drivers (Atong et al., 2018). However, little attention has been paid to the relationship between Ghanaian labour migration to Qatar and individual and household food security in Ghana and Qatar. This relationship warranted further investigation for several reasons:

First, until recently, food insecurity was not seen as a significant driver of international migration. The research focused on the impact of migration on the welfare of the household at the place of origin. However, there is growing recognition that food insecurity can strongly impact household migration decisions and behaviour (Crush, 2013; Saddidin et al., 2018). Households use migration as a coping strategy to mitigate the risk and threat of food insecurity (Smith & Floro, 2020). At the same time, migrant support of their left-behind households impacts the food behaviours of migrants themselves at their destination. Despite the glaring evidence from studies in other parts of Africa that food insecurity influences migration behaviour, it remains underresearched at the household level in West Africa (Crush, 2013; Chikanda et al., 2020; Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Floro, 2020). In the context of Ghana, the link between international migration and food security remains unexplored.

Second, migrant remittances potentially increase the migrant household and family's access to food and development opportunities. Remittances to the household can improve dietary diversity, food, and nutritional quality (Tawodzera & Crush, 2017). In addition, remittances can ensure a stable income in times of food crisis and price increases (Obi 2020). Despite the evidence about the importance of migrant remittances for household food security, they have not been sufficiently researched in the context of temporary labour migration from Ghana to other countries in the Global South. Studies on remittances have focused mainly on internal migration or remittances from Ghanaians in the Global North.

Third, migrant remittances can be essential for the welfare of family members, including through education, household income, healthcare services, household savings, and most importantly, food security. Most scholarship in Ghana focuses on the role and contribution of migration and remittances to household welfare in the country. However, it is also vital to examine the state of food security of migrants at their destination. Numerous studies have been conducted in the Global North to assess the food security of immigrants (Dean & Wilson, 2010; Dharod et al., 2011; Hadley et al., 2007). Except for work in Southern Africa, the food security of migrants at their places of destination within the Global South is underexplored.

Fourth, the food security challenges and experiences of migrants at their destination, in this case Qatar, are not separate from those of their households and families in Ghana. There is a need to examine the relationship between labour migration and food security at both ends of the migration journey, as they are intimately connected. Focusing either on Ghana or Qatar ignores the interconnected barriers to food security for both the families of migrants and migrants themselves

at the destination. To fully understand the linkages between the food security of the Ghanaian household and the labour migrant in Qatar, it is imperative to recognize that labour migrants belong to multilocal or translocal households and that bidirectional resource flows span and connect Ghana and Qatar.

Finally, it is increasingly recognized that we need to consider gender dynamics in the relationship between migration and food security (Riley & Dodson, 2020). The literature has highlighted that female-headed households are consistently more food insecure compared to male-headed households (Santo et al., 2022; Jonah & May 2019). At the same time, the expenditure priorities of male and female heads are different. Gobel (2013), for example, demonstrates that male-headed households cut food costs to spend more on housing. On the other hand, women spend more on food, education and other immediate needs. These gender roles shape access to food and other nutritional services among migrants at their destination and their households at their places of origin. As such, gender roles need to be considered in the migration and food security debate, considering that they impact food security at both the destination and the origin.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

Three overarching objectives guide this dissertation.

(1) To understand the role of food insecurity as a driver of migration from Ghana to the Gulf.

(2) To understand the coping strategies and food security experience of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar.

(3) To assess whether and how migrant remittances from Qatar impact household food and nutritional security in Ghana

Given these objectives, the study seeks to address the following research questions.

1) **Food insecurity and Migration to the Gulf**
   i) What types of households are involved in migration to Qatar?
   ii) To what extent is household food insecurity a driver of Ghanaian labour migration to Qatar?
   iii) What coping strategies do labour migrant-sending households in Ghana adopt to improve their food security?

2) **Remittances and** H**ousehold Food and Nutritional Security in Ghana**
   i) Do remittances to left-behind family members impact the food security of remitting labour migrants?
   ii) How do remittance-receiving households utilize remittances?
   iii) Do remittances improve the food security of recipient households, and if so, how and why?

3) **Migrant Food Security in Qatar**
   i) What are the food consumption patterns and strategies of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar?
   ii) Do Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar experience food insecurity?
   iii) What are the gender and other determinants of migrant food (in)security in Qatar?

1.4 Research Context

1.4.1 Ghana

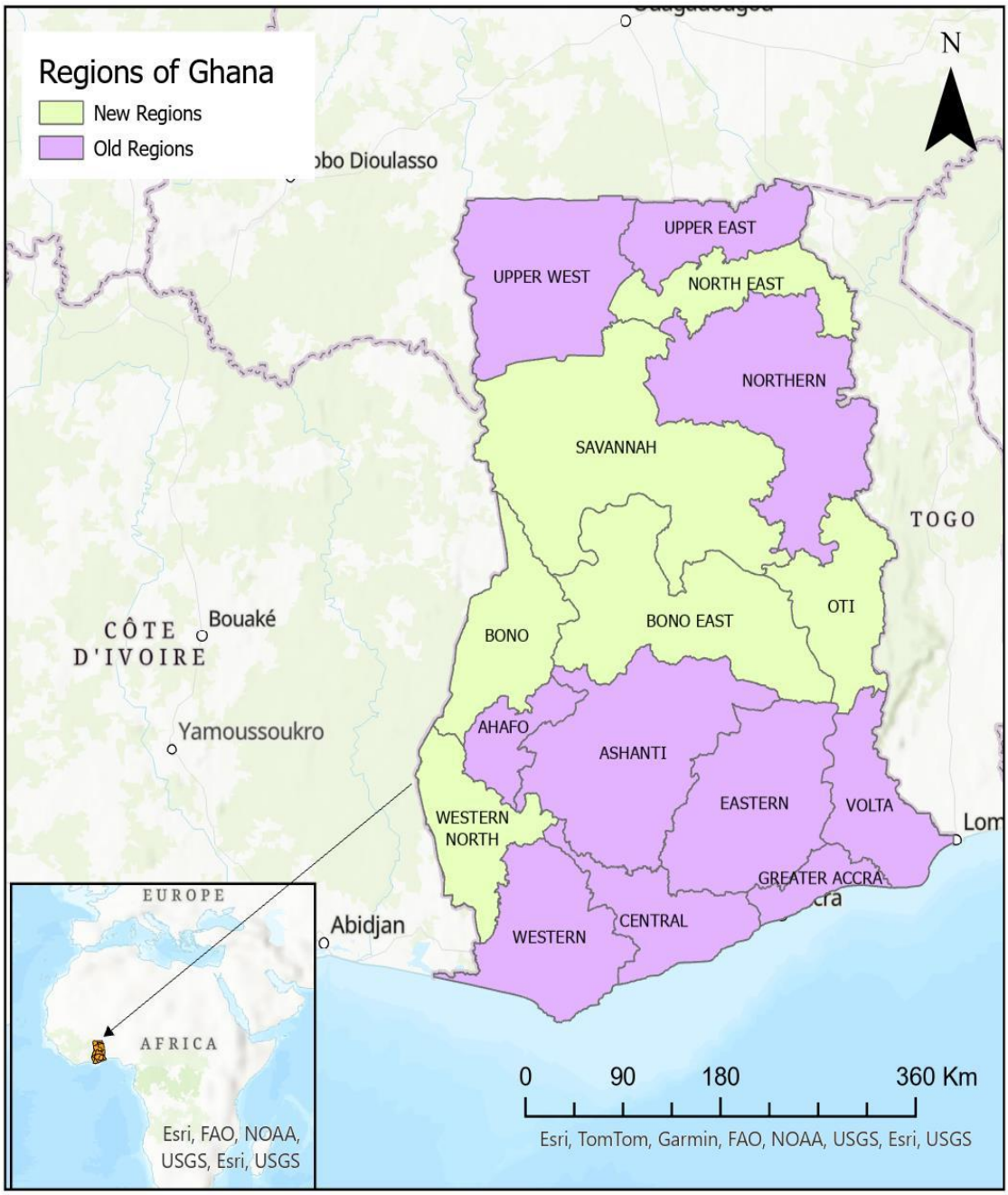
This dissertation is the first study to investigate the nexus between food security and labour migration from Ghana to Qatar. Ghana was the first African country to attain independence from British colonial rule in Africa on March 6, 1957. The country is located in West Africa along the Gulf of Guinea coast, covering 238,533 square kilometres and borders Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, and

Burkina Faso (Figure 1). Administratively, the country is divided into 16 regions (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021) and has a population of 32 million (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021).

In terms of natural resources, the country is endowed with abundant resources, notably oil and gas, diamonds, bauxite, and manganese, and is one of the leading producers of gold. In addition, abundant forests support agricultural production and, in 2006, Ghana became the world's leading cocoa producer (Awumbila et al., 2008). However, despite the abundance of these resources, Ghana faced considerable economic challenges during the postcolonial era, which led to restructuring and structural adjustment programs (Anarfi et al., 2000, 2003; Arthur et al., 1991). Post-independence challenges include food insecurity and poverty (Tsiboe et al., 2023). Significant economic disparities exist between rural and urban areas and across administrative regions. Notably, approximately 38% of individuals in rural areas experience poverty compared to 11% in urban areas (Cooke et al., 2016). Also, the poverty rate is highest in the northern regions — Upper West, Upper East, Northeast, Savannah, and Northern — which are significantly poorer than the rest of the country (GSS 2021: Tsiboe et al. 2023).

Migration has been a common feature in Ghana for decades (Peil, 1995). Initially, much of the migration was within the borders of the country, with individuals and diverse ethnic groups migrating in search of security during the colonial period and, more recently, for farmlands, fertile soils, and settlement for farming from the north to the south of the country (Awumbila et al., 2008; Kuuire et al., 2013). Recent studies have examined the trend of youth, both male and female, migrating from the northern part of the country to southern cities, particularly Accra and Kumasi, to engage in menial jobs (Edwin & Glover 2016; Awumbila et al. 2017).

Figure 1. A Regional Map of Ghana



Source: ArcGIS Hub

Despite the dominance of internal migration, there has also been significant international migration from Ghana in recent decades. Skilled migration from Ghana is diverse and accelerating. There has been a mass migration of highly skilled professionals, such as doctors, nurses, and other health-trained professionals, to countries such as the UK, Canada, and the USA, particularly from the 1990s onwards. Clemens & Pettersson (2006) noted that 56% of doctors and 24% of nurses trained in Ghana were working abroad. Although Europe, West Africa, and North America are popular destinations, new patterns have emerged with the migration of unskilled and low-skilled migrants from Ghana to the Gulf region. Emigration from Ghana is mainly informal and undocumented, making accurate migration data scarce (Arthur, 1991, 2006; Asare, 2012; Awumbila et al., 2008). However, recent figures show that Ghana is both an origin and a destination country for both regular and irregular migrants. UNDESA (2019) estimates that there was a total of 970,714 Ghanaian migrants outside the country (Table 1). The Ghanaian emigrant stock soared from approximately 762,000 in 2010 to 1,000,000 in 2019 – of which 459, 563 representing about 50%, reside in another country in the ECOWAS region. Nigeria is the most important destination for most Ghanaian emigrants, with a population of approximately 233,000, representing 24% of the total. Other popular destinations for Ghanaian migrants in West Africa include Cote d'Ivoire, with a migrant population of 111,024 (11.4%) and Togo. There is no official data regarding migration from Ghana to Asia and the Gulf region. UNDESA underestimates the scale of Ghanaian migration to the Gulf and Qatar. Jordan and the Philippines are the only countries with an estimated 27 and 35 Ghanaian migrants, respectively, in Asia.

Table 1: Destination of Ghanaian Migrants by Region

Global South	**Total Number**	**%**	**Females**	**%**	**Male**	**%**
West Africa	459,563	47.34	239,480	52.1	220,083	47.9
Southern Africa	12,107	1.25	4,231	34.9	7,876	65.1
Middle/Central Africa	6,314	0.65	774	12.3	5,540	87.7
Northern Africa	883	0.09	183	20.7	700	79.3
Western Asia (including the Gulf)	27	0.00	8	29.6	19	70.4
Eastern and South-East Asia	2,287	0.24	1246	54.5	1,041	45.5
LAC	99	0.01	30	30.3	69	69.7
South America	193	0.02	47	24.4	146	75.6
Central America	1	0.00	0	0	1	100
Global North						
North America	198,477	20.45	83,702	42.2	114,775	57.8
Europe	283,696	29.23	127,471	44.9	156,225	55.1
Oceania	7,067	0.73	3,138	44.4	3,929	55.6

Source: Compiled from UNDESA (2019a)

However, while there is no reliable data on Ghanaian migrants in the Gulf, Rahman & Mohammed (2023) collected data from officials at the Ghanaian embassies in the Gulf countries that suggest that there are 75,000 Ghanaian labour migrants in the GCC countries. Of these, Saudi Arabia has about 27,000, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) about 24,000, Qatar almost 8,000, Kuwait 8,000, Bahrain nearly 4,500, and Oman 3,500. They even consider these figures to be an underestimate

of the Ghanaian migrant population because some labour migrants, including domestic workers, are driven directly from the airport without registering with the Ghanaian foreign mission.

Despite the little data on the growth in the number of Ghanaian migrants, Atong et al. (2018) and Awumbila et al. (2019a) argue that the turn to the Gulf was precipitated by the high rate of unemployment, poor remuneration, and increased poverty many Ghanaian households face in the country. Additionally, the movement of labour migrants to the Gulf was facilitated by the proliferation of brokers, recruiters, and employment placement agencies in Ghana (Awumbila et al., 2019a; Deshingkar et al., 2019). Many low-skilled and unskilled labour migrants to Qatar and other Gulf countries were recruited as domestic workers, security personnel, construction workers, and drivers (Atong et al., 2018). Permanent immigration to the Gulf is largely prohibited by the Gulf countries so migration is usually on short-term employment contracts (Von Martius, 2017).

1.4.2 Qatar

The history of migration flows in the GCC countries is divided into pre-oil and post-oil discovery. That notwithstanding, the Arabian Gulf is noted for its long history of interactions and global connectivity with neighbouring countries (Hamza 2014; Gardner et al. 2013). The migration flows into the Gulf and is divided into three overlapping waves: the history of the Gulf and the arrival of the British; the second wave, the presence of the British in the 1820s, led to the establishment of the British protectorates. Wave three, the period of the oil boom industry, was the most important and last phase of labour flows to the region (Gardner 2010).

Figure 2: Country Map of Qatar

Source: World Atlas Maps

The oil boom in the 1960s, which gathered speed in the Gulf, sparked rapid development, which required demand for labour (Gardner 2010). The GCC countries have small populations; as such, they rely on imported labour to balance the labour deficit needed for operations in the industrial sector. Also, the new and rapid influx of wealth due to the oil boom in the GCC countries inspired a plan for development and modernization, which required the importation of labour. The labour

was primarily sourced from Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent (Gardner 2010; Hamza 2014).

In recent years, migration to the Gulf states, including Qatar, has become an essential destination for low-skilled and semi-skilled workers from Africa and other Asian states (Gardner, 2012; Rahman, 2015; Barber, 2011; Fargues & Shah, 2017). Diverse studies by scholars (Gardner 2010, 2011, 2013; Baber 2017; Fargues & Shah 2017; Jureidini & Hassan 2019) have contributed to understanding the unfolding migration patterns in the region and Qatar, the recruitment and sponsorship system used to hire labour migrants (Rahman 2012; Gardener 2013; Fargues & Shah 2018; Jureidini 2014), migrant remittances, and the causes and implications of migration to the Gulf region (Neufal and Genc, 2020; Rahman 2011).

Broadly, labour migration to the Gulf and Qatar begins with recruitment by agencies and migrant networks based on the Gulf region's sponsorship system of labour governance. The labour governance structure ties labour migrants to one employer, restricts family reunification for unskilled labour migrants, does not allow labour migrants to marry locals or be involved in sexual relations with them, and restricts labour migrants to the position of transient workers whose movement and rights are guided by legislations and enforced (Esim & Smith 2004, Rahman 2011, 2012, 2013; Shah 2010). Under this governance structure, a migrant is sponsored by an employer who is a Qatari or a citizen of the GCC who takes the full legal right and the economic responsibility of the migrant's employee during the term of the contract with the employee (Gardner 2010; Rahman 2012, 2013; Shah 2008). The sponsor/employer (kafeel) is usually a placement agency, company/institution, or an individual. The sponsor can also be a minor or

occasional kafeel and operate on a small scale, person-to-person, such as the employment of domestic workers.

However, big sponsors (kafeel) operate at the national level and have the power and connections to secure work visas. The sponsor signs a form with the Department of Immigration declaring that the labour migrant works for them and undertakes to inform the immigration department of changes in terms of work, such as cancellation, expiration, and renewal, and pledges to repatriate the foreign worker or the employee following the termination or expiration of their contracts (Longva, 1999; Rahman, 2012). This indicates that the employee is tied to the sponsor and can only work with them for a specific period, mainly two years, on contracts. However, since 2021, there have been reforms to the kafala system of labour governance in Qatar. The labour reforms allow migrant workers to pursue other employment opportunities in Qatar instead of working with a single employer. Employees can terminate their contract by providing at least one month's written notice if they have worked with the employer for two years or less or two months' notice if they have worked with the employer for more than two years.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Numerous studies in the migration and development literature have attempted to theorize the complex drivers shaping migration decisions, processes and outcomes (de Haas, 2010; 2021; King, 2012; Skeldon, 2020). This study is informed by a combination of three approaches: Push-Pull Plus, Aspiration-Capabilities, and Translocal conceptualizations of household organization across space. Although all of these frameworks equire the addition of a food security lens, they offer

insights into rethinking the complex nature and impacts of labour migration from Ghana to Qatar and incorporate the crucial role of migration agency.

1.5.1 Pull-Push Plus (PPP)

Traditional push-pull models of migration have been criticized for generating laundry lists of factors of limited analytical value. More recently, a modified Push-Pull Plus (PPP) framework has been proposed to examine migration decisions (Van Hear et al. 2017). According to Van Hear et al. (2017), the PPP framework breaks down the drivers of migration into individual components and examines the relationships between these elements in the destination and the origin countries. Proposed migration drivers include predisposing, proximate, precipitating, and mediating drivers. These drivers have several dimensions, namely locality, scale, selectivity, duration, and tractability. Table 2 provides examples of the different components of the driver complex. Combined, Van Hear et al. (2017) assert that the drivers and dimensions of migration lead to functional and dimensional interdependence, which creates a 'driver complex.' This complex is critical in shaping the decision to migrate and the migration journey. Interdependence means that changes in one factor can influence others, potentially altering the overall migration dynamics.

The PPP framework is particularly useful for this study in two ways. First, it provides a means of conceptualizing the interactions of different push and pull factors through the notion of a driver complex. Second, it allows the addition and integration of food insecurity as a driver of migration at different spatial scales. Third, it identifies the range of factors to be considered in a nuanced understanding of the link between migration and food security and the determinants of food insecurity that inform migration from Ghana to Qatar.

Table 2: Migration Driver Complex

Drivers

1. **Predisposing Factors:**
    - Examples: Erratic rainfall patterns, water scarcity, infertile soil, unequal living standards, food insecurity.
    - These are the underlying conditions that make migration more likely over time.
2. **Proximate Factors:**
    - Examples: Educational opportunities, rising economic upturn, employment prospects at the destination, food access.
    - These factors are more immediate or short-term conditions that make migration an attractive option.
3. **Precipitating Factors:**
    - Examples: Family reunification, famine, hunger
    - These are specific events or triggers that push individuals to migrate at a particular time.
4. **Mediating Factors:**
    - Examples: Migration networks, the presence and quality of transportation, communication, information, resources for the journey, food environment
    - These factors facilitate or hinder the migration process and can determine how, when, or whether migration occurs.

Dimensions

1. **Locality:**
    - Refers to the geographical, environmental, demographic, social, and economic characteristics of a location.
2. **Scale:**
    - Can be spatial (local, national, regional, global) or social (individuals, households, families, communities, societies).
3. **Selectivity:**
    - Involves factors like gender, language, race, and age that may influence who migrates and who does not.
4. **Duration:**
    - Considers the time frame, whether the situation is acute or chronic, and whether the migration is intended to be long-term or short-term.
5. **Tractability:**
    - Deals with culturally embedded norms, such as the belief that spending time away from the household is a crucial step to adulthood

Sources: Van Hear et al. (2017)

1.5.2 Aspiration-Capabilities (A-C)

The Aspiration-Capabilities (A-C) framework is a recent conceptual framing for studying individual decisions about mobility and immobility associated with the work of Hein de Haas (2014, 2021) and Jorgen Carling (2002). Carling (2002) was the first to propose a concept of 'aspiration and ability' to migrate after extensive research in Cape Verde. de Haas (2010) replaced Carling's concept of 'ability' with the term 'capability' in his study of out-migration from Morocco's Todgha Valley. de Haas (2014, 2021) argues that migration and human (im)mobility are primarily a function of individual aspirations and capabilities. The framework, therefore, conceptualizes the migration decision as a product of a migrant's aspirations and capability to migrate (Carling, 2002; Carling & Schewel, 2018; Castle et al., 2014; Schewel, 2019; De Haas, 2014, 2021).

According to the A-C framework, people must first have a personal desire, aspiration, or motivation to migrate, which is shaped by (a) personal ambitions or life goals; (b) exposure to migration narratives through social and traditional media, personal networks, and return migrants; (c) personal experiences and perceptions of potential destinations; and (d) social pressures or cultural expectations. Capability refers to the practical means and opportunities that individuals must have to actually migrate. This includes both internal resources (e.g. financial savings, skills, or health) and external conditions (e.g. migration policies, availability of migration networks, or geopolitical barriers). Key capabilities include (a) economic resources and the financial means to afford travel and initial settlement costs; (b) social networks and connections with people who can provide information and support, including recruitment agencies; (d) legal or irregular pathways

(e.g. availability of visas, work permits, or transportation routes; and (d) personal circumstances such as family responsibilities that may enable or restrict movement. Structural factors that limit or facilitate the realization of their aspirations are reflected in migrant capabilities such as their education, skills, abilities, and legal constraints (de Haas 2021).

The aspiration-capability framework is beneficial for analyzing Ghanaian migration to the Gulf for two main reasons. First, it helps explain individual decision making around different types of mobility and migration. There is no theoretical distinction between "forced" and "voluntary" migration since all forms of migration entail choices and constraints (Carling, 2002). As such, the aspiration-capability framework can be applied to all forms of migration, including temporary labour migration, both regular and irregular, typical of the Ghana-Qatar migration corridor.

Second, the framework goes beyond push-pull models by showing how structural push and pull factors are mediated by individual aspirations and capabilities. The aspiration-capability framework helps to clarify why some members of a family or household migrate while others do not, as individual family members may have differing aspirations and capabilities. In Morocco, de Haas (2003) found that migration was often described as 'leaving to stay.' Thus, the migration and remitting of some household members enabled others to stay home. While the framework incorporates capabilities, including some structural factors, it could underestimate the role of systemic and structural barriers such as poverty and inequality, international relations between Ghana and Qatar, or global economic shifts.

Third, although the A-C framework pays insufficient attention to gender, it can be integrated into the analysis of aspirations and capabilities. For example, gendered aspirations include social and cultural gender norms and roles that can greatly influence an individual's desire to migrate. In some cultures, men may be more encouraged or expected to migrate for work. Perceived gendered roles in the household shape career and mobility decisions. For many women, migration can be a pathway to greater independence, a reflection of aspirations shaped by changing personal and societal expectations. However, there could be a gender aspiration gap in the form of a situation where women do not aspire to rise through the ranks or be involved in household decision making or migrate to take up household leadership roles in the same way as men. Gendered capabilities can determine access to the economic resources necessary for migration, such as money for travel or securing a job at the intended destination. Women can also face greater barriers to accumulating resources due to wage gaps and employment discrimination.

Fourth, although the A-C framework is silent on food security, it is important to see how food security impacts the aspirations and capabilities of potential migrants. On aspirations, the lack or presence of food security can influence a person’s motivation to migrate. For example, people in food-insecure communities might see migration as a viable strategy to secure reliable access to food and improve their quality of life. The aspiration for improved food security may interact with the actual capability to migrate. Also, aspiration can lead to migrants directing income away from food consumption toward investment in order to create new capabilities to migrate. Capabilities such as financial limitations can be a significant barrier as resources may be directed towards immediate food needs rather than saving for migration. There are also possible feedback effects where migration influenced by food security concerns can lead to changes in food security at the

origin or destination. For instance, the migration of key family members might improve food security through remittances.

To conclude, the tenets of the A-C framework tend to suggest migration is an individual decision informed by the ambition and abilities of the individual. However, it underestimates the role of the household and the family in the migration decision. Labour migration from Ghana to Qatar is not an individual, but a household decision. Although the A-C framework is silent on the essential role of the family and household in the migration decision, migrants belong to households and have a network of relationships that depend on the migration of the household member as an insurance and livelihood strategy.

1.5.3 Trans-Local Households

Interactions between migrants and their households connected by migration have been described in the literature using concepts such as 'multi-spatial' (de Haan, 2005; Foeken & Owuor, 2001), 'stretched families' (Crush 2013; Porter et al. 2018), 'multilocal' (Anderson 2002; De Haan 2008; Frayne 2010; Owuor 2010; Tacoli 2008) and 'trans-local' households (Anderson-Djurfeldt 2021; Greiner 2010; Steinbrink & Niedenfuhr, 2020). The perspective suggests that global economic processes impact income and increase the vulnerability of the poor in the developing world's rural and urban settings. Individuals and households use migration to diversify their income. Migration of household members results in household networks, multiple sources of family income, and increased exchange of information, ideas, and food between the origin and destination localities (Anderson, 2002; Anderson-Djurfeldt, 2015).

Steinbrink & Niedenfuhr (2020) see trans-local households as socially recognized collective economic units whose members do not live in one place but effectively coordinate their reproduction, consumption, and resource usage activities over a while. Greiner (2011) describes the concept as 'the emergence of multidirectional and overlapping networks created by migration that facilitate the circulation of resources, practices, and ideas and thereby transforming the particular localities they connect' (Greiner 2011: 610). Trans-locality revolves around three key concepts: place, network, and locale (Anderson-Djurfeldt 2021). Crucially, translocality focuses on the microlevel dynamics of the relations between places of origin and destination (Anderson-Djurfeldt 2021; Steinbrink & Niedenfuhr 2020). Translocal connections shape the interaction, processes, and medium of exchange and support between households in different places.

Altogether, multilocal or translocal perspectives described the interconnections and linkages between different spatial nodes of a household (Anderson-Djurfeldt, 2015; Crush & Caesar, 2018; Frayne, 2010; Pendleton et al., 2014; Owuor, 2010). Social networks and connectivity within translocal households are fundamental survival strategies employed by migrants to contribute to sustainable livelihoods and food security. There is a mutual benefit through remittances and food transfers in a bidirectional relationship. While this concept has largely been applied to local, internal exchanges and livelihood strategies, international migration has similar dynamics when it comes to a translocal tied together by remittances (Crush & Pendleton, 2009; Crush & Caesar, 2018).

1.5.4 Relevance to Dissertation

Combining the Push-Pull Plus, Aspiration-Capabilities, and Translocal Household perspectives is beneficial for researching and analyzing Ghanaian labour migration to Qatar and the connections

with food security for several additional reasons. First, the three concepts have a level of connectedness in that they all relate to and aim to explain how migration is initiated, experienced, and represented. Also, the frameworks look beyond functionalist neo-classical and structuralist migration perspectives to examine the intrinsic and instrumental dimensions of migration decisions and outcomes. They highlight the importance of analyzing migration and food links between individual agencies and broader social structures.

Second, these frameworks explicitly or implicitly raise the question of the drivers of migration. Push-Pull Plus describes the drivers of migration and includes the factors that affect migrants at their places of origin and destination. Similarly, the A-C framework and translocal concepts highlight individual agency, as well as the structural forces that connect different places, that affect how individuals achieve their aspirations, and what shapes the migration decisions and outcomes (Carling & Collins 2018). However, van Hear et al. (2017) answer the question of drivers of migration, stressing that drivers alone do not explain migration; instead, they facilitate or constrain the agency of individuals. They highlight the need to conceptualize migration decisions as a function of agency, constituting an individual's aspiration and capabilities as the external structural forces such as networks that enhance migration and multilocal household food security decisions. (Anderson-Djurfeldt 2021; De Haas 2021).

Third, my study contributes to the refinement of these frameworks by incorporating the neglected issue of food insecurity into migration theorizing. For example, food insecurity can be conceptualized as a function of the aspiration and capabilities of food-insecure migrant

households, as a structural driver of migration, and as a challenge for translocal households spanning international borders.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter describes the background and context of this dissertation. While some studies have been conducted on the connection between food security and international migration in the global South, to date, no studies have examined the links between international migration from Ghana to Qatar and household food security. To understand this reciprocal relationship, this chapter also discusses a theoretical framework that combines different conceptual strengths, namely aspiration and capability, pull-push plus, and Multilocal/translocal perspectives, to ground this dissertation.

This dissertation has an introduction, a methodology chapter, three manuscript papers (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) and a conclusion. As a starting point to frame this dissertation and the three manuscripts (Chapters 3, 4, and 5), I conceptualize food insecurity as an example of the determinant of migration and examine the determinants of food insecurity among migrant households in Ghana discussed in Chapter Three. In chapter four, however, I examine structural food challenges that temporary labour migrants may face. I considered the food insecurity experiences of the migrants in Qatar, focusing on the food consumption patterns, food habits, and barriers to food security. Despite the challenges, in Chapter Five, I emphasize the benefits of migration to the welfare of migrants' translocal and multilocal families and households. Therefore, migration remittances become an insurance package for the household. However, while this dissertation uses the mixed methodological approach explained in Chapter 2, the different papers

use a different combination of quantitative and qualitative framing. The research findings (manuscript Chapters 3, 4, and 5) are interlinked and relate to the broader migration and development debate, grounded by the introduction (Chapter 1) and a conclusion (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER TWO

Research Methodology

2.0 Introduction

Despite the relevance of migration for both origin and destination countries (for example, in the idea of the 'triple win'), most scholarly works do not examine the impact of migration in both places in the same study. In this dissertation, in contrast, I set out to investigate the links between food security and migration by conducting research in both Ghana and Qatar. This approach is important for the following reasons: first, it allows for the drivers and benefits of migration between the place of origin and destination to be examined from both the perspectives of the left-behind household and the migrant. Second, conducting research in Qatar and Ghana provides first-hand information about the experiences of migrants and the importance of incorporating these experiences into migration and food security research. Third, it enhances a comparative assessment of the impact of migration on the food security of the migrant in Qatar and their translocal households in Ghana.

To understand the connection between migration and food security in the context of the research objectives of this study, it is necessary to describe and reflect on my choice of methodological approach to studying the nexus between food (in)security and migration, as well as whether and how migration alleviates household food insecurity, and how food insecurity influences migration decisions and behaviour. To answer my research questions, I adopted a mixed methodology. In this chapter, I first discuss why I chose this approach and the advantages of this approach for my fieldwork research. The next sections describe in detail my data collection process and analysis.

Then I reflect on my positionality with regard to my research respondents and conclude with a discussion of the limitations of the methods employed in this study.

2.1 Choice of Research Methodology

2.1.1 Rationale for Mixed Methods

My study relied on a mixed methods approach to address the connection between international migration from Ghana to Qatar and food security. Scholars use the term 'mixed methods' to describe projects that combine qualitative and quantitative research approaches to harness the strength of each and overcome the limitations of only using one or the other for data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Hawthorne, 2016; Tashakkorl & Teddie, 2010). Broadly speaking, quantitative approaches flow from positivism and empiricism and emphasize the collection, analysis, and interpretation of numerical data. They emphasize that research can and should be objective, neutral, and not imposed on by subjective values.

In addition, research findings can be generalized and applied universally (Migiro & Magangi, 2010). Conversely, qualitative techniques employ a non-numeric approach to data collection and analysis by using techniques that embrace multiple truths, complexity, and ambiguity (Philip, 1998). These methods emanate from a post-positivist theoretical position which assumes that 'reality' is interpretive or subjective (Shan, 2022). Subjectivity or interpretivism suggests that there are multiple realities and truths that depend on individual personal experiences (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Migiro & Magangi, 2010). In addition, they see researchers as constructors of knowledge

who use in-depth interpretations to represent reality in ways that depend on their positionality, knowledge, creativity, and understanding of the research problem (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Philip (1998) further notes that qualitative approaches suit small settings and case studies by enhancing deep and contextual comprehension of the experiences of individuals and local communities (Brown, 2003). Qualitative data should take the reader to the time and place of the research by capturing and communicating people's individual experiences (Patton, 2002).

In the literature, qualitative and quantitative research methodologies are often juxtaposed. Changing methodological and philosophical positions in geographical studies have further entrenched the division between these research approaches (Migiro & Magangi, 2010; Symonds and Gorard, 2010). In this research, I take the position of Symonds and Gorard (2010), who argue that the gap between qualitative and quantitative methodologies is not too wide to be bridged. Therefore, my thesis is based on the assertion that no single methodological approach tied to a specific ontological or epistemological position is sufficient for research on migration and food security.

The mixed method approach is crucial for my dissertation for several reasons. First, mixed methods allow one to draw on the different strengths of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Bryman, 2006; Hawthorne, 2016; Symonds & Gorard, 2010). Thus, mixing the two approaches helped me produce a more complete picture of a complex reality and enriched my understanding of the research results (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). For instance, the qualitative method is an excellent tool for collecting data on the gendered experience of individual and household food insecurity, something that household surveys do not necessarily capture (Behrman et al., 2014).

In contrast, a household survey and quantitative analysis using standard metrics provides a more rigorous way to assess and model levels and determinants of food insecurity.

Second, the mixed method approach is premised on the concept of triangulation, which allows for cross-checking to improve the validity of the research data (Symonds & Gorard, 2010). According to Bryman (2006) and Symonds & Gorard (2010), triangulation is a vital strategy for validating research findings. This is particularly relevant in research connecting migration and food security, since the food security literature tends to rely on quantitative survey data, and the migration literature is dominated by small-group qualitative methods. I agree with Byman (2006) that one method can be used to complement and cross-check the other and vice versa.

Third, geographers tend to focus on place-specific phenomena while taking into account broader national, regional, and local factors shaping people's experiences (Winchester & Rofe, 2000). For geographers**,** the mixed method approach is ideal for addressing these different scales. By using the mixed method approach to study complex phenomena such as food insecurity and the plight of food insecure households and migrants, I was better positioned to identify trends and patterns at different spatial scales from the macro- to the micro-level (Benhram et al. 2014). Also, from a geographical perspective, Hawthorne (2016) notes that combining qualitative and qualitative methods provides rich contextual data to use for the analysis and generalization of social phenomena and their distribution and dynamics at different spatial scales.

2.1.2 Mixed Methods and Migration to Qatar

The survey method was an important starting point for my research, addressing my first research objective on the connection between migration and household food insecurity in Ghana. This approach allows for the identification of phenomena, descriptions of patterns, and generalization of findings after testing the validity of the findings (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2003; Hawthorne, 2016). I therefore developed a quantitative survey instrument to collect numerical data on migrant and household characteristics and behaviour, including the use of remittances and levels of food (in)security. In the context of this study, the survey method helps expand the potential generalizability of the findings, an especially important consideration for policymakers and stakeholder discussions on the causes of migration and food insecurity.

For the qualitative research component, I conducted in-depth interviews with migrants in Qatar. Both are an essential and suitable medium for the researcher and the participants to communicate ideas for the joint development and production of knowledge. The interviews allowed me to reach a deeper comprehension of migrant lives and views, which cannot be established or understood through survey methods. The semi-structured interview has been used extensively by other scholars in the migration and food security literature (Dean & Wilson, 2023), providing depth and richness to understanding human experiences. As Arku et al. (2012) note, face-to-face interviews allow for one-on-one interactions and interpersonal discussion, elucidate deeper and conceptual meanings, and capture individual migration experiences. All participants were asked the same questions in the same general order although the participants were allowed to digress and discuss any new themes and issues that emerged. By using open-ended questioning and a semi-structured

interview guide, I followed Cresswell's (2003) recommendation to listen attentively while participants expressed their feelings and constructed their reality.

I also conducted key informant interviews in both Ghana and Qatar. These interviews provided information and insights into issues I could not directly experience or observe. The key informants were individuals who are crucial components of the migration industry in Ghana and Qatar. They were knowledgeable about migration between Ghana and Qatar and were willing to articulate and share their knowledge. This was particularly important to provide a broader context for understanding the connections between food insecurity and migration. They were also aware of migration trends in Ghana and could help contextualize migration behaviour that is linked to food insecurity at the origin and destination.

2.2. Data Collection Process and Sampling Techniques

This section discusses my fieldwork preparation and research activities and how the data was collected. Before the fieldwork, I spent the first two years of my study exploring the literature on labour migration, food security, and the migration and food security nexus. I was particularly interested in labour migration from Ghana to the Gulf region and the determinants and impacts of migration from Ghana. This gave me a good working sense of the importance of migration for migrants and their households and the potential role of food security in the migration decision. In my dissertation proposal, I reviewed the theoretical literature and conceptualized a framework for assessing the drivers of labour migration from Ghana to Qatar, as well as how migration from

Ghana to Qatar might impact food security among migrant-sending households in Ghana and migrants in Qatar.

2.2.1 Sampling and Data Collection

The qualitative and quantitative data was collected from March to June 2023 in Ghana and Qatar. First, my migrant household survey was conducted from mid-March to May. Four local university graduates experienced with survey data collection were recruited as enumerators and research assistants to support the data collection. They were fluent in English and many local Ghanaian dialects, the geography of Accra, and the cultural context. For logistical and financial reasons, the study was limited to Accra, its neighbourhood, and the neighbouring town of Kasoa since there were more migrant households within this location.

Because there was no sampling frame for selecting migrant households, participants were recruited through migrant networks, contacts at the recruitment agencies, the Ghanaian German centre, and the Ghana Immigration Service using a snowball approach. Staff from some recruitment agencies and the Ghana Immigration Service also put the project into WhatsApp groups. This enabled communication with migrants in Qatar and linking up with their families in Ghana for interviews. Also, participants were recruited with the help of organizations such as the Ghanaian German Centre, who provide various services and programs tailored to return migrants. They recommended and introduced some participants who attend their weekly programs and access the support they offer to be returned Gulf migrants. Before the data collection, the students were trained on administering the survey instrument using tablets. The survey was developed in English and uploaded on the tablets using Kobo Toolbox. The enumerators were instructed to read the

questions from the tablets and translate them orally into the Ghanaian language (Twi) where necessary. Finally, I held debriefings with the research assistants many times during the week to ensure the surveys were administered consistently and promptly

The survey respondents were either household heads over 18 years old who had a household member in Qatar or another adult household member who knew about household dynamics and the food situation. In total, 200 household surveys were conducted. The survey instrument was adapted from a questionnaire developed by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) (McCordic & Frayne, 2017). The data collected included the essential demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the household and household head, factors influencing the migration decision, household food consumption and food security, and the receipt and use of remittances by the households. To assess the level of household food security, nine standardized frequency-of-occurrence questions were posed based on the methodology and measurement approach of the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) Project (Table 3). The Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) (Coates et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2013) score for each household was calculated as follows: "never= 0", ''rarely=1', 'sometimes=2' and 'often=3' (Coates et al., 2007). Each household was scored on the HFIAS from 0 to 27. The HFIAS of the household is the sum of the nine frequency-of-occurrence scores during the last four weeks (Coates et al., 2007). Based on the HFIAS scores, the Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence (HFIAP) indicator was used to determine the food insecurity prevalence and status among the households. The HFIAP classifies each household according to four predefined food security prevalence categories: food secure, mildly food insecure, moderately food insecure, and food insecure.

Table 3: Table HFIAS Questions and Frequency of Occurrence

Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) for last four weeks	**No (Answer to question is 'No')**	**Rarely (once or twice)**	**Sometimes (3 to 10 times)**	**Often (more than 10 times)**
1. In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food?	1	2	3	4
2. In the past four weeks were you or any household member not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
3. In the past four weeks did you or any household member have to eat a limited variety of foods due to a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
4. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat some foods that you really did not want to eat because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food?	1	2	3	4
5. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
6. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
7. In the past four weeks, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your household because of lack of resources to get food?	1	2	3	4
8. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
9. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4

Source : Coates et al. (2007)

A household dietary diversity score (HDDS) was calculated to determine the total number of food groups consumed by the household in the 24 hours prior to the survey. The HDDS js calculated by computing the total of food groups consumed by the household and the values of each food group is either '0' (No) or '1' (Yes) (see Table 4 below). The HDDS scale ranges from 0 to 12,

with the higher the score, the more diverse the household diet. I further categorized the HDDS into high (from 6-12), medium (4-5) and low (0-3) dietary diversity (Baliwati et al., 2015). The average HDDS is calculated by the sum of the HDDS values of the households divided by the total number of households in the study (Swindale & Bilinsky, 2008).

Table 4: HDDS Food Groups

HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY SCORE (HDDS) (Circle yes in the box if anyone in the household ate the food in question, circle no if no one in the household ate the food)		
Types of food	**Yes**	**No**
a. Any Bread, rice noodles, biscuits or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat, or Banku	1	2
b. Any potatoes, yams, manioc, cassava or any other foods made from roots or tubers?	1	2
c. Any vegetables?	1	2
d. Any fruits?	1	2
e. Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?	1	2
f. Any eggs?	1	2
g. Any fresh or dried fish or shellfish?	1	2
h. Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?	1	2
i. Any cheese, yoghurt, milk or other milk products?	1	2
j. Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?	1	2
k. Any sugar or honey?	1	2
l. Any other foods, such as condiments, coffee, tea?	1	2

Source: Swindale & Bilinsky (2008)

Second, I conducted five key informant interviews in Ghana concurrently with the surveys. The key informants were all individuals knowledgeable about the problems of Ghanaian labour

migration to the Gulf and included government officials in the Ministry of Labour, recruitment agencies and brokers, and the Ghana Immigration Service. All the key informants were lead stakeholders and had been in their position for over ten years. I selected the key informants using referrals from institutions and stakeholders familiar with the subject and other online government and agency sources. Upon receiving the contact information or suggestions about participants, I visited their offices or sent an email with the project information letter and consent form. The key informants were selected to provide insights and perspectives about Ghanaian labour migration to the Gulf, its causes, the problems faced by migrants' face, and the impact on migrants and their households at their place of origin and destination. All interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide and at the respondents' offices since it was a much more convenient place for them. The interviews were conducted in English, and I recorded the responses using an audio recorder. The characteristics of the key informant are summarised below (Table 5).

Table 5: Characteristics of Key Informants

Respondent	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Occupation
Key informant 1	Female	43	Married	Information management
Key Informant 2	Male	32	Single	Recruitment specialist
Key Informant 3	Male	52	Married	Chief Labour Officer/Pastor
Key Informant 4	Male	62	Married	Professor
Key Informant 5	Female	48	Married	Managing Director

Third, I conducted 58 face-to-face, in-depth interviews in Qatar using a semi-structured interview guide. The interviews were conducted in Doha and surrounding neighbourhoods where the Ghanaian community lives. The in-depth interview participants were recruited using purposive snowball sampling. The eligibility criteria for the in-depth interviews included men and women over 18 years old who had lived and worked in Qatar for two years or more. With the assistance of a gatekeeper, participants were recruited through community networks such as the Ghanaian Association in Qatar. Also, when church services were held on Fridays (a religious holiday in Qatar), an announcement was made about the research. Interested participants were encouraged to contact the author and gatekeeper. The gatekeeper accompanied me around the Ghanaian community, different labour camps and accommodations, and Ghanaian restaurants in order to meet potential participants and arrange places of convenience for an interview.

I used a semi-structured interview guide to focus the discussion while allowing for flexibility. This also allowed new themes to be explored and follow-up interviews to be arranged. The interviews recorded migration experiences and attitudes, migration decisions of the labour migrant, economic activity, challenges, food consumption patterns, and food security experiences in Qatar. Each survey and interview lasted approximately an hour. After the participants consented to the interview, and with their agreement, a voice recorder was i used to record the interview responses. The characteristics of the interviewees are presented in Table 6 below. The socioeconomic characteristics in the table show only those responses recorded during the interviews; unanswered questions are not included.

Table 6: Socioeconomic Characteristics of Interview Participants

Population	**Frequency**
Total	58
Sex	
Male	45
Female	13
Age	
18-30	18
31-40	14
40+	4
Marital Status	
Married	23
Unmarried/single	32
Separated/Divorced	1
Widowed	0
Highest Level of Education	
Junior High School	18
Senior High School	17
Diploma	6
University Graduate	6
Number of Years in Qatar	
0-3	45
4-7	8
7-9	2
10 and above	2

Employment Sector	
Security	3
Factory (glass work and fixing)	4
Cabin Crew	4
Construction	14
Transportation (drivers and driving tutors)	4
Cleaning	14
Food Delivery	4
Domestic work	1
Restaurant attendants	9
Immigration status	
Company visas	19
Freelance/free visas	37

2.3 Data Analysis

During the fieldwork, the survey data was collected using ODK collect and stored in the Kobo Toolbox online, which I downloaded after the surveys had ended. On return to Canada, the survey data was cleaned and analyzed in Excel for descriptive analysis. I then analyzed the household survey data using SPSS version 21. I also used SPSS to estimate the relationship between household food insecurity and the household characteristics of the respondents with a logistic regression model. The logistic regression aimed to determine how household characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, level of education, household structure, income, expenses, coping

strategies, and dietary diversity were associated with household food insecurity status. I discuss the key results and findings from this data analysis in depth in Chapter 3.

Second, I analyzed the qualitative data, including the in-depth and key informant interviews. Guiding the qualitative analysis was the work of Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) on thematic analysis, a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes (patterns). A thematic approach for analyzing qualitative data is imperative and regarded as foundational for qualitative work since it allows for more flexibility and gives a detailed account of the data; it can also be used to describe and interpret the study data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Before commencing the thematic analysis, I transcribed the audio recordings in English. I read the transcripts of about 158 pages many times to understand and get a good impression of the data. I then coded the transcripts using Nvivo 12 software. I initially coded the data into broad or generalized themes, which were later broken down into sub-themes (Table 7). During the writing process, I highlighted and analyzed the most telling examples from the interviews and related them to the research questions and the literature on migration and food security, explicitly focusing on household food insecurity experiences in Ghana and Qatar, coping strategies, and the crucial role of migrant remittances in household food insecurity.

Table 7: Themes and Sub-Themes Identified Using NVIVO 12

Themes	**Sub-themes Identified**	**No of references of the theme**
Reasons for migration decision	Abroad is better. Job opportunities Expenses too high in Ghana Join family	31

Migrant Challenges	Food not good Salary too small Confiscation of passport ID and permit renewals expensive Lack of job security Lack of jobs post world cup Loss of family relations Boarding school accommodation Poor kitchen	33
Kind of remittance	Cash remittance Food remittance	37
Use of remittance	Household food purchase Small Business establishment Education Clothing Housekeeping money Feeding fees Rent Building houses Payment of school fees	38
Food consumption patterns	Company food provision at cafeteria and restaurants Food allowance for individual food provision Ghanaian food vendors	47
Food Sources	Baquala for small purchases Supermarkets for bulk purchases Food transfers from Ghana	41
Migrant food Habits	Routine 3 meals a day in company Freelance cook and eat anytime. Ghanaian food vendors We eat rice Everyday	38
Cause of migrant food insecurity	Lack of knowledge on the migration system and process Recruitment costs and debts Remittance to family members Cost of immigration and work permit Non - payment of food allowances Attitude towards foreign foods Gender roles	32

Food assistance	Qatar foundation Feed the city. Food transfer from families in Ghana	21
Coping strategies	Loans from friends No dietary diversity: we eat rice every day. Communal cooking Borrowing from friends Skip meals Bulk purchase Eat unpreferred company foods. Eat smaller meals. Food substitutes	34

2.4 Reflexivity and Positionality

Reflexivity and disclosure of positionality is increasingly important in assessing qualitative research. This is because a researcher's judgement, biases, and skewness could potentially affect the research process, leading to different outcomes through invalid conclusions and misunderstanding of the research subjects (Holmes, 2020; Medzani, 2020). Studies in qualitative research suggest that researchers should engage in painstaking self-reflection during the entire research process to identify and evaluate their research position, biases, and preconceptions of the research subjects and participants (Bryman, 2016; Holmes, 2020; Mason-Bish, 2019). In what follows, I critically highlight and discuss my own positionality and how thise affected various aspects of my research.

2.4.1. Research Positionality Statement

I began this research as a 'Ghanaian' (referring to people from Ghana). Both of my parents are Ghanaians who lived in Ghana. My father, who was then working at Ghana Commercial Bank,

one of the best-known Banks in Ghana, resigned from his post and migrated for greener pastures to the United States of America for over 20 years. In that same community, I had friends who did not continue their education after senior high school. On hearing that life was easy abroad, they migrated to the Gulf countries; at first, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and, later, Qatar. Some also left for European countries such as Greece and Turkey. Therefore, from personal experience, the subject of international migration was not new to me. As a friend of those who migrated to the Gulf and the son of a man staying abroad, I was equipped with personal insights into the complexities of Ghanaians migration decisions and experiences. I sympathized with many of my friends who travelled to the Gulf about the precariousness of their journey, which was contrary both to my and to their preconceived perceptions about migration abroad.

I am also a migrant myself who was domiciled in Canada while conducting the research. As a migrant in Canada, I followed the path of my undergraduate course mates who had moved to St Johns, Newfoundland, for graduate studies mainly because of the differences in the prevailing political, economic, and social conditions between Ghana and Canada. My experience of living as a student in Canada also gave me a better sense and insights into the precarious situation of migrants in the Gulf when I travelled to Qatar for my fieldwork.

Throughout my research, I depended on my supervisor, who funded, advised, and guided the direction of my research based on his experience and identity. While in the field, I was supported by research assistants (RA) to conduct the survey in Ghana and, more instrumentally, a male RA to help conduct the in-depth interviews in Qatar. I use two common positionality references to highlight our relationship with the research subject and participants. These positionalities are the

'insider' or 'outsider' binary (Malterud, 2001; Holmes, 2020). The 'insider' refers to researchers who have commonalities and share dimensions of identity such as age, sex, social network, and personal history with the research subjects or participants. However, 'outsiders' by definition do not share identities with the research subjects (Holmes, 2020; Malterud, 2001). In this research, my age and gender did not pose any obvious positional effects in interacting with the research participants. My main positional dilemma stemmed from the fact that I was returning 'home' to Ghana, and although I was familiar with the ways of life and internal community dynamics in Ghana, I was with people who were not my direct family members. The 'big' question was, am I an insider, an outsider or neither or both? I found that the fact that I am a Ghanaian share similar personal experiences as a migrant myself and know the migration dynamics and challenges facing migrants who embark on the journey to the Gulf made me more of an insider. While insider status and perspective were extremely helpful in the expeditious conduct of the research, it still presented challenges during the fieldwork process.

First, in terms of the advantages, being an insider offered me the opportunity to immediately connect with an extensive local network. I share the same language and societal characteristics, which helped me to identify research participants in Ghana and Qatar. Thus, as an insider, I had a greater sense of where to find and connect with migrant-sending households. Therefore, insider status gave me the leverage to connect and identify households for the survey and the participants and key informants for the in-depth interviews. Additionally, I found I could easily build rapport and trust with respondents and research participants. Dosu (2021) asserts that establishing relationships and personality is crucial to fieldwork. For instance, I knew specific locations where I could find the households of the labour migrants, particularly in Accra. While conducting the

research in Qatar, although I am Ghanaian, I looked like a stranger. My RA in Qatar was my former student and an ex-military man who migrated to Qatar and served as my gatekeeper and local insider. The strong relationship and bond we shared helped me to gain access to many Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar. Realizing that I am a fellow Ghanaian and having travelled from afar to conduct the research, the migrants felt my work might have weight to inform decision-making and change their plight; hence, many were ready and willing to share their opinions.

Second, regarding the challenges, as an insider, I was limited, less critical, and probing during some of my interviews with key informants and labour migrants. For instance, when I interviewed key informants at some government agencies, I asked questions they expected me to know the answers to because I am a Ghanaian. Sometimes, respondent answers to questions I posed on migration to the Gulf and the reasons were met with the response, "we all know why." Also, I was aware of the power asymmetry that meant that I could not press key stakeholders, such as government officials and heads of recruitment agencies, for more information. These key informants were often reluctant to discuss in detail critical issues that emerged from their initial responses to my questions, presumably because they feared for their position and might be implicated in any negative findings. At one ministry, informants informed me that because I am a Ghanaian, they were initially apprehensive. One key informant asserted: 'I am a pastor and the chief labour officer. I have been working in this department for over 19 years, I will try to respond to your questions, but I hope it does not put me in trouble in future' (Key Informant 3, Ghana, 13 April 2023). As I understood their concern, they were worried about implicating themselves in any recording of their voices. They feared being subjected to government or employer scrutiny after the interview, and I noted that the respondents were all cautious during our conversations.

Similarly, some of the surveyed migrant household heads or representatives in Ghana, felt uncomfortable and avoided critical discussions and questions, especially about family dynamics, why they migrated to the Gulf, remittances, and food consumption patterns. For instance, although I am proficient in some common Ghanaian languages and know about the socioeconomic dynamics in Ghana, when I probed about the household food situation and related issues, some indicated that it was a private issue and hence were unwilling to share critical details. Also, the fact that I had a backpack with a laptop and tablets with questionnaires depicted me as a researcher like those they had experienced but saw no results or impact of cooperating with researchers. As a result, my approaches were rejected in some households due to the disappointments of the past, which is understandable. However, I clearly explained the purpose of the research to get more support and participation in the project. That notwithstanding, I understand I may have missed out on crucial details or information and a chance to ask for clarification due to these challenges.

Because I am a Ghanaian based in Canada, I was considered more of an outsider belonging to the elite than an insider by the labour migrants in Qatar. The migrants often began their responses by comparing Ghana and Canada. This is illuminated by a respondent who noted the following differences: “This year, June 20th marks my fifth anniversary in Qatar. I am happy to hear you came from Canada, and I am still hopeful about obtaining a Canadian visa. My dream country, I am content in Qatar, better than Ghana, but hopefully, I get the opportunity to Canada soon” (Interview No. 23, Qatar, 4 June 2023). Others indicated that I knew relatively little about Qatar and its way of life, work, food, and the struggles migrant workers face. Migrants saw me as an outsider because I knew relatively little about the food consumption patterns, labour arrangements,

and visa acquisition process and how that impacted their food consumption patterns. As one respondent emphasized: “This is Qatar; life here is different; let me explain the difference between a free visa and a company visa and the food we eat and provided to us by the companies and the use of the Qatar ID here to you.” (Interview No. 53, Qatar, 18 June 2023). Others thought that my research carried weight because I came from Canada; hence, it was an opportunity for the international world to learn about the plight of migrant workers in Qatar and get the assistance and support they needed. This was obvious when I visited one of the labour accommodation sites for the first time and explained my research to them. One respondent said, “I will tell you everything, go out there, announce on radio, TV and news, let the whole world know what we go through here’ (Interview No. 30, Qatar 8 June 2023).

In some instances, I was able to overcome the outsider perspective by further explaining the objectives and purpose of the project, as well as using the local language and participating in social activities such as attending church service with them on Fridays. However, I sometimes maintained the outsider position to probe and get more information and clarity from the respondents. More importantly, assuming the outsider position proved more advantageous during the data collection as it allowed me and the participants to discuss criticisms and sentiments about the research. Subsequently, I noticed the participants ascribing a new insider-outsider binary to me, suggesting that they were looking to me to use information obtained from them in Qatar to advocate for improved conditions of work, proper food provision, and livelihoods. While the participants counted on me as a potential initiator of better migrant welfare and food security, I was extremely careful not to promise anything. One respondent who was hopeful about the potential impact of

the interviews said: “Hopefully, your research can lead to more social support and food assistance program to support us.” (Interview 44, Qatar, 13 June 2023).

Away from the field, in my analysis of the data and research findings, the binary perspective of outsider and insider did not affect me as much as it did in the field. However, I still felt that the research participants and respondents unofficially expected my research to affect their livelihoods and their communities, which might, in some way, have influenced the analysis and interpretation of the data. I read the transcripts and imagined myself in the respondents' position to better understand their concerns and responses. Still, my background and embeddedness in this research, as well as my experience of the plight and concerns of the research participants, may have influenced the choice of issues analyzed in the findings and dissertation.

2.5 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

The challenges and limitations in this study can be classified as methodological and ethical. First, to ensure rigorous and accurate survey data, I observed several methodological protocols during the fieldwork. These included training research assistants and holding regular debriefings. However, some methodological challenges and limitations may have influenced the outcome of the research. For instance, the data collected using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) relied on ‘food’ recall, in which respondents might not always have been in a good position to talk about the food experiences of other household members. Conversely, all family members are classified as food insecure on the questionnaire if any family member is classified as food insecure. Household heads or representatives interviewed may also be biased about their food

security experience because they may not want to give an accurate picture of their food experience due to the fear of being looked down upon (Coates, 2010). Also, the HFIAS findings suggest that the extended family household structure was more food secure compared to other types, contradicting other studies and evidence from similar research contexts in Ghana (Cudjoe et al., 2011) (see Chapter Three).

Second, the migrants I interviewed in Qatar were not from the same households that I surveyed in Ghana. I also encountered participants from different places in Ghana than Accra. The challenge is that this does not allow for a completely accurate comparison and assessment of the impact of migration on left-behind families. Similarly, the experiences of migrant members from the surveyed households in Ghana were not captured. In both cases, the respondents in Ghana cannot validate the views of migrants in Qatar, and vice-versa.

Third, ethics clearance was approved by the University's Research Ethics Board (REB #8471) of Wilfrid Laurier University after a lengthy review process, delaying the start of fieldwork. I followed the ethics protocols during the fieldwork and sought the approval of the participants before commencing each interview. I explained the purpose of the study, advantages, and disadvantages to participants and sought their oral or written consent. Participants were informed that their involvement was voluntary and that they had the right to refuse to answer any question. Also, the consent form was reviewed in the local Ghanaian dialect (Twi) and English. Further, I strictly adhered to written and voice-recorded informed consent protocols in Ghana and Qatar. However, especially in Qatar, labour migrants and other participants feared their recorded voices and other information collected could be used against them by the Qatari government. I therefore

recognize that some respondents were reluctant to thoroughly discuss the research issues, their plight, and other workplace concerns.

CHAPTER THREE

Manuscript #1: Food (In)Security Among Labour Migrant Households in Ghana

3.0 Introduction

The factors driving international migration flows are complex and interrelated, preoccupying migration studies and research, and culminating in an extensive literature. This literature identifies various key driving factors, including geographical differences in labour supply and demand, income differentials (Mayda 2010), environmental changes (Milan & Ruano, 2013; Wesselbaum and Aburn, 2019), and migration as an insurance and risk diversification strategy (Abreu, 2012; Massey et al., 1993; Smith and Floro, 2020). The Push-Pull Plus (PPP) "migration driver complex", provides a useful way of categorizing the different factors that encourage and inhibit migration, and their interaction (Van Hear et al., 2017). However, the PPP framework excludes food insecurity as a significant driver of international migration.

In general, food insecurity can be induced by many factors, ranging from household characteristics to institutional and locational factors, all of which are well elucidated in the literature. These include high unemployment (Aknboale & Adeyefa, 2018; Crush & Ceasar, 2014), household income (Abdu-Raheem and Worth, 2011; Anand et al., 2019; Aknboale & Adeyefa, 2018; Crush & Frayne 2011), gender (Santos et al., 2022; Gebre, 2012; Smith et al., 2017), age (Yousaf et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2017), education (Babatunde et al., 2007; Nkegbe et al., 2017; Kolog et al., 2023), marital status (Smith et al., 2017; Nkegbe et al., 2017), household structure (Frayne et al., 2009: Mabuza & Mamba, 2022; Jonah et al., 2020; Santos et al., 2022), access to services

(McCordic et al. 2022), and inadequate food access (Abdu-Raheem & Worth, 2011; Crush & Frayne, 2011; Gebre, 2012).

Low-income families and households are particularly vulnerable to food insecurity (Dunga, 2020; Jonah et al., 2020; Mabuza & Mamba, 2022). Female-headed households are generally more food insecure than male-headed households and other household types (Frayne et al., 2009; Mabuza & Mamba, 2022; Jonah et al., 2020; Santos et al., 2022; Tambe et al., 2023). Additionally, in studies conducted in Southern Africa, the situation of food security of the household varies with the size of the household and the gender identity of the household head (Tawodzera et al., 2012; Tawodzera & Crush, 2017; Tevera et al., 2012). The gender of the household head affects opportunities for employment and education, which has implications for household income and food security (Santo et al., 2022). Similarly, Mabuza & Mamba (2022) show the impact of household size, income, employment status, and gender on food insecurity. In their recent work, Mohammed et al. (2024) argue that other social factors, such as alcohol consumption, can have a significant impact on household food security, as they affect the calorie intake and income that would have been required for household food purchases.

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Notwithstanding the growing literature on the link between food insecurity and migration in the Global South, there has been no research to date on the connections between food security and the migration of Ghanaian workers to Qatar. Some studies have explored the socioeconomic challenges of migrants in the Gulf and the migration industry (Awumbila et al. 2019a). Other studies have also focused on return migration and remittances to households in Ghana (Rahman & Salisu, 2021, 2023). Understanding the potential connection between household food insecurity

and migration to Qatar is therefore crucial, as food insecurity and its determinants can influence migration from Ghana, the impact on households, and their coping strategies at their places of origin and destination.

Smith & Floro (2020) have recently argued that migration driven by food insecurity is a strategy to mitigate risk and minimize relative deprivation, and recent empirical research confirms that food insecurity can strongly influence household migration decisions and behaviour (Crush, 2013; Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Wesselbaum, 2022). Studies in different parts of the Global South, including Africa (Crush, 2013; Laborde et al., 2017; Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Floro, 2020; Smith & Wesselbaum, 2021; Warner & Afifi, 2014), Asia (IADB & WFP, 2017), and Latin America (Milan & Ruano, 2013) all show that food insecurity can be a critical driver of migration. Furthermore, Sadiddin et al. (2019) show that the desire to migrate increases with the severity of food insecurity. However, when food security deteriorates, it can be challenging to migrate internationally due to financial and other restrictions that restrict the capability to migrate.

This chapter aims to contribute to the debate on the connections between migration and food security in the Global South by investigating (a) the type of urban household involved in migration to Qatar and the Gulf, (b) the level of food insecurity among the households of Ghanaian migrants working in Qatar, (c) the underlying factors contributing to food insecurity and (d) the coping strategies adopted by the labour migrant households in Ghana to address food shortages and insecurity. The sections that follow describe the research findings and are organized into four main sections. First, the chapter reviews the existing literature on the relationship between migration and household food insecurity in Ghana. Second, it describes the methodology used in

a survey of 200 migrant households in Accra. Third, it uses descriptive statistics and regression analysis to demonstrate the association between household characteristics and food insecurity.

3.1 Food Insecurity in Ghana and Migration

Ghana is faced with the daunting challenge of making significant improvements in food security. Research and policy reports indicate that the food security situation in Ghana worsened in 2022 (CARE 2023). The number of people in food crisis increased from 560,000 in 2021 to 823,000 in 2022, a significant increase of 47% in people facing a lack of access, availability, and food utilization (CARE 2023). A comprehensive food security and vulnerability analysis (CFSVA) conducted in Ghana in 2020 indicated that of the Ghanaian population, 3.6 million, representing 11.7% of the total population, were food insecure. Of these, 44.2% or 1.6 million, were severely food insecure, and 55.8%, or two million people, were moderately food insecure (GSS & FAO, 2020). Regarding the regional prevalence of food insecurity, 78% or 2.8 million people were in rural areas, and 22%, representing 0.8 million people, were in urban areas (GSS & FAO, 2022). Furthermore, the CFSVA results showed that 18.2% of Ghana's rural population were food insecure, including 7.3% severely food insecure and 10.9% moderately food insecure. Also, 5.5 % of Ghana's urban population were food insecure, including 3.2% severely food insecure and 2.3% moderately food insecure (GSS & FAO, 2022).

Food insecurity challenges are clearly most intense in rural areas of Ghana, where livelihoods are highly dependent on agriculture (Abubakari & Abubakari, 2015; Acheampong et al., 2022; Antwi-Agyei & Nyantakyi-Frimpong, 2021; Baada et al., 2023; Kuuire et al., 2013, 2016; Rademacheriz-

Schulz et al., 2014). Farmers face challenges from climate change and seasonal variation, lack of access to finance, insufficient knowledge, post-harvest losses, unsustainable farming systems, and a lack of incentives to invest and produce to satisfy the growing food needs of the country (Achemapong et al., 2022). However, among urban households, difficult socioeconomic conditions such as unemployment, low wages and income, and high food prices underscore urban food insecurity (Bleking et al., 2020). A recent study by Tuholske et al. (2018) in Accra shows that household education assets and type of home are important determinants of household food security. Blekking et al. (2020) reveal that low-income communities, both formal and informal, have different levels of food security, with food security high among households with formal employment over households engaged in informal jobs when measured using the Coping Strategy Index (CSI) and the Food Consumption Score (FCS).

In this context, migration is a longstanding livelihood strategy that households in Ghana use to cope with food insecurity (Afifi et al., 2016; Abdul-Korah, 2011; Baada et al., 2023;). Most migration is internal from ruraltourban or ruraltorural areas (Awumbila et al., 2008). Kuuire et al. (2016), Antwi-Agyei & Nyantakyi-Frimpong (2021) and Rademacheriz-Schulz et al. (2014) note that migration is usually internal and, in some cases, seasonal and circular, particularly in rural areas. In a study conducted in the northern region of Ghana, Kuuire et al. (2016) and Gemme & Blocher (2017) demonstrate that faced with uncertain weather conditions, climate change, and season variations, some rural agricultural households resort to outmigration to find better conditions for food production. However, internal labour migration in Ghana is predominantly rural-urban and generally comes from poorer regions, especially northern Ghana, with unstable socioeconomic and ecological conditions to the south of the country, including Accra (Kuuire et

al. 2013). There, migrants facing food insecurity challenges end up working in the urban informal sector in precarious and low-paid jobs (Kuuire et al. 2016). Awumbila et al. (2019a) also found that many people and youth from northern Ghana work in construction and domestic service jobs in Accra.

Rural-to-urban migration is more common than international migration, since most migrants cannot afford the costs of international migration (Awumbila et al., 2019b). However, migration to the city is an essential first step in relocating internationally. Households with a social network and more resources are potentially likely to increase their migration capabilities and migrate to specific destinations (Awumbila et al., 2019a). While the literature focusses on internal migration, new forms of migration have emerged as migrants and other household members flee difficult domestic socioeconomic situations and look for better livelihoods, food security, and greener pastures internationally. In this context, Qatar has emerged as an important destination.

3.2 Methods and Materials

The data for this study was collected over three months from March to May 2023 in Ghana and Qatar. With the support of research assistants, the author conducted a face-to-face survey with the heads of migrant households or members who know about the dynamics of household food in Accra and Kasoa. The survey participants were recruited using purposive snowball sampling. The purposive snowball technique is used where there is a hidden population (Johnson, 2014) or a hard-to-reach population (Burns & Grove, 2005), but no reliable prior research database to sample (Arku et al., 2012). Participants or household heads over 18 years old who had a household migrant

in Qatar and knew about household dynamics and food situations were eligible for the household surveys. Participants were recruited with the support of research assistants through migrant networks, contacts with recruitment agencies, and the Ghana Immigration Service. A sample size of 200 migrant household respondents completed the survey.

The Household Food Insecurity Scale (HFIAS) was used to assess the food security status and experiences of migrant households, focussing on food access. The HFIAS captures the behaviour and experiences of household food consumption based on insufficient quality and quantity and worry and anxiety about food access and supply (Coates et al. 2007). The respondents were asked nine validated questions based on their food consumption and subjective experience of the main domains of food insecurity. These included perceptions that the quantity and quantity of food accessible are inadequate, reduced food intake, and food-related anxiety and uncertainty (Coates et al., 2007). A score was generated for each household on a scale from 0 (most secure) to 27 (most insecure) based on the participants' responses to perception of and experiences with food insecurity and vulnerability. Additionally, based on the HFIAS scores, the Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence (HFIAP) was calculated, and the level of food insecurity of the household was classified according to four predefined food security prevalence categories: food secure, mildly food insecure, moderately food insecure, and severely food insecure.

The Household Dietary Diversity Scale (HDDS) is widely used to determine the quality of the household diet. An increase in dietary diversity is associated with improved health and nutritional outcomes, as well as an improvement in the socioeconomic status and ability of households (Hoddinot & Yohannes, 2002; Ruel, 2002). The HDDS determines how many food groups were

consumed in the household in the previous 24 hours. This study used the standard list of 12 food groups as the indicator with bivariate type (Yes/No) information for each group (Hoddinot, 1999; Swindale & Belinsky, 2006). All food groups were equally weighted, and a total score was calculated on a scale from 0 to 12 for each household by summing all the Yes responses to the consumption of the 12 food groups. The households were then categorized as having high (from 6-12), medium (from 4-5), or low (0-3) dietary diversity (Baliwati et al., 2015). Also, the Coping Strategy Index (CSI) was used to assess the adaptation mechanisms of the household in the event of food shortages. The survey covered four general categories of coping strategies: dietary changes, increasing household short-term food access, decreasing the number of people to feed, and food rationing such as reducing the amount of food or skipping meals (Maxwell et al., 2003).

The descriptive statistics covered household composition and data, including household food sources, migration and food security connections, coping strategies, and dietary diversity. I estimated a multinomial logistic regression model using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 21 (SPSS V21) and Excel. Logistic regression analysis aims to determine how household characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, level of education, household structure, income, expense, household coping strategy, and dietary diversity score are associated with household food insecurity status. These variables were hypothesized to have a significant association with household food insecurity, influencing migration decisions. The household characteristics included in the regression analysis include the age of the household head or representative, marriage status, sex, education, household dwelling, household structure, and household income. The regression model estimates the relationship between the categories of food insecurity in households and the defined household characteristics of the migrants as independent variables.

The results of all models are presented using proportions, predictive odds ratios (OR), and 95% confidence intervals (CI). The significance level of the findings was established with a p-value less than or equal to 0.005.

Also, to further provide context for the quantitative data and uncover the reasons for migrants' decision to migrate, qualitative interviews were conducted with migrants in Qatar from May to June 2023 using the purposive snowball sampling approach. A total of 58 in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted in Qatar. These interviews focused on a range of questions that covered sociodemographic information, reasons for migration, earnings, nature of work, savings, remittances, patterns of food consumption, and household food security.

Several methodological limitations need to be mentioned. The relatively small sample size and non-random selection of households for interviews limit the ability to generalize for migrant households in Ghana as a whole. Similarly, the self-reporting food security measurement approaches used for this study, namely the HFIAS, HFIAP, Coping Strategy Index, and HDDS all have weaknesses (Jones et al., 2013). For example, they strictly depend on "food recall," which can compromise the data if respondents are careless about their consumption patterns or have a short memory and forget what they or other household members ate over a given recall period (Jones et al., 2013; Monirrazman & Walton Roberts, 2022). Furthermore, this study focused only on urban households with migrant members in Qatar. However, some migrants come from rural areas in other parts of the country. The families of migrants likely have different food insecurity experiences and challenges in urban and rural Ghana, especially with differences in economic opportunities and activities.

3.3. Results

3.3.1 Profile of Migrant Households

This section profiles the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of households in Accra with migrants working in Qatar. Table 8 shows the relationship of the household respondents to the migrant in Qatar. More than half of the respondents were the brother or sister of the migrant, followed by their father or mother (18%) and their spouse or partner (15.2%). The largest group was aged between 31 and 50 (53.1%), with another 31.8% between 19 and 31. There were more male respondents (65.7%) than females (34.3%). Half were unmarried, and another 37.2% were married. Most of the respondents had not received any higher education. Nearly a third had completed high school, 16.7% had post-secondary education but not university, 15.7% had completed university, and 6.6% had some university education. The proportion of those who had completed or had some primary education was 17%, but very few (only 2%) had no formal education.

Table 8: Descriptive Characteristics of Household Respondents

	Frequency	**Percentages (%)**
Relation of Household Respondents to the Migrant in Qatar		
Brother/sister	99	55.6
Father/mother	32	18.0
Spouse/partner	27	15.2
Son/daughter-in-law	11	6.2
Son/Daughter	4	2.2
Adopted/foster child/ orphan	4	2.2
Grandparent	1	0.6
Age of Household Respondent		
19-30 years	63	31.8
31- 40 years	105	53.1
41-65 years	29	14.6
66-95 years	1	0.5

Sex of Household Respondent		
Male	130	65.7
Female	68	34.3
Marital Status of Household Respondent		
Unmarried	101	50.8
Married	74	37.2
Living together or cohabitating	14	7.0
Separated	5	2.5
Divorced	4	2.0
Abandoned	1	0.5
Highest Level of Education of Household Respondent		
High school completed	56	28.3
Post-secondary qualifications, not university	33	16.7
University completed	31	15.7
Some high school completed	24	12.1
Primary completed (junior or senior)	18	9.1
Some primary	16	8.1
Some university	13	6.6
No formal education	4	2.0
Postgraduates	3	1.5

The household respondents were engaged in various economic activities and forms of employment (Figure 3). The largest groups were self-employed businessmen and businesswomen, followed by informal hawkers, traders, and vendors (12%), professional workers (11%), and office workers (8%). Most of the surveyed migrant households live in houses (71%), the most common housing type in Ghana, especially in the Accra Metropolitan Area. Another 10.5% live in compound/hostel dwellings, 8% in townhouses, 2.5% in homesteads, and 4.5% in traditional dwellings with built-on rooms.

Household structure has been shown to impact food security, and female-centred households are most vulnerable to food insecurity (Riley & Dodson, 2020). Figure 4 shows that 33% of the migrant households comprised extended families, 26.5 % were nuclear families, 23.5% were male-centred households, and 15.5% were female-centred households. The dominance of the extended family structure is primarily due to the high cost of housing in the city. Also, the traditional settlement arrangement in Accra and Ghana encourages communal living (Awumbila et al., 2017).

Figure 3: Distribution of Respondent Occupations

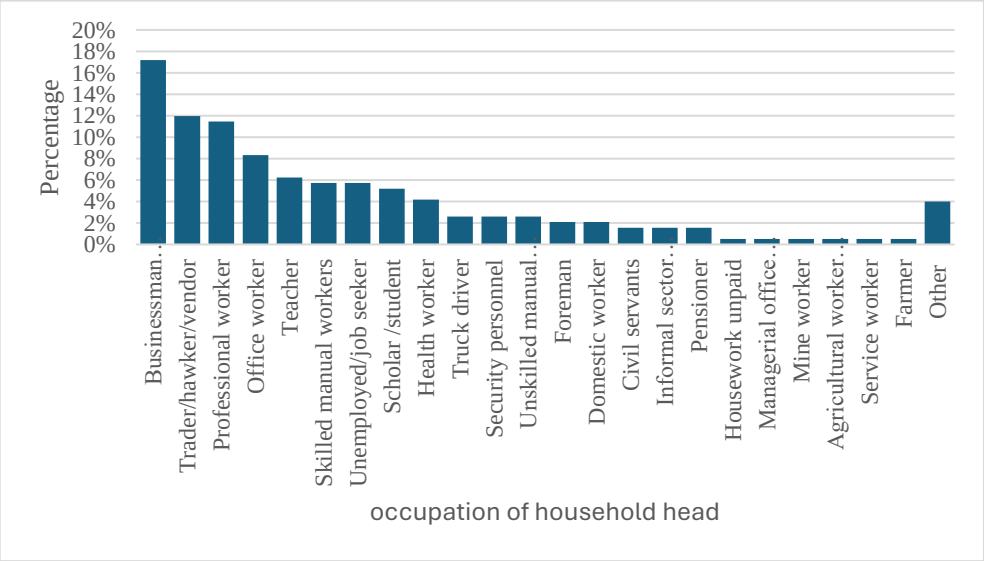
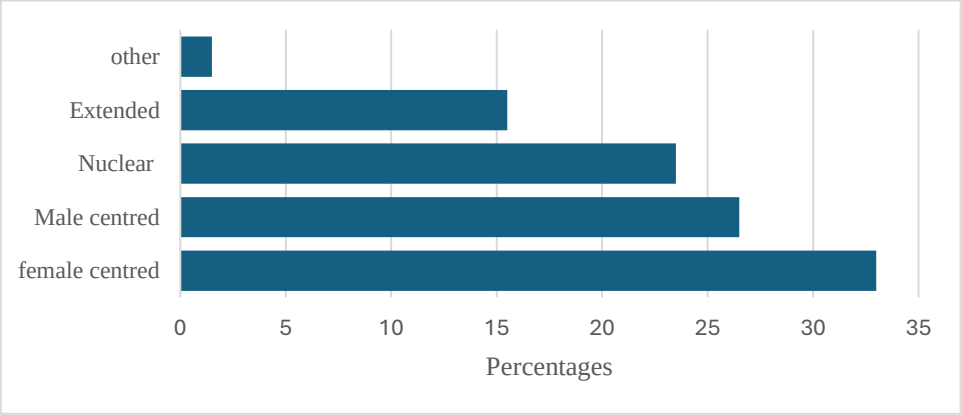
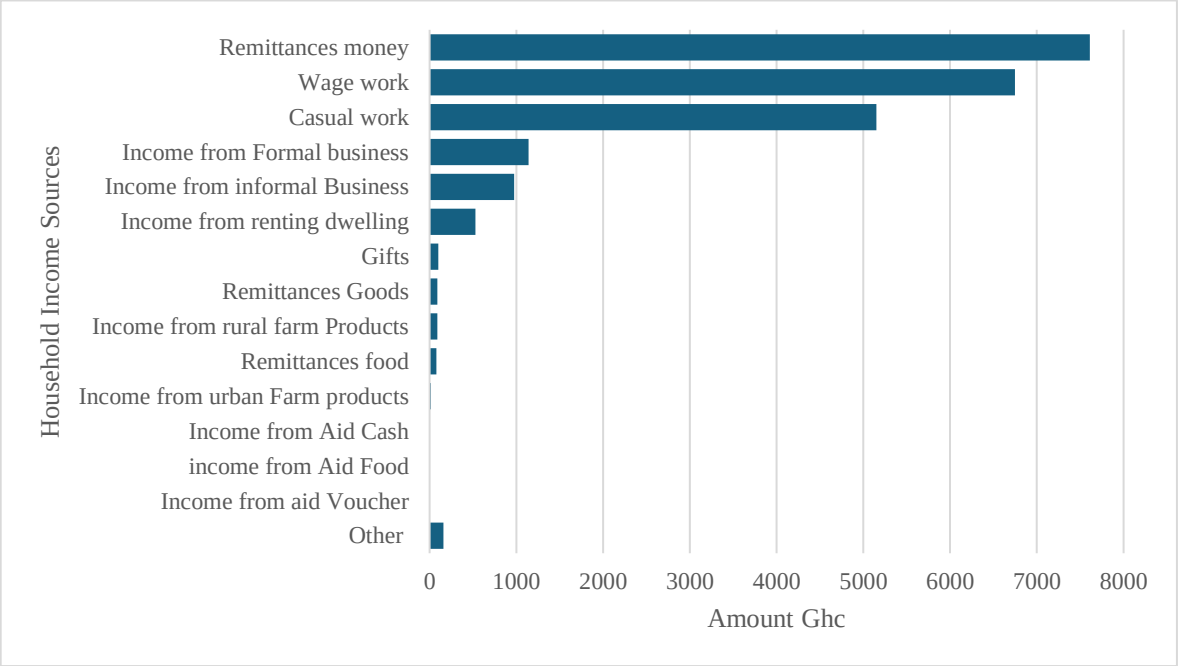


Figure 4: Household Structure.



The income of migrant households has been shown to strongly shape food security in other contexts (Guo, 2011; Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2013; Monirrazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022). All sources of income from households were considered when calculating average household income. Regarding the percentage distribution, 31% of the respondents indicated that household income comes from casual work, 24% from wage work, 22% from remittances, 7% from informal business, and 6% from pension/disability/other social grants. Regarding the total income contribution, the results show that the average annual income of the households was Ghc22,687.28 (USD 1,646.39), and the average monthly income of the households was Ghc1,335.55 (USD 96.92). Migrant remittance money is a crucial source of annual household income with an average of Ghc7,611.14 (USD 552.33), compared to other sources of income including wage work Ghc6,748.54 (USD 489.73), casual work Ghc5150.10 (USD$373.74), income from formal business Ghc1,140 (USD 82.73), and rent Ghc527.05 (USD 38.25) (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Household Income from All Sources



3.3.2 Household Food Security

Responses to the nine HFIAS questions on the occurrence of food insecurity are shown in Table 9 below. They suggest, first, that the migrant households did not feel particularly anxious or worried about their food supply. Second, 25-30% of the households had often/sometimes eaten a limited variety of foods, eaten undesirable foods, eaten smaller meals than desired, and eaten fewer meals because there was not enough food. Third, only a minority of households often or sometimes had no food of any kind (11.5%), went to bed hungry because there was no food (6.5%), or went a whole day and night without eating anything (3.5%).

Table 9: Responses to the HFIAS Questions

In the previous 30 days:	Often (more than 10 times)	Sometimes (3 to 10)	Rarely (once or twice)	No/Never
1. Worry about not having enough food to eat	0.5	8.5	34.5	56.5
2. Not able to eat the kind of food you preferred because lack of resources	1.5	16.0	50.0	32.5
3. Eat a limited variety of food due to a lack of resources	2.0	22.5	45.5	30.0
4. Eat food that you did not want to eat because of lack of resources to obtain other types of food	2.5	23.0	46.0	28.5
5. Eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food	3.0	25.0	40.0	32.0
6. Eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food	3.5	27.0	38.0	31.5
7. No food of any kind to eat because of lack of resources to get food	1.5	11.0	29.5	58.0
8. Go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food	0.0	6.5	27.5	66.0
9. Go a whole day and night without eating anything because there is not enough food	0.5	3.0	28.0	68.5

On the HFIAP indicator (Table 10), only 16% of the households were completely food secure. However, only 1% of the households were severely food insecure, with another 28% experiencing moderate food insecurity. The results suggest that food insecurity is a challenge among Ghanaian labour migrant households but would probably be much more severe without the transfer of remittances from Qatar. As Chapter 5 shows, migrant remittances are essential for household food

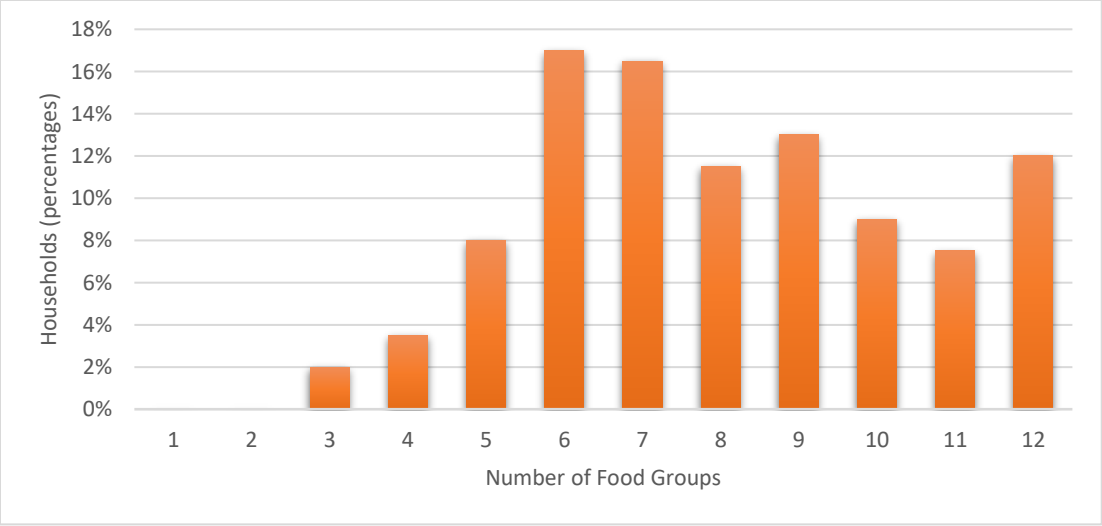
purchase and consumption. They are also important for other household needs, such as payment for rent, feeding fees for children, and establishing small businesses.

Table 10: Prevalence of Household Food Insecurity

Food Security Category	Frequency	Percentage
Food Secure	32	16.5%
Mildly Food Insecure	105	54.1%
Moderately Food Insecure	55	28.4%
Severely Food Insecure	2	1.0%
Total	**194**	**100.0%**

In other contexts, improved dietary diversity among migrant households has been attributed to increased household income tied to remittances (Hoddinot, 1999; Monirrazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022). The HDDS analysis shows that household dietary diversity was relatively high, with a mean of 8 out of a possible 12, indicating that, on average, the household had consumed food from approximately eight different groups in the previous 24 hours. Approximately 47% had a dietary diversity score of 7 or less, and 53% had an HDDS above 7 (Figure 6).

Figure 6: HDDS of Migrant Households



Access to infrastructure and services has significant implications for the food security of the household. Lack of access to essential services, including food, is constitutive of lived poverty (Crush, 2016). Table 11 indicates the frequency of households going without six basic necessities in the 12 months prior to the survey. As many as 41.7% of households had frequently gone without enough food to eat, followed by enough fuel to cook food (36.7%), enough clean water (34%), and a cash income (30.5%). Only 25% of households had never gone without sufficient food. These findings confirm that food and cooking fuel shortages are of longer duration for many households, lasting at least the year prior to the survey.

Table 11: Frequency of Going Without Basic Needs

	Always	**Many times,**	**Several times**	**Just once or twice**	**Never**
Medicine or medical treatment	1.1	0.0	21.1	48.2	29.6
Enough clean water for home use	0.0	3.0	31.0	37.0	29.0
Enough fuel to cook your food	1.0	3.5	32.2	35.7	27.6
Enough food to eat	1.0	5.0	35.7	33.2	25.1
Electricity in your home	0.0	5.0	21.5	54.0	19.5
A cash income	0.0	7.0	23.5	59.0	10.5

To cope with food insecurity, migrant households adopt a variety of strategies, as captured by the Coping Strategy Index (Table 12). In the week prior to the survey, over half of the households had limited their portion size at mealtimes (63.6%) and reduced the number of meals in a day (54.5%) by at least one day. Around 25% had adopted both strategies every day of the week. Only 12% of the migrant households had not relied on eating less preferred and expensive foods, while

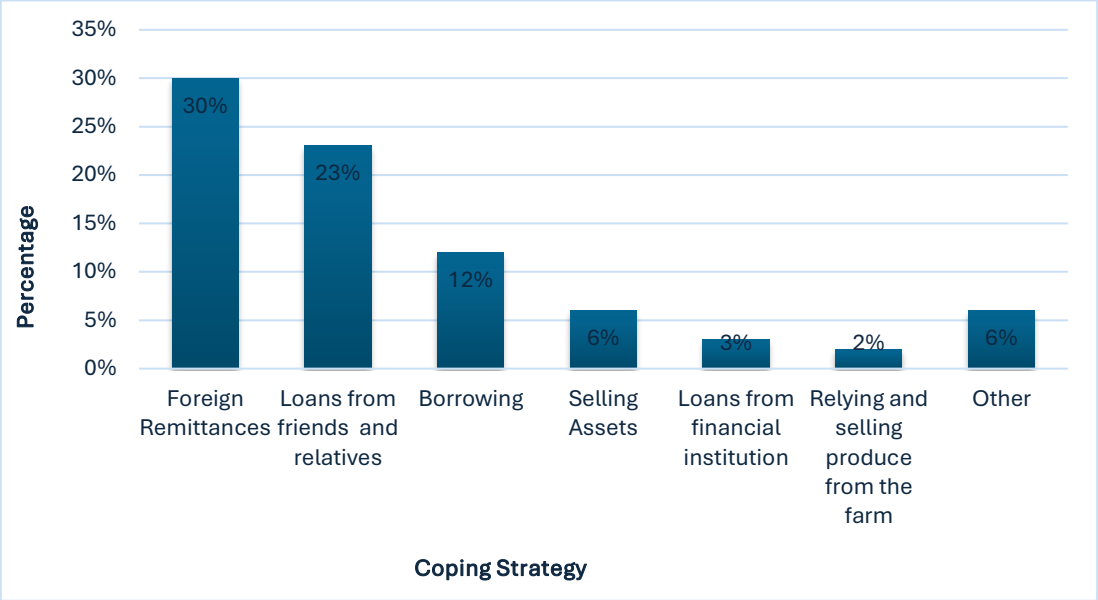
the rest had done so on multiple days. Another notable coping strategy was that 64% of households had purchased food on credit at least once. Finally, in terms of absolute food shortages, all households indicated that they had gone a whole day without eating once or twice a week.

Table 12: Food Coping Strategies of Migrant Households

	No. of Days							
	7	**6**	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**
Limit portion size at mealtimes	25.3	0.0	1.0	2.5	3.0	4.0	27.8	36.4
Reduce number of meals in a day	24.7	0.0	0.5	3.0	2.6	4.5	19.2	45.5
Less preferred and expensive foods	13.5	1.5	8.0	19.0	20.0	20.0	6.0	12.0
Consume food from vending business	1.5	0.5	2.0	1.5	3.0	5.6	6.0	79.9
Borrow food or rely on others	1.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	4.0	12.5	10.6	70.4
Restrict intake so children can eat	0.5	0.5	0.0	2.0	1.0	7.1	8.1	80.8
Purchase food on credit	0.5	0.0	2.0	3.5	10.0	27.5	20.5	36.0
Go a whole day without eating	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.4	2.1	0.5
Gather and eat wild indigenous food	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.5	3.0	95.0
Eat elsewhere	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	98.0
Feed working members first	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	98.5
Beg for food	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	99.0

Furthermore, the household respondents were asked about more general financial coping strategies to improve household food security once the migrant member had left for Qatar. Figure 7 shows that the receipt of foreign remittances was the most important strategy, followed by loans from friends and relatives, borrowing funds (12%), and purchasing food on credit (17%). Other strategies, such as selling assets, borrowing from financial institutions, and relying on produce from their farm, were much less important.

Figure 7: Additional Coping Strategies Adopted by Migrant Households



3.3.3 Determinants of Migrant Household Food Insecurity

The analysis above demonstrates that many migrant households confront the challenge of food insecurity almost daily. At the same time, there is considerable variation among the households about the extent of food insecurity and the frequency of reliance on various food and financial coping strategies. Therefore, this section addresses the determinants of variability of migrant household food insecurity.

The descriptive relationship between the HFIAP food security categorization and household characteristics is presented in Table 13. The age, gender, and marital status of the household respondents have some effect on HFIAP outcomes. For example, households where the respondent is younger are much more likely to be moderately/severely food insecure than households with an

older respondent. Second, 19% of male respondents' households are food secure, compared to 12% of female respondents' households. Third, where the household respondent is unmarried, the household is more likely to be moderately/severely food insecure (31% vs 22%).

There is also a distinctive relationship between food security and household structure. First, the proportion of female-centred households that are completely food secure is only 9%, compared to 17-19% for the other three household types. Second, extended family households have the highest levels of moderate food insecurity, at 38%, compared to 29% of nuclear households, 27% of female-centred households, and 21% of male-centred households. However, extended family households also have the highest levels of complete food security (18.8%). Female-centred households have the lowest levels of food security (8.8%), and both severely food-insecure households are also female-centred. Third, households with high dietary diversity have the lowest level of food insecurity. Similarly, households with low dietary diversity have the highest level of food insecurity.

Table 13: Household Characteristics by Food Security Status

Variables	Food Secure **Freq.** **%**		Mildly Food Insecure **Freq.** **%**		Moderately Food Insecure **Freq.** **%**		Severely Food Insecure **Freq.**	**%**
Age of the Household Respondent								
19-30	10	16.1	28	45.2	24	38.7	0	0.0
31- 40	16	15.7	62	60.8	24	23.5	0	0.0
41-65	5	17.2	15	51.7	7	24.2	2	6.9

66-95	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Married Status of Household Respondent								
Unmarried	20	20.8	46	47.9	30	31.3	0	0.0
Married	11	14.7	47	62.7	16	21.3	1	1.3
Living Together/Cohabitating	1	7.1	6	42.9	7	50.0	0	0.0
Divorced	0	0.0	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1
Sex of Household Respondent								
Male	24	19.0	65	51.6	37	29.4	0	0.0
Female	8	11.8	40	58.8	18	26.5	2	2.9
Structure of the Household								
Female-centred	3	8.8	22	64.7	7	20.6	2	5.9
Male-centred	8	18.2	27	61.3	9	20.5	0	0.0
Nuclear	9	17.3	28	53.9	15	28.8	0	0.0
Extended	12	18.8	28	43.7	24	37.5	0	0.0
Education of Household Respondent								
No formal education	2.0	33.3	2.0	33.3	2.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
Some primary	0.0	0.0	12.0	80.0	3.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Primary completed junior or senior	6.0	33.3	8.0	44.4	4.0	22.3	0.0	0.0
Some high school completed	0.0	0.0	16.0	66.7	8.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
High school completed	9.0	17.0	26.0	49.0	18.0	34.0	0.0	0.0
Post-secondary qualifications, not university	5.0	15.6	15.0	46.9	11.0	34.4	1.0	3.1

Some university	2.0	16.7	7.0	58.3	3.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
University completed	8.0	23.5	19.0	55.9	6.0	17.7	1.0	2.9
Dwelling of the Household								
House	15.0	10.6	80.0	56.8	45.0	31.9	1.0	0.7
Flat	2.0	33.3	3.0	50.0	1.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
Traditional dwelling homestead	2.0	33.3	4.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Traditional dwelling with built-on room	2.0	28.6	3.0	42.8	2.0	28.6	0.0	0.0
Hostel/ Compound	6.0	31.6	8.0	42.1	5.0	26.3	0.0	0.0
Townhouse	5.0	33.3	7.0	46.7	2.0	13.3	1.0	6.7
Dietary diversity								
High	30.0	17.9	93.0	55.4	43.0	25.5	2.0	1.2
Low	1.0	25.0	1.0	25.0	2.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
Medium	1.0	4.6	11.0	50.0	10.0	45.4	0.0	0.0

Descriptive statistics are relatively intuitive, but do not show the strength of the association between household characteristics and the food insecurity of the migrant household. Therefore, a more robust statistical analysis is needed. Multinomial logistic regression analysis was performed to assess the strength of the association and the likelihood that household's characteristics are associated with household food insecurity. Food insecurity, as measured by the HFIAP, was set as the dependent variable, and the odds ratio and coefficient were calculated for all the individual and household independent variables (Table 14).

Table 14: Logistic Regression Results

	coef	Odds Ratio	P-Value	Confidence Interval
Expense Amount	1.083***	2.95	0.017	(0.193) – (1.973)
Income Amount	-0.095	0.91	0.763	(-0.713) - (0.523)
Age (Ref. 19-30)				
31- 40	-0.930	0.40	0.198	(-2.345) - (0.485)
41-65	-0.374	0.69	0.725	(- 2.458) – (0.710)
66-95	-4.056	0.02	0.395	(-13.404) - (5.293)
Marital Status (Ref. Unmarried)				
Married	0.033	1.03	0.968	(- 1.581) – (1.647)
Living together/cohabiting	2.648	14.13	0.093	(-0.439) – (5.735)
Divorced	2.225*	`9.25	0.519	(- 4.539) – (8.988)
Sex Ref. (Male)				
Female	-0.258	0.77	0.716	(-1.645) – (1.129)
Household Structure: (Ref. Female centred)				
Male-centred	-1.256	0.29	0.274	(-3.504) – (0.993)
Nuclear	-0.526	0.59	0.624	(-2.625) – (1.574)
Extended	-0.657	0.52	0.544	(-2. 780) – (1.467)
Level of Education: (Ref. No formal education)				
Some primary	2.768	15.93	0.440	(-4.251) – (9.788)
Primary completed (junior or senior)	-1.432	0.24	0.376	(-4.602) – (1.738)
High school completed	0.948	2.58	0.512	(-1.887) – (3.784)
Post-secondary qualifications, not university	1.578	4.84	0.305	(-1.434) – (4.590)
Some university	1.018	2.77	0.562	(-2.422) - (4.459)
University completed	0.008	1.01	0.996	(-3.043) – (3.059)
Household Dwelling: (Ref. House)				
Flat	-0.025	0.98	0.987	(-2.888) – (2.839)
Traditional dwelling/homestead	-3.390	0.03	0.462	(-12.415) – (5.636)
Traditional dwelling with built-on rooms	0.135	1.15	0.911	(-2.240) – (2.511)
Hostel/compound	-0.856	0.43	0.345	(-2.634) – (0.922)
Townhouse	-1.294	0.27	0.218	(-3.351) - (0.764)
HDDS (Ref. High)				
Low	0.368	1.45	0.834	(-3.069) – (3.805)
Medium	1.763	5.83	0.144	(-1.600) – (4.126)

$p \leq 0.01$***; $p \leq 0.05$ **; $p \leq 0.1$*

First, increasing household expenses are significantly associated with increased odds that households are severely food insecure (OR 2.95). When the cost of living and household expenditure increase, households experience more severe food insecurity, which can act as a push factor for migration. Second, household respondents under the age of 30 were more likely to be from food-insecure households than their older counterparts (OR 0.40). Third, unmarried respondents were marginally less likely to come from food-insecure households compared to married respondents (OR 1.03) while living together or cohabitating respondents had the highest odds of coming from food-insecure households (OR 14.13). Fourth, the sex of the respondent is weakly associated with household food insecurity with female respondents having marginally lower odds of coming from food insecure households (OR 0.77). Finally, the education of the household respondent is associated with the likelihood that their household is food insecure. In general, the odds of a household respondent coming from a food insecure household increase as their level of education increases unless the respondent has completed university. For example, households where the respondent has a university degree have lower odds (1.01) of being food insecure than those who have completed high school (OR 2.58), have a non-university post-secondary qualification, or are still university students.

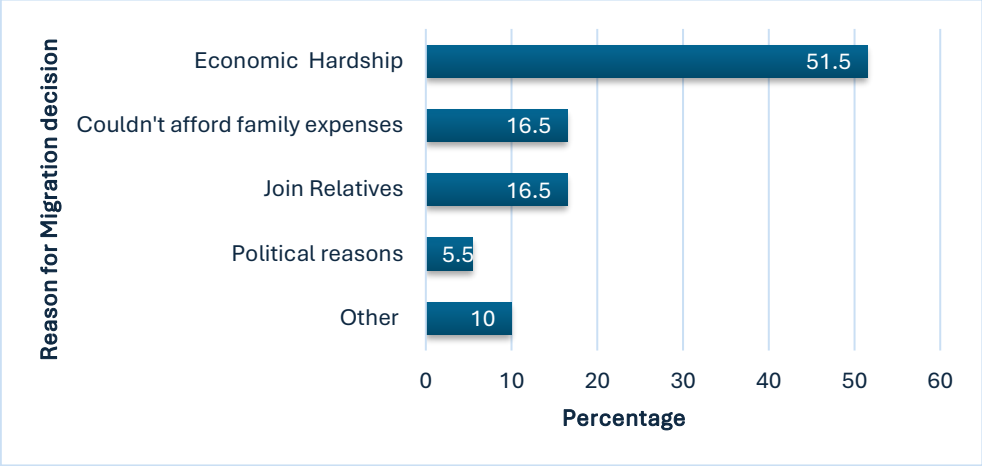
There is also an association between household structure and the likelihood that the household is food insecure. More specifically, nuclear (OR 0.59), male-centred households (OR 0.29), and extended family households (OR 0.52) are less likely to be food insecure than female-centred households. Also, the dietary diversity of the household is associated with food insecurity. Households with low dietary diversity (OR 1.45) and medium dietary diversity (5.83) have higher

odds of experiencing severe food insecurity than those in the reference category of high dietary diversity. This finding corroborates the assertion in the literature that increased dietary diversity in the household is an indicator of greater food and nutritional security (Cudjoe et al. 2016; Dunga 2020).

3.3.4 Food Insecurity and Migration to Qatar

This section addresses the main factors in household decisions to send a member to work in Qatar. Just over half indicated that economic hardship in Ghana was the main reason for the migration decision. Furthermore, 16.5% also indicated that they could not afford family expenses due to the difficult economic situation (Figure 8). When respondents were asked about the dimensions of economic hardship, as many as 71% indicated that food insecurity was a vital consideration in the migration decision.

Figure 8. Main Reasons for the Migration Decision



The qualitative, in-depth interviews with the migrant workers in Qatar add depth and insight to this finding. Participants indicated that Ghana's lack of jobs and poor salaries meant that they needed to be ambitious and not be content with minimal wages but migrate to provide for and care for their families. Also, the costs involved in caring for their families were so high that their salary was insufficient to cover their basic needs. As one respondent indicated:

> The expenses weren't easy for me; It was too heavy a burden to bear. The expenses were more than the salary I was earning. It is difficult to get a job in Ghana that pays you even Ghc1000. Abroad is better, so I decided to travel (Interview No. 1, Qatar 31 May 2023).

For some, travelling to Qatar was a way to salvage a dire economic situation for the family:

> Migration is very important to me and my household. Imagine the state of my family without me being here. My family needs this option to make ends meet and provide food and support to everyone involved in the family. Everyone depends on me now. (Interview No. 9, Qatar 1, June 2023)

> I knew travelling out of the country would be good for myself and my family, especially being a single mother of three. I have seen people's lives improve massively, so that motivated me. Also, considering I was just a small street food vendor even after my tertiary education, it was prudent I find somewhere to go to find a better life to provide for the household needs of my children (Interview No. 54, Qatar, 19 June 2023)

The decision to go to Qatar was influenced by their capabilities, including resources and social networks, and the services of recruitment agencies that introduced them to different jobs and opportunities in Qatar and other Gulf nations. Some respondents believed that a lack of social connections impacted their ability to secure good jobs in Ghana. Others mentioned that through their friends, recruitment agents, and agencies, and other personal contacts and networks, they became aware of the opportunities in Qatar and were encouraged to migrate. This confirms the findings of Awumbila et al. (2019) in an earlier study on the migration of Ghanaians to the Gulf.

Other respondents indicated that personal networks influenced the decision to seek a better life and provide for their families:

> My brother's success in Qatar inspired me to join him here even more. He had been in Qatar for almost 15 years and became a safety officer, showing plenty of opportunities to succeed here. Eventually, he decided that I should come to Qatar to have a better life and support my family (Interview No. 35, Qatar 5, June 2023)

> Migration is very important. I have seen people make a living and good life out of it. But I will say I was motivated to come here because of my wife. It was an opportunity not only to stay together but also to be in the same country again (Interview No. 7, Qatar 31, May 2023).

For many, 'staying abroad' was better than being back in Ghana, suggesting that migration was not a one-time event but more of an ongoing commitment. The aspiration of staying abroad to support the family in Ghana was a constant refrain. For example:

> Life is better abroad. I believe in and know the importance of migration. I have travelled around. I have been to Kuwait, Lebanon, and Qatar. Hopefully, this is not my end. Aside from the economic benefit, which has been massive for me and my family, I learned many new things, including learning from different people, cultures, and languages and got good money to provide food and other things needed at home (Interview No. 3, Qatar 31 May 2023).

3.4 Discussion

There is a growing body of evidence from different countries in the Global South on the connection between food security and precisely how food insecurity impacts migration. This study provides data-based, real-time case study evidence on the profile of households in Accra with a household member working as a migrant in Qatar. The findings show that less than 20% of the migrant households surveyed were food secure. Combined, four out of five migrant households were therefore food insecure. However, only 1% were severely food insecure. Mild and moderate food insecurity is thus prevalent among labour-migrant households in Ghana, suggesting that while

migration may mitigate food insecurity, it is not a panacea. This finding is consistent with other studies in the Global South, including Ghana and elsewhere (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Floro, 2020; Smith & Wesselbaum, 2022). These studies conclude that food insecurity precipitates international migration and prompt the hypothesis that there is a close connection between the food insecurity of the migrant household and subsequent migration from Ghana.

The survey results suggest that migration of a household member is an essential and viable livelihood strategy for food-insecure households in Accra. A recent study conducted by Tuholske et al. (2018) on household food security in Accra found that 30% of households were severely food insecure on the HFIAP. Tuholske et al. (2018) noted that remittances increased household disposal income, enhancing food consumption and dietary diversity. This suggests that migration to Qatar could reduce the probability of a household being severely food insecure.

Furthermore, individual and household characteristics have been shown to profoundly affect food security (Jonah et al., 2020; Laborde et al., 2013; Levin et al., 1999). The findings of this study suggest that the odds of a household being food insecure are lower when the age, gender, and income of the household members are taken into consideration. This finding differs from studies conducted in South Africa that show a notable association between food security, gender, age, and type of household dwelling (Jonah et al., 2020).

Regarding the overall impact of household type on food insecurity, female-centred households, and nuclear and extended family households were most likely to be food insecure. Female-centred households are more likely to be affected by food insecurity than the other household types. This

finding confirms the results of many previous studies in the literature, which suggest that female-centred households are uniquely vulnerable to food insecurity (Alaimo, 2005; Cudjoe et al. 2011; Dunga 2020; Frayne et al., 2009; Jonah et al. 2020; Levin et al. 2011; Santos et al. 2022; Tambe et al. 2023; Tarasuk, 2005; Matheson & McIntyre 2005). Gender also shapes access to food and nutritional services, including knowledge, skills, social norms, and decision-making power. In Accra, women in migrant households with autonomous decision-making power and control over remittances may be more likely to spend them on food purchases, leading to improved household food security (Matheson & Mcintyre, 2005; Tambe et al., 2023). The lower likelihood of food insecurity among male-centred households is probably because these households tend to be headed by unmarried men and to be smaller in size than the other types, meaning fewer mouths to feed.

In the face of food insecurity, migrant households in Accra exercise considerable agency in order to survive. As well as sending members to the Gulf, common strategies include purchasing food on credit, food rationing, and dietary changes. Those that were most common include reducing the number of meals eaten in a day, limiting portion sizes, and consuming less preferred and less expensive food. Maxwell et al. (2003) also found that coping strategies are higher among food-insecure households.

Many studies in the Global South report that household food insecurity tends to decrease with increasing income (Alam et al., 2020; Carter et al., 2010; Monirazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022). A similar finding was evident in this study: i.e. migrant households with more significant income and diverse income streams were more likely to be food secure. In effect, the more they are involved in multiple economic activities, the less they are prone to food insecurity (Frimpong &

Asumming-Brempong, 2013; Joshi et al., 2004). Households in Accra have an expansive list of basic needs on which they spend their income, including food, groceries, utilities, transportation, fuelwood, and education. An increase in the cost of any of these items likely limits the amount spent on food, especially as this is a discretionary expense for the household (Lobarde et al., 2013).

One counterintuitive finding is that education is not a good predictor of household food insecurity. In theory, improved education means greater access to the labour market and higher household income. Other evidence from the literature indicates that food insecurity decreases with increasing levels of education (Donn et al., 2016; Ejigayhu & Abdi-Khalil, 2012; Sissay & Edriss, 2012). Also, other studies propose that higher education results in increased nutritional knowledge, enhancing household food security (Alam et al., 2020; Ochieng et al., 2017). However, the survey found that there is no simple relationship between household food insecurity and the education levels of the respondents. This is probably attributable to the difficult socioeconomic conditions and inadequate employment opportunities and jobs in Ghana for people of all levels who have completed their educational training (Awumbila et al., 2019). However, university educated individuals are more likely to be employed and receive higher salaries than those with fewer qualifications. Although the Ghanaian government provides universal free access to education up to the high school level, the study's findings show that a higher education level predicts increased food insecurity. This is attributable to the lack of jobs and the problematic socioeconomic conditions facing youth and school leavers, both of which encourage the search for greener pastures in Qatar.

3.5 Conclusion

Despite recent improvements, food and nutritional insecurity is prevalent in Ghana. As a result, international migration has become a potential livelihood strategy for households to mitigate food uncertainty and insecurity. Although migration flows from rural to urban areas and out of the country are well-researched and documented, the connections with food insecurity are understudied. This chapter therefore focused on the food security of households that send migrants to Qatar and shows that food insecurity can be seen as an important push factor in migration to Qatar. It is also likely mitigated by the flow of remittances back to Ghana, an issue explored in the next two chapters

CHAPTER FOUR

Manuscript #2: Migrants Food (In)security: The Case of Temporary Ghanaian Labour Migrants in Qatar

4.1 Introduction

In the literature on South-South migration and food security, the importance of exploring the food security of migrants at their places of destination has recently been highlighted (Crush, 2013; Crush & Tawodzera, 2017). In the Global North, studies by public health researchers have focused on food and health-related outcomes among the migrant population. The literature frames this as the 'healthy migrant' phenomenon (Dean & Wilson, 2010; Fennelly, 2007; Girard & Sercia, 2013; Rubalcava et al., 2008), which argues that migrants tend to be healthier and more food secure than those left behind at their place of origin, long-term immigrants, and the local population (Kennedy et al., 2015). Scholars have advanced three main explanations for the 'healthy migrant' thesis: health screening by destination country authorities before the migration journey, a self-selection process where migrants from wealthier countries are more likely to migrate, and the food habits and behaviour of migrants (Dean & Wilson, 2010; Crush & Caesar, 2017).

However, there is also significant evidence that over time, the quality of food and the food security situation of immigrants tend to decline. For instance, research on African refugees who have resettled in North America and Europe suggests that migrants and refugees experience higher levels of food insecurity than the host population (Dharod et al., 2011; Hardley et al., 2007). The decline in migrant food security has been attributed to cultural and economic forces that compel migrants to consume unhealthy food, which is the staple of many locals at their destination. The

literature describes this as an ‘acculturation phenomenon’ (Ayala et al., 2008 ; Dharod et al., 2011; Martnez, 2013; Lesser et al., 2014; Sanou et al., 2014).

The ‘healthy migrant’ effect and the ‘acculturation phenomenon’ have been tested and applied in research in the Global North, particularly among skilled and permanent migrants from the South. However, they do not address other forms of migration, such as unregulated and temporary migration of low-skilled and unskilled labour migrants within the Global South (Crush & Ceasar, 2017; Crush & Tawodzera, 2017). This study aims to contribute to the literature on the impact of migration on the food security, food consumption habits, and diets of temporary migrants within the Global South. More precisely, the experiences of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar provide an essential platform to assess the migration aspirations of migrants and their food security situation in Qatar.

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries became an important destination globally and depended on an influx of skilled and unskilled foreign labour force during the oil and gas boom in the 1970s (Gardener et al., 2013; Lori, 2012; Kapiszewski, 2006). The size of the foreign population that makes up the labour force in the GCC countries has since persisted and grown unprecedentedly (Diop et al., 2017). Among the GCC countries, Qatar relies on foreign migrants the most, with about 94% of the economically active population being foreign workers compared to other countries. (Kamrava & Babar, 2012; Rasool & Haider, 2020). Over the years, the countries in the Gulf region, including Qatar, have come under scathing criticism for the treatment of labour migrants and foreign workers in the region. The literature shows that temporary migrants in the

Gulf, including Qatar, face many challenges which affect their well-being (Ewers et al.,2020; Fargues et al., 2019; Gardner et al.,2013; Naithani & Jha,2010).

Migrant recruitment and employment in the GCC countries are regulated by the Kafala sponsorship system of labour governance (Fargues & Shah, 2018; Gardener, 2013; Jureidini, 2014; Oommen, 2017; Rahman, 2012). The system of governance is characterized by three key features: the sponsor is responsible for a migrant worker entering a Gulf state for work or residence, their exiting the country, and finding employment. Finally, the sponsor assumes responsibility for workers' employment and living conditions, including providing accommodation, transportation, and food (Loris, 2012; Rahman, 2012). However, the Kafala system has led to well-documented mistreatment of migrants in the GCC countries.

The literature documents that most workers are not formally employed with written contracts or the contracts they signed during recruitment are changed on arrival (Ewers et al., 2020; Fargues et al., 2019; Ganj, 2016), and no labour protections and social protection as the labour laws favour the employer (Gardner, 2013). Also, the hours of working are long and arbitrary, wages are often below the legal minimum, and physical and verbal abuse, harassment, and sexual exploitation are common (Diop et al., 2017; Fargues et al., 2019; Gardner et al., 2013; Rasool & Haider, 2020). Moreover, under the Kafala system, migrants are prohibited from changing employers without the sponsor's permission; this is enforced by confiscating their passports until the end of the contract year (Gardner et al., 2013; Rahman, 2012). Furthermore, the literature shows that migrants are threatened with deportation by sponsors at times to strengthen their hold, prevent a competitive environment, and heighten their power and authority over these migrant workers (Diop et al., 2017; Rahman, 2012).

Crucially, it is the sponsor's responsibility to provide food and shelter that meets certain standards for their employees in the accommodation site. Where the sponsor cannot provide food themselves, they employ licensed food service companies to manage on their behalf (Fargues et al., 2019). The food consumption experience of migrants differs according to whether they are provided food. Migrants complain that they have not been offered quality food at cafeterias, appropriate kitchen aids, and space to prepare their food (Fargues et al., 2019). Also, in the event of uncertainties, such as during COVID-19, labour migrants who purchased or prepared their own food were affected the most due to late or non-payment of wages (Woertz, 2020; Pattisson & Sedhai, 2020).

Research and discussion on labour migration to the GCC countries that examine the treatment of migrant workers have focused on the rights and benefits of the kafala system and the implications for the wages and working conditions of migrants. However, reducing the debate around kafala migration to wages and poor treatment of migrants ignores their food experiences. Therefore, using Ghanaian migrants in Qatar as a case study, this chapter addresses three critical questions: (a) What are the food consumption patterns and strategies of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar? b) Do Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar experience food insecurity? and (c) What are the gender and other barriers to migrant food security in Qatar?

4.2. Methodological Approach

Data collection for this study was carried out in Qatar in June 2023 using qualitative methods. First, I conducted five key informant interviews with stakeholders and individuals with knowledge and expertise about labour migration to the Gulf region from Ghana. The key informants were selected strategically to gain insights and perspectives about labour migration to the Gulf, its

causes, the problems migrants face, the labour governance structure, and migrant food security. Second, 58 in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted in Doha, Qatar, with 13 female and 45 male migrants using a semi-structured interview guide. These interviews focused on a range of issues, including socio-demographic information, economic activity, visa (sponsorship type), aspirations for migrating to Qatar, migration experiences, earnings, the nature of work, savings, food consumption patterns and sources, food habits, challenges, and food (in)security experiences. The in-depth interview participants were recruited using purposive snowball sampling. Later, the audio-recorded interviews were coded and thematically analyzed using NVIVO 12.

4.3 From Boarding School to Freelancing: Sourcing Food in Qatar

Food provision and consumption patterns among migrants are tied to the recruitment and migration arrangement agreed before arriving in Qatar. The immigration regulations and system of labour governance in Qatar stipulate that migrant workers are entitled to a minimum wage, food allowance, and accommodation. The minimum wage at present stands at QR1,000 per month. Also, accommodation is set at QR500 and a food allowance at QR300 unless food is provided by the employer (Government of Qatar, 2021). The minimum wage applies to all jobs, including domestic workers who previously were omitted. However, the dichotomy in Qatar is that low-income foreign migrants can legally be paid QR1,000 a month while higher-income earners are paid ten times that amount due to their expertise and superior skillset. Under the sponsorship system of governance, migrants work for a company or on free or freelance visas (Jureidini, 2014; 2016) and are employed as drivers, cooks, nannies, gardeners, plumbers, artisans, and helpers at construction sites.

By law, employers are expected to provide accommodation or an allowance to their employees. Migrant workers are accommodated in labour camps or compounds. These labour camps are gated and consist of low-rise sets of buildings, most of which are in Doha (see Table 15 below). The labour camps are on the periphery of the city, a location that is socially and geographically segregated from the city centre. The labour camps are run by 'slum landlords' who rent to companies or the companies themselves manage the labour camps (ITUC, 2014). Most construction companies house their workers in camp accommodations, and most hospitality workers live in rented apartments (Fargues et al., 2019).

Table 15: Labour Camps in Qatar

Municipalities	**Number of Labour Camps**
Doha	15,712
Al-Rayyan	6,401
Wakrah	1, 815
Umm-Slala	306
Al-khour	1,847
Al-Shamal	294
Al-Daaien	40
Total	**26,415**

Source : Adapted from Le et al. (2019)

Fieldwork 2023: Gated Labour Camp

Regarding the food allowance, Qatar labour reforms only entitle employees to a food allowance of QR300. Alternatively, the labour regulations are clear that when food is provided, the food allowance is not to be paid (Fargues et al., 2019; Government of Qatar, 2021). However, most companies provide food for the employees. The conventional explanation is that if workers are given a food allowance, they may eat unhealthy foods and inadequate meals to send the funds to their families back home. Also, it has been suggested that workers face many challenges, such as poor cleanliness and hygiene in shared kitchens, a lack of nutritional education, and various health hazards (Fargues et al., 2019; Qatar Foundation, 2022). However, employers prefer to feed their employees to cut down on the cost of feeding and to maximize profit, as quoted in the literature. As Jureidini–Qatar Foundation (2022) notes: "Contractors and employers are always looking at the bottom line, which leads them to cut corners where they can. Some will take the lowest price menus on offer from the caterers." In Qatar, large companies employ thousands of workers, and medium-sized companies have relatively few workers (Jureidini-Qatar Foundation, 2022). Large companies like construction firms provide food to their workers. On the other hand, those in the hospitality sector house their workers in rented apartments and give them allowances and kitchen facilities to provide their food. Also, they are sometimes provided with coupons for food (Fargues et al., 2019).

Large companies who feed their workers generally provide three meals daily in the dining hall or cafeteria. Instead of a midday meal, some companies provide a packed lunch to take to the worksite. This regimented system, with its absence of choice, reminded one migrant of being back in boarding school:

> I am tied to a company and have a company visa, so we are fed three times daily: Morning, Afternoon and Evening. I have never cooked for myself since I came to Qatar. I mostly eat rice and stew over here. It is like being in a boarding school. Anything over here would not be your preference. Breakfast is from 4 to 6, lunch is from around 11 to 1, and supper is from 6 to 8. In the morning, it is mostly tea and bread. It is rice and soup in the afternoon and the same in the evening as well (Interview No. 47, Qatar, 14 June 2023)

When a company provides food for its migrant workers, it also bars them from cooking at their accommodation. Individuals who attempt to do so are fined and have their cooking equipment confiscated. One respondent who had been in Qatar for two years working in a restaurant as support staff described why he disliked eating company food and what happened when they tried to cook more palatable food themselves:

> The company provides us with food and accommodation. The food is served at the cafeteria. Nobody is allowed to cook in the accommodation. We tried several times to cook, but they always passed behind us to pick up the rice cooker and cooking utensils and later fined us for cooking in our room. They have the door keys, so they come around often to inspect. I do not eat the food from the company because I do not like it. They sometimes think I am not even a company staff member because I barely go to the cafeteria for food. I do not like the food and the sauce they cook. I eat from Ghanaian restaurants (Interview No. 43, Qatar, 12 June 2023).

As the cities of the GCC countries developed, modernized, and globalized, marginalized migrant workers were left behind and could not afford the lavish lifestyle of the city centres (Ali, 2010). As a result, many companies employ the "boarding school" accommodation model in labour camps to ensure that vulnerable migrants are not exploited in the housing market (Hamza, 2014). More importantly, the model allows the companies to control the employment activities and movement of the migrant workers under their sponsorship. However, the disadvantage of this system is that workers from diverse backgrounds are forced to live in a single room with many people in the same camp sharing a small kitchen. Also, the camps are crowded and lack proper sanitary conditions (Ali, 2010; Hamza, 2014).

As noted above, some companies give their employees the monthly food allowance that is enshrined in the sponsorship governance regulations. These are mostly smaller companies and projects that cannot afford onsite canteens and cafeterias nor hire catering services and canteens to deliver meals (Kovessy & Sheble, 2016). Instead, migrants purchase and cook their own food, as one respondent pointed out:

> While at the company, I cooked my food and got a monthly food allowance of QR300. The money was not enough, but I learnt how to manage it. I bought all the groceries I needed from the grocery shops at the malls and the supermarkets. (Interview No. 3, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

Since the abolition of the kafala system in Qatar, most migrants working for a company can now leave their employ and secure a 'No Objection Letter' (NOC) from the Qatar Ministry of Labour to become freelancers. Being a freelancer is akin to being recruited on a free visa (Jureidini, 2016). When migrant workers are on a free visa, they have a sponsor who recruits them in Qatar and provides them with a Qatari residence card to work legally (Jureidini, 2016). The migrants pay these agencies and sponsors for their annual residence card renewal fees; however, the sponsors do not provide them with accommodation or food.

Freelancing is an attractive alternative for many migrants since it potentially gives them more freedom in the labour market and more choice about what food to eat, where, and when. This is a positive benefit of freelancing, as one pointed out:

> When I was on a company visa, I was not happy with the food provided, but now, I am freelance and do different jobs. I can eat out or cook at home and have access to all the local food ingredients needed to prepare meals. In the industrial area, everyone has access to a kitchen, and it is all about managing money and

> strategizing cooking. I enjoy preparing my dishes and deciding what to eat (Interview No. 53, Qatar, 15 June 2023).

Freelancers and company employees receiving food allowances source their food from two primary sources: the supermarket and 'baqala.' The supermarkets are large grocery stores, many of which are in the malls and there is a large constellation of supermarket chains in Qatar. The most familiar and most well-known are Lulu and Almeera. The Safari in the Grand Mall, Monoprix, Carrefour, SPAR in Qatar, and the Sainsbury chain of supermarkets in Lusail are all involved in grocery sales.

Baqala is an Arabic word for a small neighbourhood convenience store, which are usually situated on the ground floor of labour camps and accommodation buildings where migrants can purchase their immediate grocery needs. However, most migrants prefer to buy from supermarkets because their grocery prices are lower than baqala prices, and they can also purchase international foods:

> Since I left the company to become a freelancer, I have been going to the Grand Mall supermarket to purchase groceries. It is the primary market here, and compared to the 'Baqala,' the prices are slightly lower (Interview No. 27, Qatar, 7 June 2023).

> Since I left the company, I have been cooking my food. I buy foodstuffs from the Baqalas (convenient shops) because I do not have the money to buy in bulk, especially when my money is QR10 or QR20. However, when I am paid at the end of the month, I go to the malls and supermarkets (Grand Mall, Lulu and Safari) to buy foodstuffs, including rice, tomato paste, chicken, spinach, oils, canned tuna, etc. Still, sometimes I finish them before even the end of the month (Interview No. 1, Qatar, 31, May 2023).

> As a freelance providing my food, I buy from the 'baqala' and supermarkets in the mall. But I prefer the supermarket for the convenience and availability of most things we need and how cheap they are. The prices of goods at the 'baqala' are slightly expensive (Interview No 28, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

Ghanaian migrants believe that the baqala owners purchase their goods from the supermarkets, inflate prices, and retail them to workers. However, some noted that they prefer to buy from the baqala. They stressed that while the items are more expensive, their proximity to their camps means they can purchase urgent small needs and food items, especially when they have not been paid and need to make small purchases for survival. Some migrants patronize both supermarkets and baqala at different times:

> I buy all the items I need from the supermarket, including local foods like yam and plantain, especially when we are paid at the end of the month. However, I buy from the baqala when I run out of foodstuffs or have not been paid and not ready for bulk purchase. I bought small urgent needs there considering it is close to our accommodation. Usually, I buy semolina, rice, water, tomatoes and sometimes fruits like oranges and bananas at the baqala. But generally, the prices are affordable at the malls/supermarkets compared to the baqala (Interview No. 6, Qatar 31, May 2023)

Most respondents said that the food that the companies provide is not very appetizing. They are determined to maintain access to culturally appropriate foods and retain their home diet. If they cannot access Ghanaian foods from the supermarkets, they are purchased or ordered from Ghanaian vendors who have imported local food items but do not have walk-in stores. These vendors advertise on the Ghanaian community platforms and sell online.

> We buy our groceries from the mall nearby, and though local foods are not always readily available, online services have helped us access some of our traditional dishes, including banku (corn dough) and konkonte (dried cassava flour), which are difficult to come by and used to make local dishes (Interview No. 31, Qatar 4, June 2024)

> The primary food we eat here in Qatar is rice, and sometimes I eat gari because when I was coming to Qatar, I brought gari 2 cups and *shito,* so I balance the gari and rice., other times too; I take tea or salmonella (Interview No. 11, Qatar, 1 June 2023).

As Chapter Five shows, there are also other means of accessing Ghanaian foods, including food remittances or bringing their preferred foods with them when they migrate or return to Qatar.

4.4 Food Consumption Habits

The food consumption habits of Ghanaian migrants in Qatar are different for freelancers than those working for companies that provide food for their workforce. Companies offer catering services to the workers by purchasing and preparing bulk foods to reduce costs and make a profit rather than giving migrant workers food allowances. Traditionally, most Ghanaians like to eat three times a day, a practice that is consistent with the company feeding regimen. Like freelancers, workers who receive food allowances from the company decide what they will eat and how many times they eat in a day. This is well captured in the in-depth interviews, as one respondent acknowledged:

> Getting food of your choice is a challenge when you come here. You might request to be sent back to Ghana if you allow a company to cook for you here. You would not like the kind of rice and soup they prepare here. Thus, if you do not cook alone, you might request to return to Ghana. You would not like their dishes; they taste awful, so we prepare our food and get the food allowance of QR300 (Interview 24, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

Migrant workers generally prefer to receive food allowances due to the poor quality of company food. As a key informant emphasized:

> I thought the QR300 for food was insufficient for migrant workers, so I proposed that QR400 or QR500 for food would be okay. But I spoke to some workers who say that they prefer to be given their QR300 food allowance. It is enough because they do not just eat alone; they come together as a group, put the food money together, buy and cook together, which is much cheaper than an individual doing it for just themselves (Key informant interview No. 2, Qatar, 5 June 2023)

However, other respondents indicated they do not eat at specific times, unlike those fed by a company. Some stated they only eat when they feel hungry. Others indicated they eat the same food twice daily, supplemented with fruit and snacks. For example, a female respondent working as a cabin crew member summarised her irregular eating habits this way:

> Usually, I eat twice a day. But there are days I do not feel like eating. On a typical day, I like sweets. I can buy a pack of KitKat and finish it the whole day. I do not have specific eating patterns; I wake up and eat thus when I am home and have no duty. Sometimes, I wake up, fry eggs and sausages, and eat with bread or drink. Sometimes I cook rice and tomato stew with chicken and eat for two or three days. (Interview No. 2, Qatar 31, May 2023)

Others, such as this male respondent who was provided with a food allowance by his company, indicated he has the time to have three meals a day, including leftover food for dinner:

> I cook and eat three times daily in the morning, afternoon, and evening. I eat rice pudding in the morning and sometimes tea with bread and fried eggs. In the afternoon, it is usually rice and beans with sauce and chicken or cooked semolina and soup. I eat leftovers from the food I cooked in the afternoon for the evening meal. Also, the weekends determine the food I will eat throughout the week. In all honesty, you will not get all the food you want, and even when you get it, it is not the same as Ghanaian food (Interview No. 7, Qatar 31, May 2023).

Many freelancers and food allowance workers intimated that they are unable to afford three meals a day as they have personal and family responsibilities to meet with their earnings and allowances:

> I usually had three meals a day, but since becoming a freelancer, I find it hard to focus on eating as I am also worried about other things and family responsibilities (Interview No. 23, Qatar, 7 June 2023)

One of the common themes was the monotony of an affordable diet and a lack of dietary diversity, as these typical responses illustrate:

> I mostly eat rice and stew here; as I said earlier, it is like being in a boarding school. Anything over here would not be your preference (Interview No. 47, Qatar, 15 June 2023)

> I do not like going to the cafeteria for food. The food does not taste great to me. It is always rice and some sauce. That does not mean the food is bad because some people eat it, but it is not our local food (Interview No. 26, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

Eating out is a not uncommon response; however, this is usually undertaken in a Ghanaian restaurant 'where there is good Ghanaian local food,' but migrants are mindful of the cost of the food at the restaurants:

> I order food from Ghanaian restaurants which sell different Ghanaian dishes. You get to eat what you like, though very expensive and unsustainable, especially if you compare the expenditure on food at these restaurants and your monthly wage. (Interview No. 43, Qatar, 12 June 2023)

Restaurants offering different cuisine were tried, but there was not much enthusiasm. The negative response tofood or cuisine from other restaurants was unanimous. As a respondent asserted:

> I have been eating at Indian and Pakistani restaurants since I came to Qatar, but the rest was difficult to eat apart from the chicken biryani and Pakistani bread. It does not taste great (Interview No. 19, Qatar, 4 June 2023).

Inherent in the findings on the food consumption patterns and habits of the migrants are their food insecurity experiences. Migrants demonstrated in their responses that there are issues with dietary diversity because they eat rice all the time, some have erratic patterns of food consumption, and their identity as Ghanaians influences food consumption.

4.5 Barriers to Migrant Food Security

For many Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar, vulnerability to food insecurity is traceable to the debts incurred to secure a visa and recruitment fees, their household responsibilities, and their gender. The migrants indicated that they had to pay large sums to recruitment agencies, brokers, Qatar-based sponsors, or some combination of all three. These payments involved loans and debts that remained in Ghana during their sojourn in Qatar. The amounts now paid by migrants are

markedly higher than in the past when all migrants were recruited on "work or company visas." Indeed, some were not required to pay any money at all, especially if they had the right personal contacts. A female participant who first migrated to Qatar in 2013 noted that there were no charges, everything was above board, and there were no agent fees at that time:

> I met someone at the Kumasi market who had already been to Qatar and worked with the company I am working in now. The person asked to help me. It was not anything expensive getting to Qatar then. I will say it was free. I later gifted the guy gh1000 ($100) when I came to Qatar. I was afraid at the very beginning because I had not travelled before. The person motivated me, so I was okay. I came to Qatar two days after I received my visa. (Interview No. 19, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

A male respondent who has been in Qatar for eight years at two different periods acknowledged that it was free for him to come to Qatar because he had a friend who was a recruitment agent:

> During my two visits here, I did not have to spend any money as I had a friend who acted as my agent and took care of the travel arrangements because I knew all about the process. I only gave out my laptop to him for the travelling process. He knew I had no money, but he took money from other people, including airport fees. He would even prevent people at the immigration office for not paying. At the immigration checkpoint, they took no money from me when they saw my ID and realized I had been here before (Interview No. 36, Qatar, 9 June 2023).

More recent migrants confirmed that recruitment charges and amounts paid were now relatively high. For example, a male participant who arrived in Doha in 2018 and worked as security personnel at a construction site noted that "nobody will bring you here free of charge, so if you find yourself here, you must work hard." He continued:

> I spent about Gh₵5,000 ($500) for my flight because things were not as expensive as when I left Ghana. You will spend about GH₵10,200 ($1000) or GH₵10,500 ($1050) on flights and recruitment today because things are much more expensive of late because they think you will earn a lot of money from this place, but it is not so. I paid for the offer with my own money. I managed to save in bits when I came to Qatar, so that is what I used to pay off the offer (Interview No. 24, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

The higher costs of migration were attributed by a Ghanaian recruitment agent who has lived in Doha for the last eight years to increased restrictions on migration for work in Qatar:

> Due to the implementation of new laws in Qatar, coming to the country has become more restricted, primarily due to issues concerning visa handling. My boss charges a significant amount, thus QR3000 ($900), making it quite expensive for many people. I used to negotiate with him to lower the price, hoping to make it accessible for more Ghanaians, but the best he could do was reduce it to QR2700 ($810) for women. I understand their frustration as some agents have taken advantage of them in the past, leading to a fear of taking risks (Key informant Interview No. 1, Qatar, 16 June 2023)

Also, the higher cost of emigration to the Gulf was highlighted by a key informant who noted that migrants do not go through the required channels to travel; hence, they are compelled to pay unnecessary fees at checkpoints.

> At best, migration to the Gulf can be described as irregular or illegal because all labour migrants require exit permits to travel, which almost all of them do not have or come here (referring to the labour office). Since 2019, only two companies have officially registered, and exit permits have been issued to migrate labour migrants to other firms. The two firms are the pioneer fishing industry and its labour recruitment to Seychelles and ESSOWORK. So, most migrants leave the country without an exit permit. Consequently, they must pay higher fees at immigration and other checkpoints through the recruitment agents to facilitate their move (Key informant Interview No. 3, Accra, Ghana. 20 March 2023)

The exceptionally high cost of visas for migrants who arrived in Qatar in recent years is consistent with the findings of other studies, which emphasize that migrants incur heavy debts migrating to the Gulf and Qatar (Gardener et al., 2013; Pessoa et al., 2014; Rahman, 2015). In the case of Ghana, the exceptionally high cost to the Ghanaian migrant recruits has been attributed to the emergence of the country as a significant labour source country and the proliferation of labour recruitment and placement agencies (Awumbila et al., 2019). Repaying the debt from migration costs is a significant challenge for many low-income migrants. The high costs for visas and even

higher costs for the annual renewal fee for the residential Identity Cards (ID) increase their vulnerability in this migration system and contribute to their food insecurity. One respondent summarized the financial burden and link to food insecurity in this manner:

> I paid ghc10,000 ($1,000), which is too much to come to Qatar. The agent told me I would be working as a cleaner, and there would be a basic salary, overtime payment, and food, but I couldn't eat the food they gave me. The amount I paid to the agent included visa, immigration, and agent fees; I mean everything. Now, I am facing some challenges. I must pay my accommodation fees and feed myself. We don't get food allowances, so all the expenses come from the basic salary, and I send money home to pay my child's weekly feeding fees, school fees, and to my mother. There is a considerable pressure on me. Above all, I would have to save up for my ID fees, about 3500qa, and the money I owe the agent coming here. At times, it is difficult to feed yourself (Interview No. 1, Qatar 3, May 2023)

Not all migrants understood the recruitment system before departing from Ghana, particularly the implications of the recruitment process, contracts, and the visa they purchased. Still, they quickly understood the arrangement once in Qatar and the food situation and accommodation challenges. They certainly understood that they are a commodity in a profit-generating system.

Many migrants reported that their transactions with the recruitment agencies were riddled with lies, disinformation, and misinformation. The recruitment agencies and the brokers purvey inaccurate information about the positions and jobs in Qatar and portray a rosy image of migration to Qatar (Pessoa et al., 2014). As a key informant explained:

> Every one of the labour migrants here is sponsored by a Qatari. The Qatari sells the visa through the broker for the agency. The sponsor has no contact with any migrants and will not check on them, but he renews their ID yearly. They charge them QR 3,000 ($900) even though the amount to be paid to the government is just QR 1,100 ($300). The migrant works for the sponsor but on a different work site. Some companies and sponsors have more than 1000 workers and charge everyone QR3000 ($900) for the ID renewal. Add this amount to the visa fees they pay, and you will realize the migrants are being ripped off (Key informant Interview No. 1, Qatar 20, March 2023)

Migrants are told by recruitment agencies that they will quickly get jobs and better wages after arriving in Qatar. Some were promised that they could earn as much as QR5,000 ($1,500) monthly and get free food and accommodation. However, upon arrival, the income levels proved well below expectations, and many did not have jobs or food allowances waiting for them. One respondent further noted that they were misled about the significance of an ID card for accessing employment:

> The agents who facilitated my move to Qatar were not entirely forthcoming about the ID card registration process, which later became problematic as I had not budgeted. This ID card is essential for almost everything here; even basic tasks like working as a washroom cleaner require it. Unfortunately, many of my colleagues here are unemployed due to lacking this ID. It can be challenging to conduct financial transactions without it. Also, I had to take care of my meals while the company only provided accommodations. When we run out of funds, we go to the office to reload our metro cards for transportation and ask if it is possible to have some financial assistance (Interview No. 34, Qatar, 9 June 2023).

When migrants are freelancers or on free visas and realize that their sponsors have no jobs or steady employment for them, they turn to the market for 'by day' work (referred to as 'shobo'). Respondents indicated they are usually paid only between QR 19 and QR 25 ($7-9) per day for shobo work, with long work hours ranging from 8 to 12 hours. This provides them with much-needed income, but this kind of work is inconsistent and does not last long, mostly for a week or two, and some face not being paid or delayed payment. Income from 'shobo' is what they live on for their food, accommodation, and other expenses. As a result, they are forced to find cheap substitutes for their preferred foods and to eat the same kind of food almost every day:

> I went on holiday to Ghana for two months. Since I returned, things have not been well at all. I have been home with no permanent work. I do 'shobo' here and there to survive. You are paid just QR 19 or sometimes QR 25, which takes a long time before being paid. This is what I use to survive. I buy tea, milk, and 'kubuz' (bread), which is just QR1 because you do not want to spend too much money and must save for ID cards. Things are changing a little, specifically for me and others without company visas. But I cannot go back to Ghana because I would need to buy

> tickets to go back home, so I have decided to stay (Interview No. 38, Qatar 9, June 2023)

Migrants working on company work visas who have their employment, accommodation, and transportation guaranteed generally have sufficient food. Their major concern stems from the fact that they do not have their preferred food choices from the company cafeteria or canteen. Some respondents indicated that the food they were provided did not consider their national origin and identity and staple foods; instead, they were provided rice all the time with an indescribable sauce. Some end up feeding themselves from their basic salary, which already does not meet their own expenses and the needs of their families in Ghana:

> I don't like going to the cafeteria for food because it does not taste great for me. It is always rice and some sauce. That does not mean the food is bad because some people eat it, but it is not our local food. I buy food from outside. I sometimes order from a Ghanaian restaurant, but not always because I know I cannot rely on that consistently with my small basic salary, especially when I have other family expenses. I eat at the restaurant where I work or sometimes bring leftover food from the day's sales and eat it the next morning (Interview No 26, Qatar, 7 June 2023)

The food security status and experiences of the Ghanaian migrants also vary along gender lines. Female respondents suggested they find their choice of food, including culturally preferred food from the Qatari market, and, if possible, import from Ghana to sell to the Ghanaian community. A female participant on a free visa indicated that she travels to Labour City (the industrial area in Doha) to grind their corn, dried cassava, and other foodstuffs, suggesting the crucial role played by women in improving migrant access to Ghanaian dishes:

> You know I am a woman. I do not settle for just ordinary foods. I am able to get most of the ingredients I need, even the local ingredients I need to be able to cook, such as yam, cassava, plantain, etc. I cook the best quality food but improvise when I don't get all the ingredients. I looked for substitutes from grocery stores. Sometimes, I also go to the Labour City grinding mill to buy corn and cassava dough for my banku. It tells you how serious I am with my food. See the items over there (referring to dried fish, some species, and yam in a corner of her living room).

> I ordered from Ghana and selling them. Most of the guys buy, and I cook for them here (Interview No. 54, Qatar, 15 June 2023).

Others suggested they find close substitutes if they cannot obtain their preferred foods:

> I eat semolina and wheat flour as well. Because where I get the maize from is far, sometimes I substitute it with wheat flour. They also have maize flour at the mall, which is difficult to mix. This place is unlike Ghana, where you can get everything, you want at the Agbogbloshi market (a market in Ghana) (Interview No. 21, Qatar, 4 June 2023).

For some women, preparing and selling local food is a business as they import dry foods from Ghana and run a home service. The Ghanaian community buys the foodstuffs from them, and at the same time, they prepare and deliver the cooked food to customers at a charge. A female participant described her business and how it relates to her food intake:

> I can eat what I like and prepare most of the food I eat, or sometimes I buy. As you can see, I prepare food and sell it to some Ghanaians here. A lot of people know me here. Just as I sell to them, I also cook healthy foods. I know I need to eat well and get the energy to work, or else I will fall sick and not be able to work, so I make sure I eat well (Interview No. 54, Qatar 15, June 2023).

A female participant who has spent ten years in Qatar noted that women care for themselves better than men. She stressed that eating well and buying good clothes to look good and not just to work and save money or even purchase or eat poor food is essential. She asserted that males eat poorly and do not come to places like restaurants to eat better food:

> As a lady, I am supposed to look beautiful all the time. I have to visit the malls for gorgeous dresses. I need to take good care of myself because that is why I work. Sometimes, we come here (referring to Ghanaian restaurants we met) to eat good food. Not all the time, but at least every weekend. But the Ghanaian guys will not come here. They won't buy good clothes but just save the money and eat poorly (Interview No. 23, Qatar, June 2023).

By contrast, the men noted that they eat the same kind of food all the time or look for cheaper alternatives instead of going to a restaurant to spend more on food. A respondent who works as a

shopkeeper said he did not come to Qatar to eat but to make money, which contrasts with the thinking of women who believe they need to eat well. Some men suggested that though they are good with what they eat since it fills their belly, they cannot forget about the problems, challenges, and economic difficulties they faced back in Ghana. As a result:

> I wouldn't say I am food secure. In percentage terms, I only get 70 percent of the foods I want. I eat alright; it fills my stomach, but it is not what I desired (Interview No. 7, Qatar 31, June 2023)

These findings contrast with those of earlier studies (Babatunde & Qaim, 2010; Ihab et al., 2015; Monirrazaman & Walton-Roberts. 2022; Schatz et al., 2011) that suggest food insecurity is more prevalent in female-headed households compared to male and male-headed households. Women's participation in the labour force and engagement in other economic and informal activities in Qatar tends to yield them income, enhancing their food security (McGuire, 2015).

Despite the efforts by the women to ensure they are food secure, some encountered challenges that impacted their livelihood (Awumbila et al., 2019; Demisse, 2018; Jarallah, 2009; Naithani & Jhan, 2010). Domestic work has been feminized in the Gulf region (Jarallah, 2009). However, none of the study respondents in this research were engaged in domestic work in Qatar. However, female Ghanaian migrant workers experience many challenges, including difficulty getting jobs, the tedious nature of work, and so on. Some respondents emphasized their dissatisfaction with their jobs and the implications for the livelihoods of their stay in Qatar. As one t noted:

> My biggest challenge was the job I had to do. I worked at the Airport as a cleaner; there was no breathing space. You always have to stand even if you have nothing to do. You go to work an hour earlier and leave late, yet you won't be paid for it. I was given a basic salary of 1000qa and food 300qa for the 12 hours of work. They didn't pay for our overtime; they said they spent a lot on us before we arrived, so they used our overtime to pay that off for 18 months before we could get that. The

> company later terminated my appointment, but I still had not finished paying my debts. I was worried, but they gave me NOC to look for a new employer. I became a freelance, but this presented other difficulties because I needed a new ID card for 3000qa, which I did not have money for. (Interview No. 1, Qatar 31, June 2023)

Altogether, migrants face gendered challenges at their destination. Moreover, gendered differences exist between the women and men migrants in their attitudes to food consumption. However, there is a consensus that it is better to go grocery shopping and prepare your own meals regardless of whether you are on a free visa, are fed by the company or are a freelancer.

4.6 Conclusion

The study contributes to the literature on the connection between migration and food security. Specifically, it emphasizes the food-related challenges and food insecurity of migrants at their destination in Qatar. International migration from Ghana to Qatar and the Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) is pushed by the aspirations of migrants to support their families amid difficult economic and livelihood situations in Ghana and is pulled by the demand for low-skill and semi-skilled labour in Qatar and the Gulf. The findings from this research suggest that while migration to Qatar is significant for the migrants and their households, it can be a heavy burden by negatively impacting the consumption patterns and dynamics and the food security of the migrants at their destination.

The food security and consumption patterns of the migrants are tied to labour recruitment practices and governance in GCC countries, including Qatar. The food consumption patterns are categorized into those provided food by their employees; those provided food allowances, and those with no food provided or food allowance. Migrants under a “company or work visa" are provided food or

allowances, while those on a "free visa" have no allowances or food. The respondents unanimously criticized the quality and monotony of the food provided by companies. Those with food allowances and freelancers obtain their food from two sources: the supermarkets in the malls and convenience stores called ‘baqala.’ This research suggests that migrants prefer to buy from supermarkets since there is variety and the prices are relatively low compared to the baqala who buy from supermarkets and then retail the food to workers.

Crucially, the migration status of migrants determines their vulnerability to food insecurity (Carney, 2015; Kasper et al., 2015; Vehabi et al., 2011). There is a strong connection between food consumption patterns and the migration status of migrants, which impacts their eating habits and food quality. Overall, inherent in the findings on the food consumption patterns and habits are migrants’ food insecurity experiences and their vulnerability to food insecurity caused by the visa and recruitment practices and fees paid in the sending countries to obtain work in Qatar, and the debts in the form of loans carried by these migrants and their households at the places of origin.

The findings of this study reveal the gendered food struggles of the labour migrants and contribute to recent literature that has explored migration and the food security of migrants at their destination (Hadley et al., 2007; Jolly & Thompson, 2023; Moffat et al., 2017; Tawodzera & Crush, 2017). Further, the study echoes the findings of otherson the central role of food in migrant experiences, exploring their attachment to the food of their home countries and where a change in diet is associated with poor nutrition (Edwards et al., 2010; McDonald & Kennedy, 2005; Saleh et al., 2002). Through the migrant voices from in-depth and key informant interviews, this study reveals

the challenges of obtaining and eating culturally nutritious food, echoing the findings of (Moffat et al. (2017).

CHAPTER FIVE

Manuscript # 3: Migrant Remittances, Food Security, and Multi-Local Households: Ghanaian Labour Migration to Qatar

5.1 Introduction

The growing volume of international global remittances has led to a significant body of research examining their impact in the Global South (Adams, 2011; Azizi, 2021; Benhamou & Cassin, 2021; Connell & Brown, 2015; Feld, 2021). The literature has generally emphasized the positive impact of remittances on economic growth, education, housing, and healthcare. Remittances are also widely credited with improved livelihood opportunities and poverty reduction (Fonta et al., 2022). However, only recently has attention turned to the impact of international remittances on food security in low and middle-income countries (Ebadi et al., 2018; Seydou, 2023; Smith & Floro, 2021; Sulemana et al., 2018).

The emerging case study literature suggests that there are several ways in which remittances potentially enhance the food and nutritional security of recipient households. As a major source of income for recipient households, remittances can increase their ability to pay for basic needs such as education, medical care, and food. Recent studies in Asia (Moniruzzaman, 2022), Central America (Mora-Rivera & van Gameren, 2021), and Africa (Abadi et al., 2018) show that food purchase is an important use of remittances and recipient households are relatively more food secure than non-recipient households. In Ghana, work on international and internal remittance impacts has consistently reported positive effects on household income, welfare, and food security (Adams & Cuecuecha, 2013; Adjei-Mantey et al., 2022; Akpa, 2018; Atuoye et al., 2017; Quartey,

2006; Sam et al., 2019; Suleman et al., 2018). However, as Thow et al. (2016) observe, remittances can also be spent on unhealthy foods and contribute to the epidemic of overnutrition.

Remittances to rural households are a potential source of funds for investment in boosting agricultural production and productivity, enhancing the ability of rural households to grow more of their food and mitigate food insecurity (Cau & Agadjanian, 2023; Dedewanou & Tossou, 2021; Regmi & Paudel, 2017; Szabo et al., 2022; Xing, 2018). IFAD (2023) estimates that recipients either save or invest 25% of the money they receive, and one-quarter of these savings (US$25 billion annually) go into agriculture-related investments. In the case of Ghana, Adams & Cuecuecha (2013) show that the bulk of remittances are spent on food, housing, and education. However, there is some case study evidence of agriculture-related investments. For example, Eghan & Adjasi (2023) show that the varied effects of remittances on agriculture depend on crop type and other economic activities of farming households.

Remittances also play an important food security-related role in mitigating the negative impacts of sudden-onset and longer-duration economic, political, and environmental shocks (Ajide & Alimi, 2019; Bragg et al., 2017; Coulharde & Generoso, 2015). Migrant remittances tend to increase in volume in response to sudden shocks and families in conflict settings (Bettin & Zazzaro, 2018; Le De et al., 2013; Rodima-Taylor, 2022). During the COVID-19 pandemic, remittances were initially expected to decline precipitously, but many migrants 'defied the odds' and increased their remittances (Kpodar et al., 2023). The 'shock-absorbing mechanism' (Ajide & Alimi, 2019) of increased remittances can play an essential role in building resilience to food

insecurity during recurrent or episodic crises and shocks (Gianelli & Canessa, 2021; Obi et al., 2020; Zingwe et al., 2023).

There have been several calls to pay greater attention to the food security impacts of food remitting, which can include transfers of purchased foods from migrants to their homes and transfers of agricultural produce from their home areas to their migrant destinations (Crush, 2013; Crush & Caesar, 2017, 2018). Although difficult to accurately quantify, there is often a significant 'hidden' transfer of food between migrants and their home areas in particular migration corridors such as between South Africa and Zimbabwe (Sithole et al., 2022; Tawodzera & Crush, 2016). In rural Northern Nigeria, Barnabas et al. (2024) found that households receiving food remittances were more food secure. Similarly, in one district in Ghana, there is evidence that food remittances contribute to the welfare of households (Apatinga et al., 2021). However, both studies focus on internal remittances, and there has been little investigation into the possibility of migrants remitting from West Africa to migrants abroad.

This paper expands upon the existing literature that explores the complex relationship between migration and food security in Africa by presenting findings on the remitting behaviour of Ghanaian labour migrants in the Gulf country of Qatar. Following Porter et al. (2018), Steinbrink & Niedenfuhr (2020), and Anderson-Djurfeldt (2021), the concept of translocal households is a useful starting point for framing the remitting motivations of Ghanaian migrants. The chapter explores the links between migration and food security by addressing the following questions: (a) What are the characteristics, determinants, and patterns of remitting by Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar? (b) How do recipient households utilize remittances, and do they improve the food

security of those households? (c) Does the pressure or obligation to remit have negative food security consequences for migrants in Qatar? and (d) Is there evidence of food remitting between Ghana and Qatar, and, if so, what form does this take? To answer these questions, the chapter draws on the findings of a 2023 survey of migrant-sending households in Ghana and in-depth qualitative interviews with Ghanaian migrants in Qatar.

5.2 Overview of Ghanaian Labour Migration

Ghana's long history of post-independence international labour migration has unfolded over several overlapping phases. Immediately after independence in the 1960s and 1970s, a small number of professionals, primarily students, went abroad for educational purposes, and others who trained as civil servants (Anarfi et al., 2003; Peil, 1995). The late 1970s and 1980 saw the migration of trained professionals, such as teachers, to other African countries where their expertise and skills were highly valued. Within the West African region, Nigeria became a popular destination for Ghanaians, especially during the oil boom. However, in 1983, Nigerian President Shagari signed an executive order deporting all West African migrants from the country. Over two million migrants were deported, including one million Ghanaians (Daly, 2023).

In the late 1980s and the 1990s, skilled and semi-skilled Ghanaians began to emigrate in large numbers to destinations outside the continent, including North America and Western Europe (Arthur, 2008; Asiedu, 2010; González-Ferrer et al., 2013; Schans et al., 2018). Most migrated in response to the economic crises and structural dislocation in Ghana that accompanied structural adjustment programs. These were implemented by the military government seeking to reverse

economic decline and a massive balance of payments deficit (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). The 1990s also saw the outmigration of migrants to new destinations such as Australia, North Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia (Andall, 2021; Kandilige et al., 2024; Obeng, 2019). Across all these phases, the decline in economic opportunities, depressed living standards, and the quest for improved livelihoods triggered the emigration of migrants.

In the last two decades, the Gulf has emerged as an important destination for lower-skilled male and female Ghanaians who have taken advantage of the voracious demand of the Gulf states for the importation of temporary labour migrants. On the supply side, the movement has been driven by the high rate of unemployment, low remuneration, and heightened poverty that many Ghanaian households face within the country (Atong et al., 2018). The movement of labour migrants to the Gulf was facilitated by the proliferation of brokers, recruiters, and work placement agencies who hire low-skilled and unskilled migrants as domestic workers, security guards, construction workers, and drivers for employers (Awumbila et al., 2019a; Deshingkar et al., 2019). Several Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar and elsewhere in the Gulf (Atong et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019a; Kandilige et al., 2023). Others have documented the misrepresentation, abuse, harassment, and other difficulties labour migrants face during their journey to and from workplaces in countries like Qatar (Apekey et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019; Deshingkar et al., 2019). Other recent studies have focused on the migration industry, the role of brokers and recruiters, and the reintegration experiences of returning migrants (Awumbila et al., 2019b; Rahman & Salisu, 2023).

Although data on migrant Ghanaian labour in the Gulf is scant, Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar have become popular destinations for semi-skilled and unskilled male and female Ghanaian

labour migrants (Atong et al., 2018; Awumbila et al., 2019 Rahman & Salisu 2021). Recent studies estimate that about 75,000 Ghanaian labour migrants are working in the Gulf, of which an estimated 27,000 are in Saudi Arabia, 24,000 in the United Arab Emirates, 8,000 in Qatar, 4,500 in Bahrain and 3,500 in Oman (Rahman & Salisu, 2023). However, these may be underestimates given that not all migrants move through registered channels. The remitting practices in the Qatar-Ghana migration corridor and the impacts of remittances on the food security of stretched or trans-local households in Ghana and Qatar have not been addressed yet by researchers. The following sections of the paper present the findings of research conducted in both countries from March to June 2023.

5.3 Methodology

Data collection for this study was carried out in Ghana and Qatar from March 2023 to June 2023 using a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology. In Ghana, a face-to-face household survey was conducted with 200 migrant households in Accra and Kasoa. The survey collected data on the socioeconomic characteristics of the household, the factors influencing the decision to send migrants to Qatar, remittance receipt and use, and household food security experiences. A total of 58 in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted in Qatar. These interviews focused on a range of questions that covered socio-demographic information, earnings, nature of work, savings, remittances, patterns of food consumption, and household food security. Both the survey and in-depth interview participants were recruited using purposive snowball sampling.

5.4 Cash Remittances

The survey found that 80% of the migrant households surveyed in Ghana received cash remittances from relatives in Qatar in the previous year, while only 20% did not. However, the amounts sent to the household in Ghana were relatively small (Table 16). About 44% of households received Ghc2500 (UDS 186) or more per month. A further 22% received between Ghc1500 and Ghc 2500 (USD113 and USD 186), while 16% received between Ghc1000 (UDS 74) and Ghc1500 (USD 113), and about one quarter received less than Ghc1000 (USD 113). The survey also found that cash remittances are not sent home regularly. Only 11% of the households received remittances more than once a month. Another one-third received them monthly, and the remainder a few times a year.

Table 16: Amount of Migrant Remittances Received Per Month.

	Frequency	**Percentages**
Less Than Ghc500	2	1
Ghc500 - Ghc1000	27	17
Ghc1000 - Ghc1500	25	16
Ghc1500 - Ghc2000	20	13
Ghc2000 - Ghc2500	9	6
Ghc2500 – Ghc2500	4	3
More than Ghc2500	68	44
Total	**155**	**100**

Figure 9 shows the breakdown of the recipients of remittances from Qatar. More than two-thirds were immediate family members, and a further 25% were members of the extended family of the migrants. This is strong evidence that migrants in Qatar are embedded in translocal households with nodes in Ghana and Qatar. Translocality was very evident during the in-depth interviews in

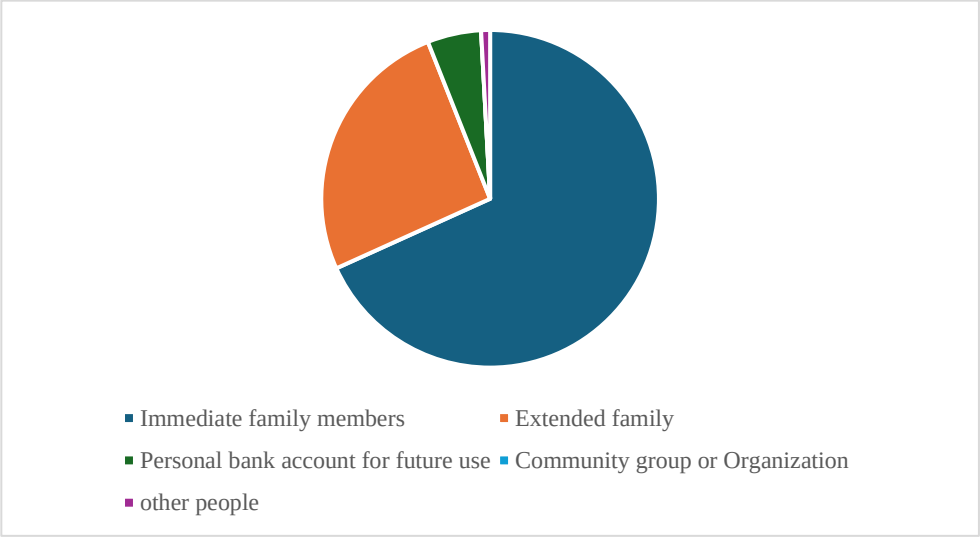
Qatar when respondents were asked about their motivations for remitting. One migrant described the principle of reciprocity within their translocal household in this way:

> I believe it is necessary to share my success with my family, no matter how small it may be. Back in Ghana, when I needed help, they supported me, so it's only fair to reciprocate and support them now. I don't get worried when I send them money because I always budget for things I need here and the rest for my family back home. Which they can share among themselves (Interview No. 29, Qatar, 4 June 2023).

Another mentioned his obligation for the family's survival in Ghana, seeing himself as the family 'breadwinner' and provider:

> I send money every month to my wife and child. Monthly, I send Ghc800 and support my siblings when they are needed. I am the man, the breadwinner, and the father. They cannot survive without me. Besides, it is my responsibility to provide for them as the man and father of the house. The money is used for household food purchases. (Interview No 8, Qatar, 31 May 2023)

Figure 9: Recipients of Migrant Remittances



The in-depth interviews provided insights into why, despite their best intentions, migrants cannot send large amounts of cash or remit consistently and regularly. The frequency of remitting is

clearly affected by their precarious socioeconomic situation in Qatar, including the availability of jobs and the constant fear of unemployment:

> I try to remit the family regularly, even though there are times when I cannot do so due to financial constraints, just like last month's ending. I pleaded with them that they will hear from me when things go well. (Interview No. 29, Qatar, 4 June 2023).

During the 2022 World Cup in Qatar, there were many job opportunities in the construction industry. Many migrant workers originally sponsored by companies moved to 'freelancing' to allow them to work in this and other sectors and earn more money. However, since the World Cup, employment shutdowns have left many Ghanaian labour migrants stranded. Migrants, especially freelancers, are now unemployed, with their savings spent on food and accommodation. They have very little money with which to support their translocal family members:

> It has been seven months since I sent money to my family, but I explained to them that things have been difficult, and they understood my situation. The first 14 months in this country was peaceful and different. There were a lot of construction jobs available due to the 2022 World Cup. I survived, had something to depend on, and could consistently send every month to the family, but this whole mess started when I moved from the company to freelance before the World Cup. Life has been complicated after the World Cup. A lot of jobs have shut down (Interview No. 17, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

> My earnings in Qatar have been minimal after the World Cup, I haven't been able to send enough money home to benefit the family for some time now. I couldn't even repay all the loans I took to come to Qatar. The land I used as collateral was seized and sold. I feel so disappointed in myself. I focused on getting my ID, so I didn't spend much on food. I hope they will pay me for the two weeks of work arrears, which should be 1400 Riyals or half of it, so that I can use that to survive (Interview No. 34, Qatar, 9 June 2023).

Another migrant recalled that they sent remittances to Ghana every month when they were employed, but now that they were unemployed, they had to fend for themselves first:

> I am unemployed; I do not send money home and manage what I have for my stay. But previously, I used to remit every month whenever I was paid my basic salary. Why should I send money to someone when I am unemployed and unsettled? They

> know how generous I am, but they would have to pardon me for now. I usually don't get help from anyone (Interview No 27, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

A migrant with family members in Ghana and Europe told a similar story about the impact of unemployment on their ability to remit:

> I regularly send money to my family back home. But now I'm unemployed, they know about my situation and have adapted. My other siblings in Italy help the family when one of us is lacking, especially during festive seasons; since we are Muslims, we send them money. My siblings also support the family when one of us is facing difficulties. Currently, I don't have any job, so any money I send home will push me into a food crisis. I didn't have this problem previously when I was working. My brother here often helps me when I'm in trouble. Only my family members know that I'm not working. People might comment negatively when they realize you are not doing well here (Interview No. 28, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

The reference to coordinated assistance from family members in Italy suggests that some migrants in Qatar are members of more complex multi-local households with nodes in Ghana, Qatar, and elsewhere.

5.5 Food Remittances

Remitting to family in Ghana includes transfers of food and non-food items. The primary difference between cash and non-cash forms of remitting is that cash involves a one-way flow from Qatar to Ghana, whereas food is remitted in both directions. As many as 51% of migrant-sending households received food and other items from household members in Qatar. These food items are crucial to meet the immediate needs of the household (Baako-Amponsah et al., 2022; Kuuire et al., 2013). Although non-food items such as clothes and building materials such as paints were transferred from Qatar to migrant households in Ghana, food was the most common item sent. Most migrants rely on other labour migrants, including friends and relatives returning to Ghana, to send food to their families. However, some transfers are more organized. One

respondent who runs a restaurant business in Doha emphasized that food was cheap in Qatar, and they ship food to Ghana to share among their friends and relatives. Food and non-food remitting occurs on an individual basis but is also an organized business as his account illustrates:

> Some of us here export some food home since some food items, such as white rice, are relatively cheaper. My father sitting over there [referring to a man sitting at the restaurant who is in the shipping business] is very much involved in such business. He collects the goods, including cooking oil, white rice, cookies and flour, clothes, and electronic gadgets people want to send to relatives in Ghana, charges them, and ships them on their behalf. Also, we import local food such as konkonte, local peanut butter, gari, corn dough, some dry fish, etc., to run the restaurant business here. However, we are careful not to send more food than we end up with nor bring more than we can afford since it might impact our finances and our ability to cook and sell adequate and preferred food to the public (Interview No. 52, Qatar, 16 June 2023).

The households of migrants in Ghana also send food to Qatar. The survey found that about 46% of surveyed households sent cereals to their migrant members in Qatar during their contract period, usually two years. Over 34% sent dried food, including dried fish and powdered foods (Figure 2). Cereals such as corn dough, konkonte (dried ground cassava), and dried fish are important staple foods in Ghana and are unavailable in Qatari markets and grocery stores. Food remittances from Ghana are often transported to Qatar by other migrants:

> I do not receive gifts from anyone here, but I do ask my friends returning to Ghana to collect certain foodstuffs for me, such as konkonte and red oil, which they sometimes forget at the airport. (Interview No. 36, Qatar, 31 May 2023)

Migrants returning to Qatar also bring food back with them for their friends and relatives. Some migrants send cash remittances to family members in Ghana so they can buy food and send it with friends going to Qatar. However, personal conveyance of food and other items (such as medicines) runs the risk of confiscation by customs officials:

> Nobody here gives me food to eat. The only thing you will receive from someone here is some biscuits and things of that sort. If I need help, I send money to my wife to buy food items and give to my friends returning from vacation in Ghana to bring

to me. I get foods like *shito* (black sauce), groundnut paste, Gari and some medications like amoxicillin. That is all. People will not agree to bring over heavy foods to you here. Sometimes it comes at a cost. A friend of mine that I used to work with went to Ghana from here, and when he was returning, I told him to come along with malaria treatment and some foodstuffs, but he came to narrate to me that it was seized and thrown away. All because he put it in his handbag. So those are also some of the challenges we are likely to encounter. (Interview No. 24, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

Figure 10: Food transferred to Migrants in Qatar

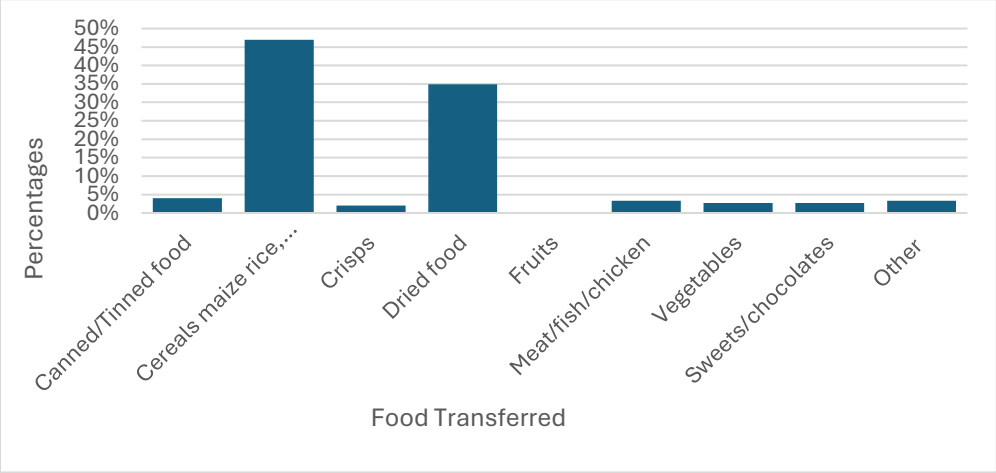
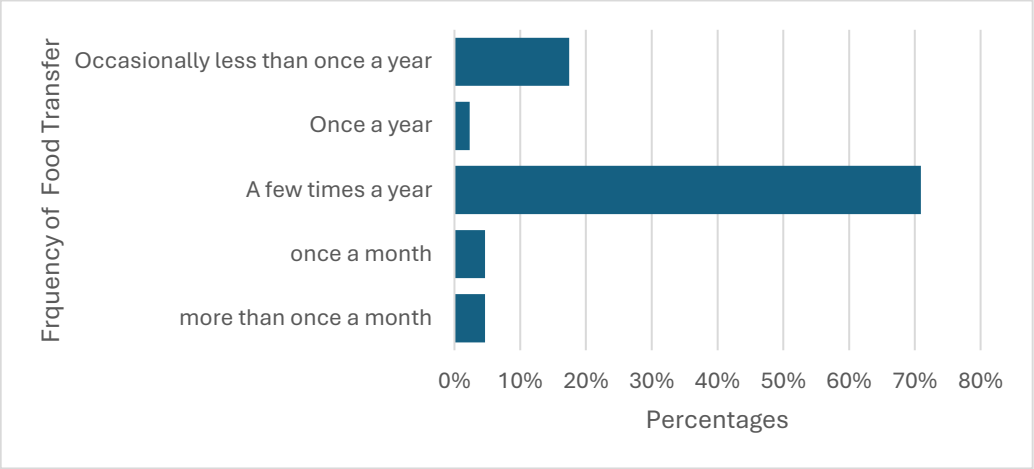


Figure 11 shows the frequency with which food is transported to migrants in Qatar by those who send food remittances. Many of the respondents, about 90%, indicated that they sent food to Qatar sparingly, thus 'a few times a year', 'once a year' or 'occasionally, less than once a year,' while 10% regularly transferred food, i.e. at least monthly. This indicates how costly and difficult it is to transfer food outside of Ghana, as previously demonstrated in Southern Africa (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017).

Figure 11: Frequency of Transferring Food to Migrants in Qatar



Food transfers from Ghana are of strong cultural significance to Ghanaian migrants in Qatar. For the migrant, eating traditional Ghanaian food is comforting, nostalgic, and a reminder of their identity and home (Locher et al., 2005). Respondents noted that they do not rely on Qatari and other foods in the grocery stores because they are unenjoyable and considered unhealthy. Instead, migrants cook in a way that mimics their culturally preferred foods, with many requesting important Ghanaian foods.

However, respondents noted that food transfers impose costs, and some might not receive what they sent money for. For example, a male respondent who is a long-term resident of Qatar and relies on staple foods from Ghana noted that:

> I sometimes receive shito (black sauce) and other things from home. When someone comes from Ghana after vacation, I give them money to purchase items we don't have here for us. Sometimes, they bring dry fish and peanut butter because the ones they sell in the grocery stores are not suitable for peanut butter soup. They are sugary, but sometimes they don't even bring all you send them to buy, you lose your money, and you are forced to find alternatives (Interview No. 40, Qatar, 12 June 2023)

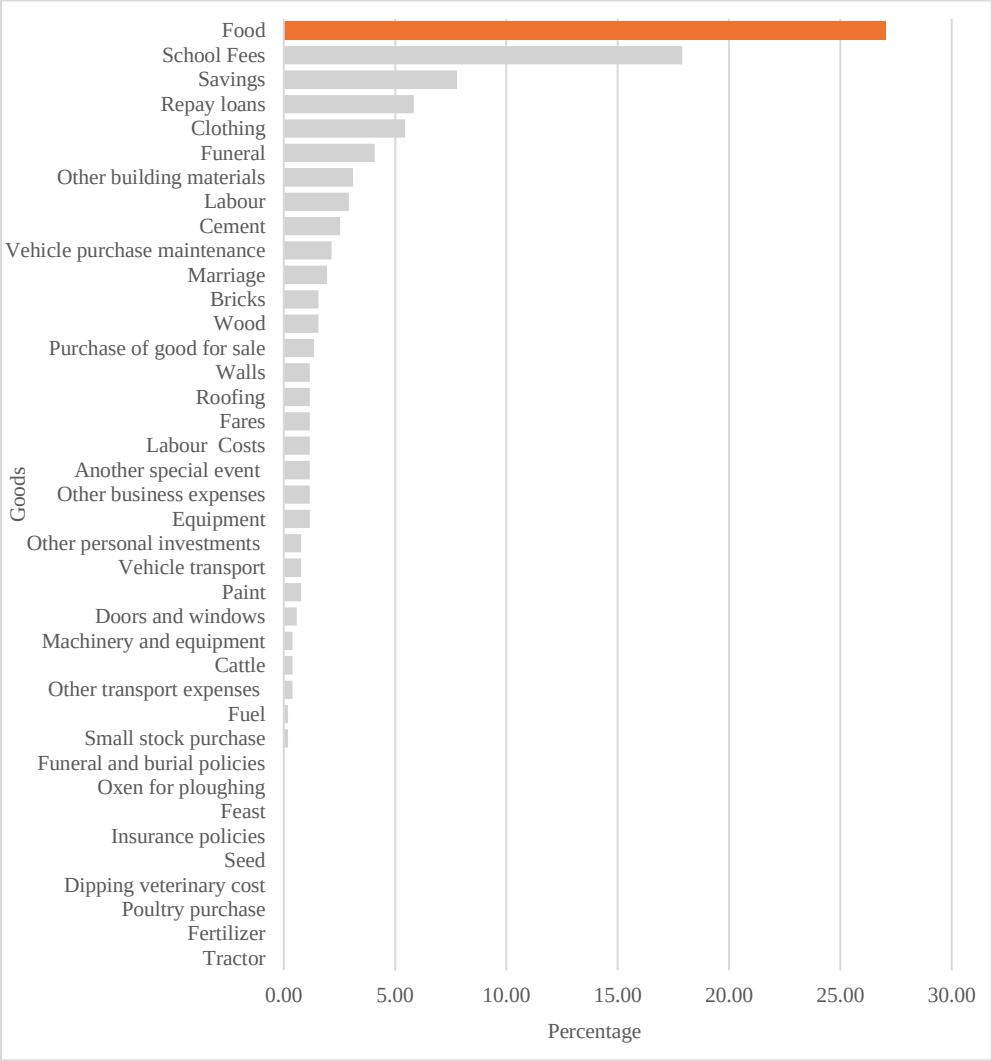
5.6 Remittances and Household Food Security in Ghana

Cash and food remittances markedly impacted the food security situation of migrant-sending households in Ghana. As many as 73% of the respondents in Ghana indicated that remittances are ‘very important' to their household, and another 18% indicated that they were 'important.' These findings are consistent with other studies that have examined the crucial role of cash and food remittances in improving household food security in the Northern and Upper-East regions of Ghana (Baako-Amponsah et al., 2020; Karamba et al., 2011; Kuuire et al., 2013; Suleman et al., 2018)

The cash remittances received by households are used to maintain and improve dietary diversity and, more importantly, food consumption levels and the household's ability to purchase sufficient quality food to meet their nutritional needs. The survey findings indicate that the most common use of cash remittances is food purchases at 27%. Investment in children’s education (in the form of school fees) is the second most important use, 17.9%, followed by financial transactions in the form of savings and repaying loans with 7.8% and 5.8% respectively. Clothing is 5.5 %, and other household emergency uses, such as funerals, are 4.1. Migrants take the opportunity to build houses while abroad; as such, the next use of remittances is to purchase other building materials (3.1%) and pay for the labour (2.9%) with remittances. Also, a significant portion of the remittances is spent on construction materials, including cement 2.5%, wood 1.6 %, and bricks 1.6 %. However, Other occasional uses of remittances include the purchase and maintenance of vehicles at 2.1% and for marriage expenses 1.9%. These findings about the prioritizing of remittance expenditure on food purchases are consistent with the findings of Pendleton et al. (2014), Venditto (2018), and Crush & Caesar (2017, 2018) in other African countries. None of the respondents invested

remittances in improving rural agriculture, although a handful did purchase cattle with remittances (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Use of Household Remittance



Evidence from the qualitative interviews with the migrants in Qatar provides further insights into the diverse use and general importance of migrant remittances. The payment of school fees and educational support was a constant refrain in many in-depth interviews. In addition to food and clothing, approximately 19% of the survey participants used remittances for education. Therefore,

remittances significantly increase investment in education. As Gyimah-Brempong & Asiedu (2015) suggest, a strong link exists between remittances and human capital formation. They note that international remittances significantly increase the probability that families will enrol their children in primary and high school education in Ghana and that children's education is a primary reason for migration to work in Qatar:

> I send money every month to my family, about 1500 Cedis, to support their education. If it means sending the last amount of money to me, I will do whatever it takes to give them a better education and dreams. My kids and wife are why I am working, and I must take good care of them. I even have this education I am talking about well-planned out as well. I have learned that Ghana's educational system doesn't meet the desired standards, especially at the university level. I plan to enroll my children in vocational training after they complete junior high school, like being a mechanic, mason, fixing air conditioners, etc., which would make them better than their mates. This way when he travels here in the future and earns even 1800 riyals, equivalent to 4000 Cedis in Ghana, his mates will still be at the university waiting to graduate, but he would be in a better status than them. (Interview No. 30, Qatar, 8 June 2023).

Another respondent noted that the school fees of his younger sibling are a non-negotiable regardless of his own employment and food security status:

> I send money to my mom for upkeep and to care for my little brother, who is still in senior high school. I am not financially stable; I sometimes struggle to eat, especially when sending money. I still have to think about my family's well-being, especially that of my little brother, who is still in school. It would go a long way to prevent him from indulging in certain practices to get money when he is not getting enough at home. (Interview No. 26, Qatar, 6 June 2023).

However, the interviews confirmed that a major benefit of remittances is the improvement of household food security:

> My wife told me they buy foodstuffs such as yam, gari, rice, vegetables, and other household supplies (Interview No 8, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

> I send money to the family in Ghana every month. I send 900 Cedis purposely for their food. They use the money to buy foodstuffs, including rice, beans, yam, chicken, etc. Rice is the most essential food in my household because of my kids.

> They like rice a lot. I want to give them a good life; it is my responsibility, and I fully embrace it. (Interview No. 5, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

> I ask my mother what they need at home at the end of every month. I tell my aunt, who owns a 'provision shop' (mini grocery shop), to make the list of items such as milo, soups, cereals, soaps, rice, oil, cowbell coffee and tomato pastes. Package them and give them to my mother. So, she might package groceries for about Ghc300; then I will send her 800Ghc, and she will take her money and give the rest to my parents. I give them about 500Ghc to my mother for their monthly upkeep and my son's feeding fee. My child's feeding fee is about 15Ghc a day plus her lunch of about Ghc 5 (Interview No. 1, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

As well as improving household food security, remittances thus play a role in the extra-household food security of school-age children through school feeding programmes. One respondent drew attention to this dual role as follows:

> See my phone, someone just called me. I do not send food to Ghana, but I send money to my parents and kids monthly. It is a must every month. For siblings, I remit occasionally. They use the money for feeding fees at school and household food consumption (Interview No. 3, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

In some cases, remittances spent on food purchases are used to supplement local household income:

> My mother is not working, but my dad is a commercial driver, so sometimes he supports the family every month, too. He adds to the money and uses it to buy foodstuffs such as plantain, cassava, rice, vegetables, including garden eggs and other items on his way home after work (Interview No. 3, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

A female single mother noted that the food security of her family in Ghana had improved since she migrated to Qatar for work:

> Life has been difficult, but things have improved since I came to Qatar. I can send some little money to my family, which has, to some extent, paid their rent and supported household food purchases and consumptions and the family in general, though the salary is not much. You are not able to save. Most of the money goes into household expenditure every month. I have been unable to do anything since all the money goes to essential household expenditures, such as sending money to feed my kids and paying the rent for them whenever it is due (Interview No. 1, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

Another respondent noted a similar improvement in his ability to provide food for the family in Ghana since migrating to Qatar:

> At least, I have been earning some money to support and provide food for my wife and kids, and I even started a project, something I wasn't able to do while in Ghana. (Interview No. 5, Qatar, 31 May 2023)

The capacity of migrants to remit regularly is clearly vital to sustaining household food security over time. If there are any delays or irregularities, the household must adjust accordingly:

> I am able to send money back home to Ghana once a month, but it sometimes delays when I am not paid; in that case, they have to adjust and find alternate ways to feed at home until I am able to remit to them when I am paid. The money I send them is mostly used to pay bills and school fees, so they appreciate it and my effort. (Interview No. 54, Qatar, 17 June 2023).

An additional use of remittances with longer-term food security implications is an investment in small income-generating businesses in Ghana. Respondents stressed that these small businesses generate income for the household to manage the household food situation at a time when they have not been able to remit to the household:

> I regularly send money to my mom and girlfriend in Ghana at the end of every month for her food. Also, I helped my mom reopen her collapsed bar to provide her with a source of income and food. You know the job here is erratic, especially when you are on a free visa. Besides, you can be sacked at any time. Now, I carefully manage how I send money to ensure that I save and support my family without leaving myself stranded here (Interview No. 49, Qatar, 15 June 2023)

Some respondents noted that helping the household set up a small business relieves them of the pressure of caring for their children and extended family members. As one female migrant noted:

> I don't send money to my family often. This is because my sister has her own business, which I helped to set up; she benefits and gets her income for food from the returns, so I don't have to work to support household food consumption. Helping her monthly, as well as my son, would put a significant burden on me. Instead, I send my son 300 riyals (900 Cedis) monthly. Sometimes, when I don't

> remit, my sister supports my son too because she has the business; she takes money from me for food purchases and other household needs until I can remit to them (Interview No. 22, Qatar, 4 June 2023)

Another female respondent described how she was able to rent a store for her mother to sell some goods instead of on the streets:

> I stayed with my mother when I was in Ghana, selling second-hand clothing on the streets. However, there have been changes in the entire household; I have now rented a store for my mother, which will support her even when I don't send her anything. (Interview No. 19, Qatar, 31 May 2023).

5.7 Migrant Remittances and Food Insecurity in Qatar

While there is a growing body of research on the impact of remittances on household food security in the literature, only a few studies have examined the impact of remitting on the food and nutritional security of remitters at their place of destination (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017; Osei-Kwasi et., 2019; Headley et al., 2008). As members of translocal households, the remittances of migrants to their households in Ghana could negatively affect their food security in Qatar, forcing them to adopt various coping strategies. However, some migrants in Qatar denied that remittances to Ghana affected their ownr food security. For example:

> Sending them money doesn't affect me here because I plan to keep some 100 Riyals on me for a month, which I use for basic expenses here. Still, even with that, I don't use all the 100 Riyals. I sometimes spend only 50 Riyals in a month. After all, I don't spend much here because I don't buy any clothing, and with food, I rarely make orders. I just go to the restaurant and eat at the work cafeteria even though I don’t like it at times *(*Interview No. 48, Qatar, 14 June 2023).

More often, migrants deprived themselves of nutritious and diverse foods to save money and remit to their multi-local family members. A single mother in her mid-20s, who is also the breadwinner

for her family in Ghana, emphasized that she has less to eat after remitting and must adopt various strategies to survive:

> When I send the money home to my son and siblings, it also impacts me here, but I can't complain; if I don't do it, who will? I have to manage. It's not like they are using the money to do anything for me but for their consumption. If I want to eat what I want, I might need 500riyals every month, but with my responsibilities, it is impossible. I must eat smaller and the same meals all the time. (Interview No. 4, Qatar, 31 May 2023)

Another respondent echoed the problematic situation after sending remittances:

> My family is always appreciative of the little financial support I send them regularly every month when I am paid, which makes me happy. Sometimes, sending money home puts me in a difficult situation, especially when we are not paid early. I sometimes take foodstuffs such as rice from my friends and pay for them or replace them when I am paid. (Interview No. 51, Qatar, 15 June 2023)

Dietary monotony as a response to remitting was quite common. A single mother in her late twenties with three younger siblings explained that she has an enormous responsibility to her family, so she only keeps about 150 riyals of her basic monthly salary of 1500 riyals for her own food and miscellaneous expenses; however, she still had to sacrifice by eating rice all the time:

> Remitting money to my family in Ghana sometimes impacts what I eat. I don't send all the money: sometimes, I leave about 150qa (from my basic salary of 1500) on me for upkeep and food, which is not enough, but I 'manage' it all the time. I am eating the same kind of food all the time. For instance, I eat one way: rice with no variety all the time because I want to manage the money. (Interview No. 1, Qatar, 31 May 2023)

As she noted, “I could have enjoyed much better food and lived comfortably if it was all about me.”

A male respondent in his late twenties said that he eats beans to cope with the financial pressure and burden that comes with assisting members of the translocal family:

> Sending money impacted what I ate; honestly, it was beans and gari that I usually like to eat because, per my calculation, it would have been difficult and lost for me

> to eat other foods. Someone owed me, so I relied on that to purchase food. *(*Interview No. 16, Qatar, 4 June 2023*)*

To cut down on living costs in Qatar and free up funds to remit, many migrants share the same rented housing space and kitchen with a degree of community living and solidarity. Shared cooking also cuts down the cost of food. Although some Ghanaian migrants work for companies where food is provided, they prefer to join their colleagues to cook and eat as a group:

. > I don't have any job after the World Cup, so any money I send home will force me into a food crisis. In difficult times here in Qatar, my brothers in this room often help me. Even when we were all in the company and were provided food, we didn't like it because it was difficult to eat and hence, though not allowed in the company building, we still prepared food as a group and ate. Every member in the room contributed money that we used to buy foodstuff to prepare the meals. (Interview No. 28, Qatar, 7 June 2023)

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter uses qualitative, in-depth interviews conducted in Qatar and household surveys conducted in Ghana to examine the impact of migrant remittances on household food security in Ghana and Qatar. Migrants in Qatar remit cash and goods to their households in Ghana. Respondents in the in-depth interviews and surveys appreciated how migrant remittances in food and money catalyzed sustained household welfare, including food security. The study found that migrants remitted money more regularly compared to food. The findings of this study show that Ghanaian migrant remittances positively affect household food security and welfare in Ghana but can lead to greater food insecurity in Qatar.

In Ghana, migrant cash remittances alleviate household food insecurity and improve household welfare through food purchases, payment of children's school and feeding fees, and start-up

businesses among labour-migrant households. This finding is consistent with other studies that suggest that migrant remittances improve household food consumption and nutritional security (Choithani, 2017; Karamba et al., 2011; Zezza et al., 2011). However, migrant remittances to families in Ghana reduce the disposable income of migrants in Qatar. Migrants are burdened with responsibilities, so they have very little disposal income left after remittances and expenditures. However, food security is mitigated by food remittances from Ghana in the form of dried and traditional staple foods such as konkonte, shito, corn dough, groundnut paste, and dried and smoked fish such as herrings and salted tilapia which are not available in the Qatari grocery and markets.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Conclusions

6. 1 Introduction

South-South migration has gained prominence as a major livelihood strategy with the potential to improve economic and social development both at the place of migrant origin and destination. The complex relationship between migration and development has spawned an intense debate in the literature (de Haas, 2012; Skeldon, 2020). However, food security, although a vital development metric, has been alienated from the migration and development debate (Crush, 2013). Despite still being on the periphery of mainstream migration research, there clearly exists a complex reciprocal relationship between migration and food (Choithani, 2017; Crush, 2013; Karamba et al., 2011; Monirazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022; Obi et al., 2020; Zezza et al., 2010). Hence, there is an urgent need for more empirical research on migration and food security nexus in different contexts (Choithani, 2017; Crush, 2013; Crush & Caesar, 2017; Karamba et al., 2010).

Although Ghana has a long post-colonial history of out-migration, the temporary labour migration of low and unskilled Ghanaians to the Gulf countries, including Qatar, has become an increasingly common phenomenon in recent years. Various themes, including gender and return migration, workplace maltreatment, and migrant welfare, have been previously studied by Ghanaian scholars. However, the connection between migration to Qatar and food security remains unexplored in the literature. Therefore, this dissertation aimed to address this research gap and provide a greater understanding of the intersection of migration and food security by exploring the diverse ways that migration impacts on household food security and vice versa in Ghana and Qatar.

In the final chapter of this dissertation, I identify the contributions of my research findings, aligning them with the original research objectives. Then, I address the methodological and theoretical contribution of the research and the policy implications of this study. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of some of the limitations of this study and highlight some directions for future research.

6.2 Scholarly Contribution

The three research objectives which frame this dissertation are linked to each of the three manuscript papers presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In this section, I highlight how each of the papers satisfies the research objectives laid out in Chapter 1 and summarise the contribution of each manuscript to the overall dissertation as well as scholarship on the migration-food security nexus.

6.2.1 Migration and Food Security in the Global South

The manuscript in Chapter 3, entitled *Food (In)Security among Labour Migrant Households in Ghana,* responds directly to Objective One by examining the food security status of migrant-sending households in Ghana and whether food insecurity influences migration from Ghana to Qatar. In this manuscript, I present empirical findings to suggest that food insecurity is a serious menace among migrant households and that migration is a strategy to cope with the situation.

The manuscript also makes several contributions to the literature on migration and food security in Ghana and the Global South. First, Tuholske et al.'s (2020) study in Accra found that 70% of the sample households in Accra are food insecure as measured by HFIAP. My survey found an even higher level among migrant households, with over 80% of the households in the food insecure

category. Both studies collected data in Accra, and urban dwellers, particularly the most economically vulnerable, are increasingly exposed to food insecurity (Cudjoe, 2016).

Second, the findings contribute to the debate on the relationship between food security and household type. There is significant literature from other studies in the Global South suggesting that female-centred households are the most vulnerable to food insecurity (Alaimo, 2005; ; Cudjoe et al., 2011; Jonah & May, 2020; Levin et al., 2011; Mabuza & Mamba, 2022; Santos et al., 2022; Tarasuk, 2005). My study confirms that household type does have a bearing on food security outcomes and that female-centred households have the lowest incidence of food security. However, larger extended family households have the highest levels of moderate to severe food insecurity, as well as the highest levels of overall food security.

Third, this paper makes a unique contribution to the food security conversation in Ghana. To my knowledge, no previous studies have been undertaken on the relationship between food insecurity and international migration to the Gulf. Studies In the Ghanaian literature, most of the emphasis has been on the relationship between food insecurity and out-migration from the north to the south of the country (Kuuire, 2013; Luginahh et al., 2009). My study builds on this literature by focusing on onward migration from Accra to destinations outside the country. My research also contributes to the general literature on food insecurity as a determinant of migration (Crush, 2013; Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Floro, 2020; Smith & Wesselbaum, 2022) by adding perspectives and detail from a survey of migrant-sending households in Ghana.

6.2.2 Migrant Food Security in the Gulf

My second research objective was to describe the food insecurity of Qatar-bound migrants at their destination. This objective is addressed in Chapter 4 on *Food Insecurity: The Case of Temporary Ghanaian Labour migrants in Qatar*. Using qualitative, in-depth, and key informant interviews, I focused on the challenges of migrants at their destination in Qatar, including their food consumption patterns, food behaviour or habits, barriers to food insecurity, and other determinants of the food insecurity of the migrants. I presented nuanced and grounded evidence that the food security of migrants is tied to the labour governance structure in the Gulf region. The study findings suggest a strong connection between food consumption patterns and the migration status of migrants, which impacts their eating habits and food quality. The food consumption patterns, habits, and food insecurity experiences of Ghanaians are also tied to the visa and recruitment practices and fees to obtain work, leaving them with large debts to repay.

Broadly, the study contributes to the literature and a better understanding of the connections between migration and food security. More specifically, it advances the small literature that has examined the food security of migrants at their destination in the Global South (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017; Dean & Wilson, 2010; Fennelly, 2007; Girard & Sercia, 2013; Rubalcava et al., 2008). Literature on migrants to the Global North demonstrates that at their destinations, migrants tend to be healthier and more food secure than those left behind at their place of origin, as well as long-term immigrants and the local population. Over time, the health and food security of immigrants tend to decline as their diets more closely approximate those of unhealthy local populations. This debate has largely been confined to the case of immigrants and refugees in the Global North. It has not addressed other forms of migration, such as the unregulated and temporary migration of low-

skilled and unskilled labour migrants within the Global South (Crush & Ceasar, 2017; Crush & Tawodzera, 2017). Using Ghanaian labour migration to Qatar as a case study, my research fills a research gap and advances the literature by showing that temporary labour migrants in the Global South immediately experience food insecurity challenges at their destination.

Second, this paper contributes to the literature and studies that have examined the challenges and treatment faced by African migrant workers in the Gulf. The kafala sponsorship-based governance system and company-based visa system in the Gulf are used to manage migrant workers and other forms of temporary migration in a way that keeps migrant workers as transient workers (Gardner, 2010; Rahman, 2013). This labour governance system has received considerable attention from scholars and policymakers. Studies have examined migrant workers' contract issues, confiscation of passports, workplace harassment, accommodation issues, and low and unpaid wages (Ewers et al., 2020; Fargues et al., 2019; Gardner et al., 2013; Hamza, 2014; Naithani & Jha, 2010) but have generally ignored the food and nutritional issues vital to migrant workers' stay and survival. More specifically, this is the first study of the food consumption patterns and challenges facing Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar.

6.2.3 Migrant Food Security and Trans locality

In Objective 3, I aimed to examine how migrant remittances to Ghana impact food security in both localities and the coping strategies adopted by migrants to alleviate food insecurity in Qatar. This is the focus of Chapter 5 of the dissertation on *Migrant Remittances, Food Security and Multilocal-Local Households: Ghanaian Labour Migrations to Qatar.* In this manuscript, I presented several

key empirical findings which speak to the literature on the volume and use of migrant remittances and improvements in household welfare (Quartey, 2006). As a significant source of income for recipient households, remittances help to smooth consumption and the ability of multilocal families to pay for basic needs such as education, medical care, and food (Cau & Agadjanian, 2023; Dedewanou & Tossou, 2021; Regmi & Paudel, 2017; Szabo et al., 2022; Xing, 2018). Crucially, I show that while remittances from Qatar are extremely important to recipient households in Ghana, remitting within translocal households can increase the economic hardships of the senders.

Second, this manuscript contributes to the emerging literature on the links between remittances and food security in the Global South. The findings build on the earlier works by Crush (2013), Choithani (2017), and Obi et al. (2020), which demonstrate the multifaceted connections between migrant remittances and household food security. My research shows the crucial role of migrant remittances in connecting and smoothening the consumption of recipient households through remittances, as well as the food security challenges that confront migrants in Qatar who send remittances.

Third, my study furthers our understanding of the link between migration and food remittances (Crush, 2013; Crush & Caesar, 2017, 2018; Frayne, 2010). Most of the literature on food remittances has focused on internal migration and the transfer of food from rural households to migrants in urban areas. There has been little research on how international food remittances impact household food security. Also, less is known about how food remittances flow from Ghana to Qatar and the food security implications for migrant recipients. My study demonstrates that

remittances vary from the internal migration model in two ways. First, household food remitters in Ghana are urban households, not rural households, which means that this is a form of urban-urban remitting. Second, food remittances flow in both directions, from Ghana to Qatar, which satisfies the cultural food needs of the migrants at their destination, and vice-versa, from Qatar to Ghana.

6.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

This study confirms that the complex reciprocal relationship between international migration and household food security also applies to the case of Ghanaian migration to Qatar (Crush, 2013; Monirazman & Walton-Roberts, 2022; Obi et al., 2020; Sharma, 2012). The findings raise several policy questions and suggestions on migration as a livelihood strategy to improve household food security in Ghana. First, while development practitioners and governments can prioritize and try to solve physical food access issues, other factors mediate the food security of migrants, including social, cultural, and political influences. For example, companies employing migrants in Qatar can resolve the physical food access challenge by feeding their workforce, but migrants leave and become freelancers in part because the companies fail to attend to the cultural food preferences and food preparation practices of migrants (see Chapter 4).

Second**,** migrants interviewed for this study face recurrent food insecurity at their destination, underscored by poor treatment at workplaces, by employers, and through labour governance structures. To harness the true potential of migration to the Gulf, it is imperative that, as a matter of policy, Ghanaian migrants, regardless of their employment and visa status in Qatar, are accorded dignity, protection, and safety at work and in their accommodation. Ghana's international foreign

mission needs to be visible and functional in the GCC countries. It must be the eye of the Ghanaian state to ensure that the rights of citizens are protected and given the importance they deserve.

Third, steps need to be taken and advanced by the government of Ghana towards bilateral relations and international agreements that would better protect the fundamental rights of migrants. These agreements should include guarantees about how Ghanaian migrants can work with dignity and safety in a way that allows a win-win situation for Ghana, migrants and their households, and the Gulf countries. The government also needs to ensure that food security protections are built into the negotiation of such agreements. Most international bilateral labour agreements do not mention food at all, which is a surprising omission given its importance to the lived experience of migrants and their households. Ghana has an opportunity to rectify this situation to better ensure the food security of migrants and to tackle migrant-sending household food challenges in Ghana.

Fourth, migrants need to be encouraged to travel using the appropriate channels in a way that they can be traced and protected. During the fieldwork interviews, a key informant, when quizzed on the nature of labour migration from Ghana to the Gulf, responded that "both skilled and unskilled migration are irregular and unregistered based on the Labour Act. Since 2019, only two companies have officially registered, and the existing labour has been signed by the Labour Department of Labour and Ministry of Employment Relations" (Key Informant Interview 3). The Labour Ministry, together with other stakeholders such as the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), need to enforce the Labour Act in such a way that the destinations, company affiliations, and terms of the contract of migrant workers are respected to protect the interests of migrants and to harness the full potential of migration to the Gulf to enhance household food and nutritional security.

6. 4 Study Limitations and Future Research Directions

This dissertation aimed to make a significant contribution to the literature on the migration-food security nexus in the Global South. However, s present form, the study has some limitations in terms of its generalizability. First, the sample size for the survey was relatively small and was conducted in Accra and nearby towns, not Ghana as a whole, even though labour migrants in Qatar come from all parts of Ghana and the food security experiences of migrant households in urban areas may vary from those in rural areas. Additionally, the purposive snowball sampling method was used to recruit participants in this study. Purposive snowball techniques are used when there is a hidden population and no sampling frame, which makes it difficult to generalize beyond the households included in the study.

Second, the food security metrics rely on self-assessment, recall, and retrospective surveys rather than more objective measures. It is possible that respondents might have been tempted to portray a positive picture of their household. Some of the respondents we met in Accra, for example, felt embarrassed to discuss their household food conditions and deprivation, food anxiety, and household food consumption struggles. Similarly, they might have forgotten the details of household income, expenditure, and food consumption due to memory or recall loss.

Third, while I employed a mixed methodology, it is important to acknowledge that the assessment of household food security in Ghana is survey-based, while in Qatar, I relied on more in-depth narrative accounts by migrants. These narratives are much richer but lack quantitative precision. Future research would need to reverse the methodology by collecting in-depth accounts from household members in Ghana and conducting a survey of migrants in Qatar. Additional research

is also needed to build upon the findings of this study. For example, an issue only partially addressed in this dissertation is the gendered dynamics of food security among labour migrants in Qatar. Labour migration to Qatar is gendered, with more migrant workers in the construction sector and fewer in other sectors. Because of the nature of jobs that attract and recruit migrants to Qatar, not many women migrants were encountered, which means that their views and experiences were underrepresented in the data collection. Better representation of women migrants would be important for any future research and analysis of migration to the Gulf and its implication for household food security.

The role of remittances in enhancing sustained household food security among migrant households in Ghana also warrants further investigation. The research findings indicate that urban migrant households spend remittance received on subsistence needs and food purchases that may temporarily improve household food security conditions. However, cash remittances to households in Ghana may provide more sustainable food security for translocal families through investment in agriculture and other productive agricultural ventures. There is a need to assess further if cash remittances are invested in agricultural production and at what scale. An assessment of the role of remittance in agricultural output, comparing urban and rural samples, would be excellent.

Finally, as pointed out in the introduction, Ghanaians are also migrating to other GCC states for work, particularly Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Kuwait. It is possible that the food security experiences and outcomes in these migration corridors are different from those in the Ghana-Qatar corridor. Additional research with households that send migrants to the other GCC states and

migrants in those states would be necessary for a comparative analysis of the migration-food security nexus.

6.7 Concluding Thoughts

Using labour migration from Ghana to Qatar as the case study, this dissertation was largely problem-focused, exploring the reciprocal relationships between migration from Ghana to Qatar and household food security in Qatar and Ghana. Conducting this research was challenging, but it was a memorable and meaningful experience as I travelled to Qatar and Ghana to collect data and experience first-hand the plight of Ghanaian migrant workers. I have established the diverse ways migration impacts household food security and vice versa. While migration impacts household food security through remittances, it also affects the food security of migrants at their destination. More importantly, this dissertation aims to make a meaningful contribution to the study of South-South migration, to advance the literature on the connection between migration and food security in the Global South, and to contribute to a greater appreciation of the lives and livelihoods of Ghanaians involved in migration from Ghana to Qatar and the Gulf states.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Review

March 09, 2023
Dear Bernard Owusu

REB # 8471
Project, "SOUTH-SOUTH MIGRATION: EXAMINING THE LINKS BETWEEN FOOD SECURITY AND MIGRATION FROM GHANA TO QATAR"
REB Clearance Issued: March 09, 2023
REB Expiry / End Date: February 29, 2024

The Research Ethics Board of Wilfrid Laurier University has reviewed the above proposal and determined that the proposal is ethically sound. If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please submit a "Request for Ethics Clearance of a Revision or Modification" form for approval before the changes are put into place. This form can also be used to extend protocols past their expiry date, except in cases where the project is more than four years old. Those projects require a new REB application.

Please note that you are responsible for obtaining any further approvals that might be required to complete your project. Laurier REB approval will automatically expire when one's employment ends at Laurier. If any participants in your research project have a negative experience (either physical, psychological or emotional) you are required to submit an "Adverse Events Form" within 24 hours of the event.

You must complete the online "Annual/Final Progress Report on Human Research Projects" form annually and upon completion of the project. ROMEO will automatically keep track of these annual reports for you. When you have a report due within 30 days (and/or an overdue report) it will be listed under the 'My Reminders' quick link on your ROMEO home screen; the number in brackets next to 'My Reminders' will tell you how many reports need to be submitted. Protocols with overdue annual reports will be marked as expired. Further, the REB has been requested to notify Research Finance when an REB protocol that is tied to a funding account has been marked as expired. In such cases, Research Finance will immediately freeze funding tied to this account.

All the best for the successful completion of your project.
(Useful links: ROMEO Login Screen ; REB Students Webpage; REB Connect Webpage)

Yours sincerely,
Sybil Geldart, PhD
Vice-Chair, University Research Ethics Board
Wilfrid Laurier University

Appendix B: Participant Recruitment

Labour Migrant Participants Recruitment Poster
Department of Geography
Wilfrid Laurier University

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH ON MIGRATION FROM GHANA TO QATAR AND THE LINKS WITH FOOD SECURITY

ARE YOU A GHANAIAN LABOUR MIGRANT BASED IN QATAR OR RETURNED TO GHANA WHO IS INTERESTED IN SHARING YOUR EXPERIENCES?

We are looking for volunteers to participate in a study about migration from Ghana to Qatar and the impact on household food Security.

Participants will be asked to take part in an interview session
Participants will receive a good reward in appreciation for their time.
For more information about this study or to volunteer for this study,

please contact:
Bernard Owusu
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
At

Email: owus1530@mylaurier.ca
This study has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the Research and Ethics Board (REB#8471), Wilfrid Laurier University

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Appendix C: Consent Form for Migrant Population In-depth Interviews

You are invited to participate in a research study entitled: South-South Migration: Examining the links between food security and migration from Ghana to Qatar.

Purpose and Procedure: The purpose of this study is to investigate the diverse ways migration impacts household food security in both Ghana and among labour migrants in Qatar. If you agree to be interviewed, you will

- Meet the researcher for about 60 minutes at a time and place convenient to both you and the researcher
- be asked questions about your experience and institutional role in the migration industry in Ghana
- be asked for your permission to audiotape the interview, accept that the data collected from all interviews will be compiled and used to publish the findings in a thesis or academic journal
- asked to allow the use of direct quotes; you will remain anonymous

Benefits: You may not directly benefit from participating in this study, but it will help promote an understanding of how labour migration from Ghana impacts household food security in Ghana and the lives of the household. The knowledge generated from this study will be helpful for policy makers to improve migration and household food security.

Risks: This research involves no risk or discomfort but an expression of knowledge on migration from Ghana to the Gulf, experiences, institution encounters and policies.

Storage of Data: The data and materials of this research will be safeguarded and securely stored by the graduate student for a minimum of five years after the study. Data will be destroyed beyond recovery when it is no longer required.

Confidentiality: The information collected in this study will be kept confidential and used only by the graduate student for its intended purpose. The results will be reported in summarized form. Any written reports or presentations will not include any information that can identify you.

Right to withdraw: Your participation is voluntary, and you will answer only the questions you are comfortable with. You may leave the research project at any time for any reason without penalty of any sort, and your responses will not be used.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the phone numbers provided +12043331332 or +233241963484 or email owus1530@mylaurier.ca if you have other questions. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the Research Ethics Board (REB) of Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Office of Research Services at WLU, Phone: +1 519.884.0710 ext: 4994 or email: reb@wlu.ca.

Debriefing and Feedback: Immediately after the interview, the interviewer will highlight his understanding of your main points with you. You will be able to confirm the accuracy of his knowledge. Once the study is completed, you will receive a summary report of the results upon request. You may ask questions about the research and concerns about your involvement. You can also let the researcher know if you like to receive a summary of the findings.

I have read and understood the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____ _____

(Name of Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Signature of Researcher)

Appendix D: In-depth Interview Schedule: Ghanaian Labour Migrants in Qatar 2023

Ensure the environment is comfortable, confidential, safe, and accessible to all participants. Preferably, conduct the interview in the participant's environment.

- How are you doing today?
- Thanks/appreciation
- Explaining the research/consent

Section A: Introductory Questions

- How are you? How is work? There is news of the difficult economic situation in Ghana. What is your take on that?

Section B: Household socio-demographic Information

- Can you please tell me about yourself and the current composition of your household? What is the number of people in your household? Can you indicate their number, gender, age and employment status?

Section C: Reason for migrating

- How important is migration
- Describe your reasons for coming to Qatar and when you arrived, and briefly describe your journey from Ghana to Qatar.

Section C: Migration decision-making

- How was the decision to migrate to Qatar reached? Who influenced your decision to migrate?
- How did you finance your migration journey from Ghana to Qatar? Who assisted you in your decision to migrate to Qatar?
- How much did it cost to travel to your destination? What was the cost of your flight ticket, recruitment fees and Visa
- Did you use a recruitment agency? Which one did you use, and what influenced your choice? What are your experiences with the recruitment agencies?

Section D: Household Income and Livelihood Dynamics

- Can you tell me about any livelihood changes since your migrated to Qatar? (e.g., employment and finances).
- Please explain how you earn a living, the economic activities you engage in, all the sources of monthly income and the number of people contributing to your household income?
- Is the household income stable, or it varies over the year? If it varies, which months have more income and which months have less income and what contributes to this variability?

Section E: Pre- and post-migration household conditions

- How was your household condition (e.g., living conditions, housing, potable water, electricity, toilet facilities) before you migrated to Qatar?
- Have there been any changes in your household conditions since you left Ghana?

- What are your thoughts on whether the improvement or deterioration in your livelihood is due to migration to Qatar?
- Has your movement to Qatar impacted your household in Ghana? If yes, please explain how your household in Ghana conditions post and pre-migration.

Section F: Household Expenses

- Can you please list all the major expenditure items for this household? How much expenditure is directed towards each of these items?
- Are there any expenditures that get preferential treatment? If yes, what are these expenditures? Please explain the preferential treatment.
- Is the income generated by this household adequate to meet the monthly household expenditures? If, not, how much is the monthly shortfall and how do you make up for this shortfall?

Section G: Household major food sources and consumption pattern

- Please indicate the significant sources of food for you, showing which foods you get where and why you prefer these sources and whether there are any challenges/obstacles that your household encounters in accessing these food sources.

Section H: Household Food Security

- Please explain the most important foods for this household, indicating why this is the case, the number of meals this household normally eats per day, when these meals are taken, why those times and what the main meals consist of.

- Please explain whether food quality is a concern to this household, and if so, what the major concerns are.
- Can you please indicate who decides what foods to buy or prepare in this household, if the food is usually enough for everybody, whether your household ever experiences food shortages, and if so, which foods, how often this happens, the major causes of such food shortages as well as the experiences of having food shortages?
- Are there any specific periods in which your household struggles to feed itself or experiences food shortages, and if so, which periods and why those particular periods, and how do you cope when there is not enough food in the household?

Section I: Remittance and Food Security

- Please explain to me if you ever remit to your households in Ghana. What do you send, food or cash?

- How much food or cash do you send to your household in Ghana, How frequent, and what types of food and why? How important is the food or cash you send to the food security of the household in Ghana?

- Does this household ever help other households in Qatar by lending them money or food? If yes, what foods do you lend, how much money do you lend, do you expect this help back, why and in what form do they pay back?

- Please explain to me if remittance to your households in Ghana has impacted your food security and the food you consume. If yes, please indicate why and how?

- Please explain to me whether this household ever gets food from other households here in Qatar or people living in different countries. If yes, please indicate from whom, why, what foods, why those foods, the frequency of receiving such foods, the periods during which you receive such foods, whether you are expected to pay back, and in what form.

- Besides food, indicate if this household receives any other help from other households or Ghana. If yes, what kind of help, from whom, why and what is the frequency of receiving such assistance? How important is the food (or other help) that you receive from other households to the food security of this household?

- Does this household ever receive aid? If yes, in what form, how frequently and how important is this aid to the food security of this household

Appendix E: Key Informant Invitation Letter

South-South Migration: Examining the links between food security and migration from Ghana to Qatar.

Date:

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research project conducted by Bernard Owusu under the supervision of Dr. Jonathan Crush and the collaborations of Drs Margaret Walton-Roberts, Steffanie Scott, and Bruce Frayne from the Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Waterloo and is funded by MIFOOD -Hunger City Project. This study examines the link between migration and food security, exploring how migration impacts household food security in Ghana and labour migrants in Qatar.

Your participation is significant in helping us understand Ghanaian labour migration to the Gulf States. You are invited to participate in the study because your knowledge of the factors that shape migration will give us a better understanding of labour migration from Ghana to the Gulf, the issues labour migrants face and the connections with food security. You may not benefit directly, but the knowledge generated from this study will be helpful for policymakers. It will lay the foundation for understanding labour migration to the Gulf state and its impact on household food security in Ghana.

You will be interviewed about your experiences and social and institutional roles in the migration industry. The approximate duration of your participation will be one hour. The information you provide will be confidential and used only for this study. The results of the study will be reported in aggregate form. The report will not include any information that can identify you. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you are free to answer only questions you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project anytime; your responses will not be used.
To support the findings of this study, quotations and excerpts from the stories will be used, labelled with pseudonyms, to protect the participant's identity. The Wilfrid Laurier University research ethics board reviewed and approved the study. However, the final decision about participation belongs to you.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information on the process of this study, please contact me by email at owus1530@mylaurier.ca or by phone at +12043331332

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely.

Bernard Owusu
Ph.D. Candidate
Geography and Env
Wilfrid Laurier University

Jonathan Crush (Thesis Supervisor)
Professor
Balsillie School of Governance
Wilfrid Laurier University

Email: owus1530@mylaurier.ca

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Steffanie Scott
Professor
Geography
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Email: sdscott@uwaterloo.ca

Bruce Frayne
Professor
School of Environment
University of Waterloo
Email: bfrayne@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix F: Key Informant Informed Consent Form

South-South Migration: Examining the links between food security and migration from Ghana to Qatar.

Date:

Dear Potential Participant,

You have been identified as someone who may be interested in a research study on the links between food security and labour migration from Ghana to Qatar. Bernard Owusu is conducting the research under the supervision of Dr. Jonathan Crush and the collaborations of Drs Margaret Walton-Roberts, Steffanie Scott and Bruce Frayne from the Wilfrid Laurier and the University of Waterloo and funded by MIFOOD -Hunger City Project.

Purpose and Procedure: The study aims to investigate the diverse ways migration impacts household food security in Ghana and among labour migrants in Qatar. If you agree to be interviewed, you will

- Meet the researcher for about 60 minutes at a time and place convenient to both you and the researcher
- be asked questions about your experience and role in the migration industry in Ghana
- be asked for your permission to audiotape the interview to facilitate the collection of information and later transcribe it for analysis
- accept that the data collected from all interviews will be compiled and used to publish the findings in a thesis or academic journal
- asked to allow the use of direct quotes; you will remain anonymous

Risks and Benefits: There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study, and you may not directly benefit from participating. However, the knowledge generated from this study will be helpful for policymakers. It will lay the foundation for understanding labour migration to the Gulf state and its impact on household food security in Ghana.

Storage of Data: The data and materials of this research will be safeguarded and securely stored by the graduate student for a minimum of five years after the study. Data will be destroyed beyond recovery when it is no longer required.

Confidentiality: The information collected in this study will be confidential and used only by the graduate student for its intended purpose. The results will be reported in summarized form. Any written reports or presentations will not include any information that can identify you.

Right to withdraw: Your participation is voluntary, and you will answer only the questions you are comfortable with. You may leave the research project at any time for any reason without penalty, and your responses will not be used.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the phone numbers provided: +12043331332 or +233241963484 or email owus1530@mylaurier.ca if you have other questions. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the Research Ethics Board (REB)

of Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Office of Research Services at WLU, Phone: +1 519.884.0710 ext: 4994 or email: reb@wlu.ca.

Debriefing and Feedback: Immediately after the interview, the interviewer will highlight his understanding of your main points with you. You will be able to confirm the accuracy of his knowledge. Once the study is completed, on request, you will be provided with a summary report of the results. You may ask questions about the research and concerns about your involvement. You can also let the researcher know if you like to receive a summary of the findings.

I have read and understood the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____ _____

(Name of Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Signature of Researcher)

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Appendix G: Key Informant Interview Guide

Key Informant Interview Guide Section A: Ministry of Labour and Economic Relations

Section A: Introduction and Institution Role

- What is your current role, and how long have you worked in the Ministry? What are your responsibilities?
- Could you please explain what motivates you to be involved in the Ministry of Labour and Economic Relations?
- What is the role of your Ministry in the labour Migration process?

Section B: Ghanaian Labour Migration

- How Important is labour migration?
- How would you describe the current state of Ghana in the context of labour migration beyond the country's shore? Is there a specific group of labour migrants in Ghana who you think are at risk of economic difficulties and food insecurity and, hence, migrate?

- Please explain if you are aware of Ghanaian labour migration to Qatar and other Gulf States? If yes, are there any specific challenges or precipitating conditions facilitating labour movement to Qatar? In your work experience, what seems to be the major reason for this?

- Can you please describe the state and your ministry's conceptualization of Ghanaian labour migration to the Gulf?

Section C: Challenges and Support for Labour Migrants

- Please explain if your Ministry monitors the progress and living conditions of labour migrants in Qatar. If yes, does the Ministry assist those labour migrants in challenging and precarious situations? What tools have been particularly effective in helping migrants?

- Are there measures put in place by the government and your Ministry to regulate labour migration to Qatar and other Gulf States? If yes, what are the challenges associated with your effort to regulate labour migration to Qatar and the Gulf States?

- What is the potential of an increase in decent employment and salaries to convince Ghanaian labour to stay in the country?

Section D: Challenges the Ministry Faces and Regulation Enforcement

- What is your Ministry's relationship with recruitment Agencies and Brokers
- Does your Ministry monitor the activities of recruitment agencies and brokers? If yes, how does the government enforce laws on labour recruitment agencies and brokers, migration to Qatar, and another risky journey to the Gulf states?

- What are the key challenges the ministry face in controlling labour migration?

- What policies have been put in place to control labour migration and the activities of the brokers and recruitment agencies

Key Informant Interview Guide Section B: Agencies and Brokers

Section A: Introduction and Role of Recruitment agencies in the migration Process

- Can you please tell me about your organization and its mandate or purpose? Please explain the services your organization offer to migrants. Is your agency registered or private?

- Can you highlight your motivation as a recruitment agency or migration broker?

- How do clients/migrants learn about and access your services? Please, explain how frequently clients access your services.

Section B: Role in Migration Decision

- In your view, how important is labour migration?
- Please explain if you assist migrants in their migration decision-making. If yes, can you highlight your institution's relationship with migrants and how you support their migration decisions, journey and arrival?
- Did COVID-19 impact your activities, migration decisions, migrant journey to their destination, and arrival in Qatar?

- Please indicate the similarities and differences in how your male and female clients view and handle their migration decisions, choice of destination, jobs, and employers.

Section C: Cost of Recruitment Service and Impact on Labour Migrants

- What are your recruitment practices and charges? Are prospective migrants able to pay?
- How/what are the terms of payment? What happens if they are unable to pay your requested charges?
- Do the charges impact their survival and stay in Qatar? What happens to migrants if they cannot pay, but you assist them to their destination countries?
- Can you explain how COVID-19 impacted recruitment practices and charges?

- In your work experience, do you think the recruitment charges impact labour migrants' stay and conditions of living in the destination countries? If yes, do the costs impact their food security? In what ways?

Section D: Impact of Networks on the Recruitment Practices

- Please explain the role of networks and connections in your recruitment practices. How do networks help in job placement, migrants' decision makings and journey from and to their destination

Section E: Challenges And Policy to Support Labour Migration

- What are the challenges, if any, your migrants face in accessing or using your services?

- Do migrants face challenges at their places of destination? If yes, how did you support their stay, jobs and living conditions in Qatar?

- Explain how labour migration and recruitment agencies' work should be legislated to support all stakeholders involved in the migration industry.

Key Informant Interview Section Guide C: Gulf Research Experts

Section A: Introduction and Role in Gulf Migration

- What is your current role in the community, and how long have you worked in the Gulf states? Expertise? What are your responsibilities? What motivated you to be involved in issues of migration to the Gulf states?

- Is migration unique to Qatar and the Gulf States? What resources are tailored for immigrants in the regions?

Section B: Experiences and Reasons for Gulf Migration

- Please explain the main reasons why Ghanaian labour migrants are moving to Qatar and other Gulf States. In your assertion, did Covid-19 impact migration to the Gulf states?

- Please explain some of your experiences with labour migrants, their decision to migrate, their journey and their arrival.

Section C: Challenges Labour Migrants Face

- How would you describe the current state of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar and the Gulf States? Are there any significant barriers/issues?
- What challenges do the migrants face? How do the difficulties they face impact their lives? Is food security an issue faced by labour migrants? If yes, why and how is it an issue?

- In your experience, how have you seen migrants cope with the challenges of migrating to the Gulf? Is there any support for the migrants from the Qatari government and non-governmental organizations?

Section D: Support for Labour migrants

- Do you support labour migrants in your line of work? How important are the issues of food access in the work you do for Ghanaian migrants? How does this issue compare to other problems that migrants face?

Section E: Legislation and Enforcement to Support Labour Migrant

- Please explain how the government can help enforce laws protecting migrants and eliminating the precarious situation most of them face.
- What do you think the government of Ghana can do to harness the potential of labour migration to Qatar to benefit the country, individuals, and households?

Key Informant Interview Section Guide D: Ghana Immigration Service

Section A: Introduction and Institution Role

- What is your current role, and how long have you worked with Ghana Immigration Service? What are your responsibilities? Could you please explain what motivates you to be involved in the Ghana Immigration Services?

- Do you have any records of Ghanaian labour migrants in Qatar? If yes, how many are they? Is there a specific group who emigrates?

Section B: Reason for Migrating to the Gulf

- In your experience of work, do labour migrants indicate their reasons for the decision to leave Ghana? If yes, what are some of the reasons for migrating to Qatar?

Section D: Challenges faced by Migrants

- Please explain if the Ghana immigration service is aware of the challenges migrants go through in their destinations in Qatar.
- How do their challenges impact their lives and living situations? Is food security part of their challenges?

Section E: Policy Measures and Enforcement

- In your assessment, are there policy measures put in place by the government and the Ghana immigration service to guarantee the safety and improved living conditions of migrants who emigrate to Qatar?

Appendix H: Survey Informed Consent Form for the Survey Participants

'South-South Migration: Examining the links between food security and labour Migration from Ghana to Qatar'

You are invited to participate in research examining the linkages between international migration and food security. Bernard, a doctoral candidate at Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada, is conducting this research project. This research project aims to understand if food security is a

driver of migration and assesses the channels and ways migration impacts household food security in Ghana. The study is conducted in about 150 households in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. The survey is being given to migrant households in the survey areas. The information you provide will help me understand and establish the links of migration and food security Migration from Ghana to Qatar as a Case study. The information collected may not benefit you directly. However, you will have an opportunity to reflect on your experiences; you will contribute knowledge about the impact of migration on households' food security. Moreover, what I learn from this study should provide general benefits to understanding migration and food security linkages.

This research involves some risk or discomfort. Participants who are food insecure may not wish to answer some of the answers that may invoke a sense of inferiority, anxiety issues and depression. However, participants have the autonomy to refuse or skip questions. Also, your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and withdraw at any time during the research project. You will not be penalized in any way should you choose not to participate or to withdraw. If you decide to withdraw from the survey after completion, you can also do that by communicating to the researcher's contact address. Your information will be completely deleted from the database if you wish to withdraw from the survey. Also, the data collected will be destroyed beyond recovery five years after the Défense of the project. If you choose to participate, I will ask structured questions about household income and the expenditure pattern of remittances. It will take about 20 minutes to complete the survey.

We will do everything we can to protect your privacy. As part of this effort, your identity will not be revealed in any publications that result from this study. The information in the study records will be kept strictly confidential. Individual data will be stored securely. Only the researcher will have access to the dataset, and no other people or third parties will have access to your information.

The research findings will be presented to stakeholders involved in the study, including the Government ministry, Migration associations and NGOs. Also, the study will be presented at different conferences and published in academic journals. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link you to the study. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared or disseminated.

If you have any questions or concerns about completing the questionnaire or being in this study, contact me via phone at +12043331332 or email at owus1530@mylaurier.ca. This project has been reviewed and approved by the University Research Ethics Board (REB# 8471). If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Jayne Kalmar, PhD, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-1970, extension 3131 or REBChair@wlu.ca.

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I hereby grant permission to use the information.

I am also interested in receiving a summary of the research report when available: □Yes □ No [If yes, please provide your email address: ……]. If you don't have an email address the study findings will be published on The Partnership - Hungry Cities.

Participant's Signature ……... Date……...

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this project.

Bernard Owusu
Ph.D. Candidate
Geography and Env
Wilfrid Laurier University
Email: owus1530@mylaurier.ca

Jonathan Crush (Thesis Supervisor)
Professor
Balsillie School of Governance
Wilfrid Laurier University
Email: Jcrush@balsilliesschool.ca

Appendix I : Survey Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER	

South-South Migration and Food Security Household Survey 2023

This survey is part of the PhD research project "South-South Migration: Examining the links between food security and migration from Ghana to Qatar" undertaking by Bernard Owusu, a PhD candidate at the Wilfrid Laurier University. The survey intends to collect data about Ghanaian labour migration to the Gulf, Qatar providing policy and research implications in food security. The survey is

anonymous, all information to be collected is only for academic research purpose. If you agree to participate in this survey, please tick here: □

IDENTIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLD	
NAME OF RESPONDENT:	
CITY OF RESIDENCE:	
DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE:	
INTERVIEW LOCATION	
TYPE OF SETTLEMENT (1) Suburb (2) Township (3) Informal Settlement (4) Inner City Settlement	
INTERVIEW STATUS [1 = Completed; 2 = Refused; 3 = Not at home; 4 = Premises empty]	
NUMBER OF VISIT [to household where interview took place]	

SECTION 1: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION			
1A.	Relation to the Migrant		Code
		Father/mother	1
		Spouse/partner	2
		Son/ daughter	3
		Adopted/ foster child/ orphan	4

		Brother/sister	5
		Grandchild	6
		Grandparent	7
		Son/ daughter-in-law	8
		Other relative	9
		non-relative	10
		Refused	97
		Missing	99
1B	Sex of Household Head	Male	1
		Female	2
		Missing	99
1C.	Age of Household Head	19-30	1
		31-40	2
		41-65	3
		66-95	4
		Missing	99
1D.	Marital Status	Unmarried	1
		Married	2
		Living together/ cohabiting	3
		Divorced	4
		Separated	5
		Abandoned	6
		Widowed	7
		99 Missing	99
1E.	Highest Education	No formal Schooling	1
		Some Primary	2
		Primary completed (Junior or Senior)	3
		Some high school	4
		High school completed	5
		post-secondary qualifications not university (diploma, or degree)	6
		Some university	7

		University completed	8
		post-graduates	9
		Missing	99
1F	Work Status	Working full-time	1
		Working part-time/ casual	2
		Not working – looking	3
		Not working – not looking	4
		Missing	99
1G	Occupation	Farmer	1
		Agricultural worker (paid)	2
		Agricultural worker (unpaid)	3
		Service worker	4
		Domestic worker	5
		Managerial office worker	6
		Office worker	7
		Foreman	8
		Mine worker	9
		Skilled manual workers	10
		Unskilled manual workers	11
		Informal sector producers	12
		Trader/ hawker/ vendor	13
		Security personnel	14
		Police/ Military	15
		Businessman/ woman (self-employed)	16
		Employer/ Manager	17
		Professional worker	18
		Teacher	19
		Health worker	20
		Civil servants	21
		Fisherman	22
		Truck driver	23
		Pensioner	24

		Scholar/ Student	25
		Housework (unpaid)	26
		Unemployed/ Job seeker	27
		Missing	99

SECTION 2: HOUSEHOLD DATA			
2A	Which one of the following housing types best describes the type of dwelling the household occupies? (DO NOT read aloud - circle only ONE answer for the column labeled 'Code')	Housing Type	Code
		a. House	1
		b. Town house	2
		c. Flat	3
		d. Traditional dwelling/ homestead	4
		e. Traditional dwelling with built-on rooms	5
		f. Hostel/ Compound	6
		g. Hotel/ Boarding house	7
		h. Room in backyard	8
		i. Room in house	9
		j. Room in flat	10
		k. Squatter hut/ shack	11
		l. Mobile home (caravan/ tent)	12
		m. Other (specify):	13
2B	Which of the following best describes the household structure? (DO NOT read aloud - ask about household type and circle only ONE answer)	Household Structure	Code
		a. Female Centered (No husband/ male partner in household, may include relatives, children, friends)	1
		b. Male Centered (No wife/ female partner in household, may include relatives, children, friends)	2
		c. Nuclear (Husband/ male partner and wife/ female partner with or without children)	3
		d. Extended (Husband/ male partner and wife/ female partner and children and relatives)	4

SECTION 2: HOUSEHOLD DATA			
		e. Under 18-headed households female centered (head is 17 years old or less)	5
		f. Under 18-headed households male centered (head is 17 years old or less)	6
		g. Other (specify):	7

2C	Household income from all sources (in the last one year):			
	(a) & (b) Read list aloud, circle the code that applies (column (b)) and complete the information for that row; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply. (c) Enter amount over the past one (1) year to nearest currency unit in column (c).For income in kind i.e. 'Remittances – goods/ food', 'Income from farm products' and in some cases perhaps also 'Gifts', estimate the monetary value over the past month and record this figure in (c).	(a) Income categories	(b) Code	(c) Amount (to nearest currency unit GHC)
		Wage work	1	
		Casual work	2	
		Remittances – Money	3	
		Remittances - Goods	4	
		Remittances - Food	5	
		Income from rural farm products	6	
		Income from urban farm products	7	
		Income from formal business	8	
		Income from informal business	9	
		Income from renting dwelling	10	
		Income from Aid 1) food	11	
		2) cash	12	
		vouchers	13	
		Pension/disability/other social grants	14	
		Gifts	15	
		Other (specify)	16	
		Refused to answer	17	
		Don't know	18	

2D	Household monthly expenses for the last year (Read list aloud, circle the code that applies and complete the information for that row; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply) If the household has no expenses, circle ONLY code = '17' for 'NONE'. If respondent refuses to answer, circle ONLY code = '18' for 'Refused to answer'.)			
	(a) Expense categories	(b) Code	(c) Amount (to nearest currency unit)	
	a. Food and Groceries	1		Last month
	b. Housing (rent, mortgage)	2		Last month
	c. Utilities (write total for all: water, sewer, electricity, telephone, etc)	3		Last month
	d. Transportation	4		Last month
	e. Savings	5		Last month
	f. Fuel (firewood, paraffin, gas, candles, etc)	6		Last month
	g. Medical (medical aid, medical costs)	7		Last year
	h. Education (school fees, books, uniforms)	8		Last year
	j. Insurance (life, burlai, etc.)	10		Last year
	k. Funeral costs	11		Last year
	l. Home-based care	12		Last year
	m. Remittances	13		Last year
	n. Debt service/repayment	14		Last year
	o. Goods purchased to sell	15		Last year
	p. Other (specify type of expenditure & time)	16		
	q. NONE	17		
	r. Refused to answer	18		

2E	Household Savings (cash) (Read list aloud, circle the code/s that apply and complete the information for that/those row/s; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply. Indicate the location/s where the savings are kept (code list on right); accept up to three locations. If respondent has no savings, circle ONLY code = '4 for 'No savings')		
	Types of savings	Code	Code for 'Location of Savings'
	a. Savings at home	1	1 = Friends 9= Church 2 = Family 10= Other 3 = Savings group 98= Don't know 4 = Employer 5 = Post Office 6 = Union 7= Burial Society 8=Bank
	b. Savings in own country	2	
	c. Savings in other country	3	
	d. No savings	4	

2F	a) Where does this household normally obtain its food? (Read the list of food sources. Circle 'Food Code' in the box if anyone in the household answers yes to the food source on the list.) b) How often does the household normally obtain its food from these sources? (Probe for frequency that food is obtained from the source as given by respondent (a - k) and circle the appropriate number on the scale)							
	Source of food	(a) Food Code	(b) Frequency Food Obtained from this Source					
			At least five days a week	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once in six months	Less than once a year	Never
	a. Supermarket	1	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. Corner shop / butcher/bakery	2	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. Informal market / street vendor	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Spaza	4	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Restaurant/fast food (e.g. KFC)	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
	City market	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Shared meal with neighbours and/or other households	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Food provided by neighbours and/or other households	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Community food kitchen	9	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Borrow food from others	10	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Grow it (urban agriculture)	11						
	Other (specify):	12	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Don't know	99						

2G	Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family gone without: (Read each question aloud and circle the most appropriate response. Circle only ONE answer for EACH ROW).						
Conditions		Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times,	Always	Don't know
a. Enough food to eat?		1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Enough clean water for home use?		1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Medicine or medical treatment?		1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Electricity in your home?		1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Enough fuel to cook your food?		1	2	3	4	5	6
f. A cash income?		1	2	3	4	5	6

2H	Has anyone in this household borrowed money in the past year? (Circle the appropriate answer)		
Borrowed money in the past year?			
Yes	1	No	2

(If NO, skip to Section 3. If YES, continue with Q. 2I)

2I	If anyone in this household borrowed money, where was the money borrowed from and for what was it used? (Only ask this question if the answer to Q.11 was 'YES'. Do not read out loud. Circle the codes for the choices made, accept MORE THAN ONE answer for both (a) and (b). If the respondent does not know about the source (12a), circle ONLY code = 13 for 'Don't know'. If the respondent does not know about the use (12b), circle ONLY code = 14 for 'Don't know'.

(a) If YES, where was the money borrowed from?	Code (Circle all that apply)
Friends	1
Employer	2
Burial society	3
Family	4
Church	5
Bank	6
Savings group	7
Union	8
Money lenders (formal)	9
Money lenders (informal)	10
Micro-finance organizations	11
Other (specify)	12
m. Don't know	13

(b) If YES, what was the money used for?	Code (Circle all that apply)
Buying food	1
Schooling	2
Business	3
Agriculture	4
Construction	5
Vehicle expenses	6
Travel expenses	7
Health	8
Buying clothing	9
Feast	10
Funeral	11
Wedding	12
mother (specify):	13
n. Don't know	14

	SECTION 3: MIGRATION AND FOOD SECURITY		
3A	What influenced the migration decision of the household migrant?	Migration Reasons	Code
		Economic Hardship	1
		Join relatives	2
		Political reasons	3

		Couldn't afford family expenses	4
		Other (Specify)	5
		Don't know	6
3B	Is food insecurity one of the reasons for the household migrant's migration	Response	Code
		YES	1
		NO	2
3C	What principal determinant of food insecurity influenced the migration decision of the migrant (Select only one answer)	Food security determinant	Code
		Economic	1
		Environmental degradation	2
		Political Instability	3
		Climate Change	4
		Other (Specify)	5
		Don't Know	6
3D	Who assisted the household migrant following their decision to migrate (Please select all that apply)	Means of Support	Code
		Immediate family members and friends	1
		Recruitment Agency	2
		Brokers	3
		Personal savings	4
		Other people (please specify)	5
		Don't know	9
3E	How did the migrant fund the cost of travel? (Please select all that apply)	Means of funding Travel	Code
		Through family and friends	1
		Selling properties	2
		Personal Savings	3
		Through Bank Loans	4
		Other (please specify)	6
		Don't know	7
3F		Amount (Ghc)	Code

	On average, approximately how much money did the house migrant spent to travel? (For recruitment, visa, and ticket fees)	Less than Ghc5200	1
		Ghc2500 – Ghc5000	2
		Ghc5000- Ghc10000	3
		Ghc10000 – Gh15000	4
		Ghc15000 – Ghc20000	5
		Ghc2500+	6
		Don't know	7
3G	What strategies did your household adopt to improve your household food security? (Please select all that apply)	Coping Strategies	Code
		Loans from friends/relatives	1
		Borrowing	2
		Selling assets such as land	3
		Foreign remittances	4
		Loans from Financial institution	5
		Relying and selling produce from the farm	6
		Purchase food on credit	7
		Other (Specify)	8
		Don't Know	9

	SECTION 4: MIGRANT REMITTANCES AND FOOD SECURITY				
4A	Does the household migrant abroad send money to the household? (If 'Yes' proceed to question 4B, If 'No' Skip to questions 4G)	Yes	1	No	2

4B	How often does the household migrant send money in the last year? (Select only one answer)	Frequency	Code
		More than once a month	1
		Once a month	2
		A few times a year	3
		Once a year	4
		Occasionally (less than once a year)	5

		Don't know	6
4C	To whom was the money sent (Please select all that apply)	Recipient	Code
		Immediate family members	1
		Extended family	2
		A personal bank account for future use	3
		Community group or organization	4
		Other people (please specify)	5
		Don't know	9
4D	How was the money sent to the Household (Please select all that apply)	Method	Code
		Through friend/relatives	1
		Through money transfer company (e.g.,Western Union)	2
		Through bank	3
		Through post office	4
		Through internet/mobile phone	5
		Other (please specify)	6
		Don't know	7
4E	On average, approximately how much money does the migrant send to the household per month?	Amount (Ghc)	Code
		Less than Ghc500	1
		Ghc500 – Ghc1000	2
		Ghc1000 - Ghc1500	3
		Ghc1500 – Gh2000	4
		Ghc2000 – Ghc2500	5
		Ghc2500 – Ghc2500	6
		Ghc2500+	7
		Don't know	8

4F	How is this money used by the household, who decides on how to use it, and how important is the money to this household for the different uses?

	(Read list aloud, circle the code that applies (Col. (b)) and complete the information for that row, leave rows blank for categories that do not apply. Col. (c): Enter the amount over a year to nearest dollar. Col. (d): Choose from household Composition code D below', to indicate the decision-maker(s). Col. (e): Enter the rating of importance for the items circled – ONE code only for each item: Categories for 'Importance', Col. (e): 1 = Very important; 2 = Important; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Not important; 5 = Not important at all If respondent does not know, circle ONLY code = '44' for 'Don't know'. If respondent refuses to answer, circle ONLY code = '45' for 'Refused to answer'

Expenditure Item	Code (Circle all that apply)	Amount (to nearest dollar; estimate over a year)	Decision-maker/s (Use PNO from Q.3)			Importance (Enter only ONE code)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			(e)
School fees	1					
Food	2					
Clothing	3					
Farm inputs:						
Seed	4					
Fertiliser	5					
Tractor	6					
Oxen for ploughing	7					
Labour	8					
Cattle purchase	9					
Small stock purchase	10					
Poultry purchase	11					
Dipping/ veterinary costs	12					
Vehicle/ transport	13					
Equipment	14					
Other farm input (specify)	15					
Transport						
Fares	16					
Fuel	17					

Vehicle purchase/ maintenance	18					
Other transport expenses (specify)	19					
Business						
Purchase goods for sale (stock)	20					
Repay loans	21					
Labour costs	22					
Machinery/ equipment	23					
Other business expenses (specify)	24					

Expenditure Item	Code (Circle all that apply)	Amount (To nearest dollar; estimate over a year)	Decision-maker/s (Use PNO from Q.3)			Importance (Enter only ONE code)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			(e)
g. Building materials						
Roofing	25					
Walls	26					
Cement	27					
Bricks	28					
Wood	29					
Paint	30					
Doors/ windows	31					
Other building material (specify)	32					
Personal investment						
Savings	33					
Insurance policies	34					
Funeral and burial policies (both formal and informal)	35					
Other personal investment (specify)	36					
Special events						
Marriage	37					
Funeral	38					

Feast	39					
Another special event (specify)	40					
other expenditure item (specify)						
	41					
	42					
	43					
Don't know	44					
Refused to answer	45					

Code D. Relation to migrant
1 Father/mother
2 Spouse/partner
3 Son/ daughter
4 Adopted/ foster child/ orphan
5 Brother/sister
6 Grandchild
7 Grandparent
8 Son/ daughter-in-law
7 Other relative
8 non-relative
97 Refused
98 Don't know
99 Missing

4G	Has the migrant(s) sent or brought home non-cash items over the past year? (i.e., goods, including food) (If YES, proceed with Question 4H) (If NO, skip to Question 4L)	Yes	1	No	2

4H	How are the goods sent home? Is the method used regularly and is it safe/ reliable (a) Use the person numbers (PNO) from the 'household Composition' table (Question 3), Col. (A)). (b) Ask about the methods of transfer used and accept up to three methods – see code list on the right.) (Complete the remaining questions for the method used – columns (c) and (d)). (e) Skip to the next migrant if the answer is "No" (code=2), else continue with column (f). Use the code list on the right for type of problems experienced (Col. (f)).

PNO	Method of transfer used	Method used regularly. (Yes=1 No=2)	Is method safe/ reliable? (Yes=1 No=2)	Problems with method? (Yes=1 No=2) If No, skip to next migrant If Yes, go to. (f)	Main problem experienced with method of transfer	
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	Codes for 'Method of transfer' (Col. (b):
						1 = Official transport - Bus 2 = Official transport – Rail 3 = Via Post Office 4 = Sends with a taxi 5 = Brings it along 6 = Via a friend/ co-worker 7 = Sends with visiting family members 8 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know
						Codes for 'Problems experienced '(Col. (f):
						1 = Costly charges 2 = Slow 3 = Irregular

						4 = Lack of transport opportunities 5 = Never arrives – gets stolen 7 = 8 = Other (specify) 98 = Don't know

4I	What different goods do household migrant send to the household? How are these goods used by the household and who decides on how to use them? How important are these goods to this household for the different uses? (Read list aloud, circle the code that applies (Col. (b)) and complete the information for that row; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply. Col. (c): Enter the amount/ number sent over the past year. Col. (d): Indicate the type of unit sent e.g., litres (of fuel), kilograms (of food), number (of clothing items) etc. Col. (e): Use the PNO number from Q3. 'Household Composition', Col. (A), to indicate the decision-maker(s). Col. (f): Enter the rating of importance for each type of good circled – ONE code only for each type of good: Categories for 'Importance', Col. (f): 1 = Very important; 2 = Important; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Not important; 5 = Not important at all If respondent does not know, circle ONLY code = '38' for 'Don't know'. If respondent refuses to answer, circle ONLY code = '39' for 'Refused to answer'.)

Goods	Code (Circle all that apply)	Amount (Enter number of good(s))	Unit (Enter the type of unit e.g. number, kg, liters etc.)	Office use only	Decision-maker/s (Use PNO from Q.3)	Importance (Enter only ONE code)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)		(e)	(f)
a. Household consumption	1					
Food	2					
Fuel	3					
Clothing	4					
Entertainment	5					

Other household consumption goods (specify)	6							
b. Farm inputs:								
Seed	7							
Fertiliser	8							
Tractor	9							
Oxen for ploughing	10							
Labour	11							
Cattle purchase	12							
Small stock purchase	13							
Poultry purchase	14							
Dipping/ veterinary costs	15							
Vehicle/ transport	16							
Equipment	17							
Other farm input (specify)	18							
c. Business								
Goods for sale (stock)	19							
Repay loans	20							
Machinery/ equipment	21							
Other business expenses (specify)	22							

Good	Code (Circle all that apply)	Amount (Enter number of good(s))	Unit (Enter the type of unit e.g. number, kg, liters etc.)	Office use only	Decision-maker/s (Use PNO from Q.3)	Importance (Enter only ONE code)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)		(e)	(f)
d. Building materials						
Roofing	23					
Walls	24					
Cement	25					

Bricks	26							
Wood	27							
Paint	28							
Doors/ windows	29							
Other building material (specify)	30							
e. Special events								
Marriage	31							
Funeral	32							
Feast	33							
Other special event (specify)	34							
f. Other good (specify)								
	35							
	36							
	37							
g. Don't know	38							
h. Refused to answer	39							

4J	Which of the following items have been bought through remittances (cash and/or goods) and how important were remittances in their acquisition? (Read list aloud and circle the applicable code in column labelled 'Code'. (ONLY for those items circled, indicate how important remittances are in the acquisition of these items by circling the appropriate code (ONLY ONE) for the column labelled 'Importance of items'). If NO items have been bought through remittances, circle ONLY the code (=0) for the very last column 'NONE'.

Item	Code	Importance of items					
		Very important	Important	Neutral	Not important	Not important at all	Don't know
Microwave	1	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tape Player	2	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hi-fi/music centre	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sewing machine	4	1	2	3	4	5	6

Radio	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cell phone (mobile phone)	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Telephone in house	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
Electric washing machine	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
Personal Computer	9	1	2	3	4	5	6
Clothes Iron	10	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hotplate	11	1	2	3	4	5	6
Deep freeze in house	12	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bedroom suite	13	1	2	3	4	5	6
Refrigerator in house	14	1	2	3	4	5	6
Motor vehicle (Sedan)	15	1	2	3	4	5	6
Heater	16	1	2	3	4	5	6
Fan or Air-conditioner	17	1	2	3	4	5	6
Stove (gas/ paraffin/ primers)	18	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bicycle	19	1	2	3	4	5	6
Plough	20	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tractor	21	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cattle	22	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sheep	23	1	2	3	4	5	6
Goats	24	1	2	3	4	5	6
Donkeys	25	1	2	3	4	5	6
Horses	26	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pigs	27	1	2	3	4	5	6
Poultry	28	1	2	3	4	5	6
Television	29	1	2	3	4	5	6
Video Cassette recorder	30	1	2	3	4	5	6
Satellite Dish	31	1	2	3	4	5	6
Item	Code	Importance of items					
		Very important	Important	Neutral	Not important	Not important at all	Don't know
Canoe, donkey cart, sleigh	32	1	2	3	4	5	6

Fields	33	1	2	3	4	5	6
Any insurance policy	34	1	2	3	4	5	6
Personal financial banking products (Bank account, etc)	35	1	2	3	4	5	6
Insurance	36	1	2	3	4	5	6
School fees	37	1	2	3	4	5	6
Solar panels	38	1	2	3	4	5	6
Plastic drums	39	1	2	3	4	5	6
Plastic chairs and tables	40	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cooler box	41	1	2	3	4	5	6
Generator	42	1	2	3	4	5	6
Grain mill	43	1	2	3	4	5	6
Grain pounder	44	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bakkie	45	1	2	3	4	5	6
Minibus	46	1	2	3	4	5	6
Motorbike	47	1	2	3	4	5	6
Building materials	48	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other (specify)	49	1	2	3	4	5	6
NONE	0						

4K	How important do you think the money and/or goods are in helping the household? (Probe for strength of opinion; circle only ONE answer)
Importance of money/ goods	Code
Very important	1
Important	2
Neutral	3
Not important	4
Not important at all	5
Don't know (do not read)	6

4L	Does the household send food to the migrant abroad? If 'Yes' how often, in the last year? (Select only one answer) If answer is 'No', skip to Qn 5A	Frequency	Code
		More than once a month	1
		Once a month	2
		A few times a year	3
		Once a year	4
		Occasionally (less than once a year)	5
		Don't know	6
4M	How is the food sent to the migrant? (Please select all that apply)	Method	Code
		Through friends and relatives	1
		Through Cargo Shipment	2
		Through Post office	3
		Community group or organization	4
		Other means (Specify)	5
		Don't know	9
4N	What did the household send to the migrants' foods abroad (Please select all that apply)	Food	Code
		Cereals (maize, rice, pasta, flour etc)	1
		Vegetables	2
		Fruits	3
		Meat/fish/chicken	4
		Canned/tinned food	5
		Dried food	6
		Sweets/chocolates	7
		Crisps	8
		Other (Specify)	9
		Don't know	10
		None	11
4O	Does sending food to household migrant abroad positive or negative affect migrant household income and food?	Effect on household	Code
		Very positive	1

		Positive	2
		Neither positive nor negative	3
		Negative	4
		Very negative	5
		Don't know	6

SECTION 5: HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY					
5A	HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY ACCESS SCALE (HFIAS) (READ the list and categories and circle only ONE answer for each question)				
	Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) for last four weeks	No (Answer to question is 'No')	Rarely (once or twice)	Sometimes (3 to 10 times)	Often (more than 10 times)
	a. In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food?	1	2	3	4
	b. In the past four weeks were you or any household member not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
	c. In the past four weeks did you or any household member have to eat a limited variety of foods due to a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
	d. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat some foods that you really did not want to eat because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food?	1	2	3	4
	e. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
	f. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
	g. In the past four weeks, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your household because of lack of resources to get food?	1	2	3	4

SECTION 5: HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY					
	h. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
	i. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
	j. In the past week, did you or any household member eat a cooked meal less than once a day?	1	2	3	4

5B	HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY SCORE (HDDS) Now I would like to ask you about the types of foods that you or anyone else in your household ate yesterday during the day and at night. (Read the list of foods. Circle yes in the box if anyone in the household ate the food in question, circle no if no one in the household ate the food)		
	Types of food	Yes	No
	a. Bread, rice noodles, biscuits or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat	1	2
	b. Any potatoes, yams, manioc, cassava or any other foods made from roots or tubers?	1	2
	c. Any vegetables?	1	2
	d. Any fruits?	1	2
	e. Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?	1	2
	f. Any eggs?	1	2
	g. Any fresh or dried fish or shellfish?	1	2
	h. Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?	1	2
	i. Any cheese, yoghurt, milk or other milk products?	1	2
	j. Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?	1	2
	k. Any sugar or honey?	1	2
	l. Any other foods, such as condiments, coffee, tea?	1	2

5C	COPING STRATEGY INDEX	Behaviours	No. of Days (0 -7)

	In the past 7 days, how many days did you or your household do any of the following: Give no of days (out of 7).	Rely on less preferred and less expensive foods	
		Borrow food or rely for help on a friend/relative	
		Purchase food on credit	
		Gather and eat wild/indigenous food	
		Consume food from vending business	
		Send household members to eat elsewhere	
		Beg for food	
		Limit portion size at mealtimes	
		Restrict consumption for adults so children could eat	
		Feed working household members before non-working	
		Reduce number of meals eaten in a day	
		Go a whole day without eating	

Do you have any questions that you would like to ask?

Questions	

Thank you very much for spending this time talking with us.

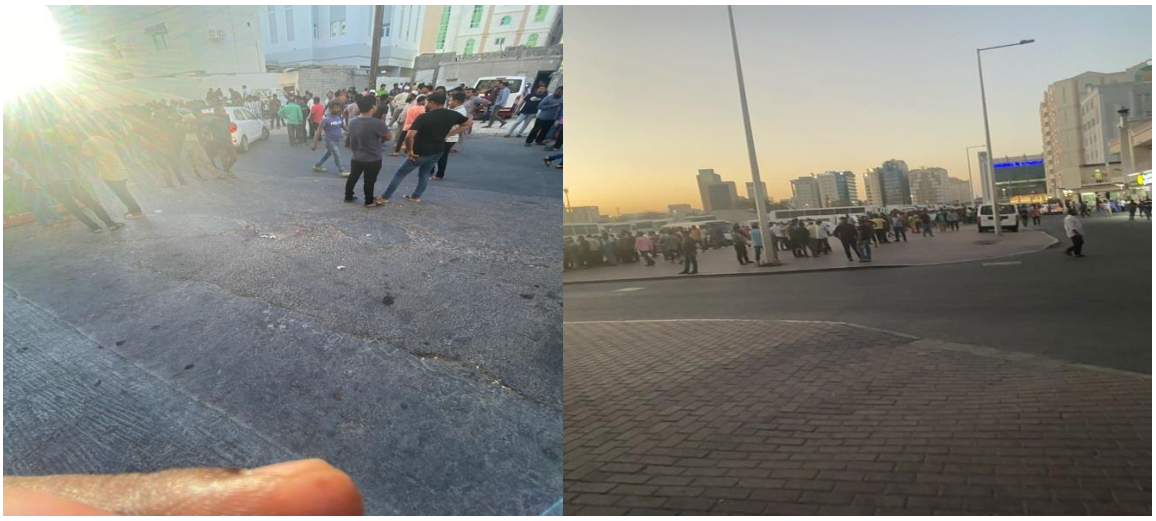
Appendix J: Some Fieldwork Pictures

The two pictures above show labour migrant residential accommodation used by the Talabat food delivery company

Traditional Ghanaian Food (Banku and Okro soup) was prepared by a female respondent at their residence when I visited for an interview.

At the male accommodation site, men used the substitute in their desire to have the same local diet (Banku)

Shared Kitchen Space in the accommodation site



Nighttime in Doha, freelance migrants reassembled at the transportation yard to look for jobs for the next Morning.

Cheapest bread (Kubuz), which most self-food-providing migrants rely on for meals, especially for breakfast

Inside Migrant Accommodation