

WOMEN'S LABOUR MIGRATION ON THE AFRICA-MIDDLE EAST CORRIDOR:

EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS FROM GHANA

AUTHORS

Ann Dela Apekey

Labour, Gender, Youth and Social Development Specialist

Phyllis Agyeman

Eastern Regional Secretary of TUC

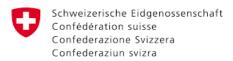
Amewugah Ablodepey

Administrator DSWU

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Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC

This research was made possible with the financial support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). The views expressed here are only the authors' and they do not necessarily represent the views of SDC.

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the various institutions and individuals who contributed in diverse ways to make this research a success.

We acknowledge the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) and the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) for providing technical and financial support to the researchers, thereby enabling this study.

We also acknowledge the contribution of Kennedy Antong Achakoma (PhD), Head of Education and Training, Trade Union Congress Ghana, for taking time to link the researchers with various interest groups and relevant stakeholders.

Our appreciation goes to the returnee migrant domestic workers, prospective migrant domestic workers and their families as well for making time to share their experiences and perspectives.

We appreciate the role played by the Domestic Services Workers Union (DSWU), especially the General Secretary, in identifying and organising the domestic workers for the focus group discussions.

We also acknowledge the officers of the Labour Department for their availability and contribution to the research.

Finally, I would like to thank Amewugah Ablordepey and Phyllis Agyeman who helped in the field data collection for this research.

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Abbreviations

AU African Union

DWA Decent work Agenda

DSW Domestic Worker

DSWU Domestic Services Workers Union

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

FGD Focus Group Discussion FES Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

GAATW Global Alliance Against Traffic of Women

GCC Gulf Cooperation Council States

GCIM Global Commission on Internal Migration

IDWF International Domestic Workers Federation

ILO International Labour Organization

IOM International Organization on Migration

MDW Migrant Domestic Worker

MIGOF Migration Governance Framework

PEAs Private Employment Agencies

RECs Regional Economic Communities

TUC Trade Union Congress

Executive Summary

This research was commissioned to understand the processes, trends, challenges and opportunities around migration of female domestic workers from Ghana to the Middle East and to share the research findings with policy and decision makers, trade unions, international and multilateral organisations and civil society concerned with the rights of migrant domestic workers.

This report highlights the challenges faced by Ghanaian migrant domestic workers to the Middle East. It makes an assessment of pre-departure preparations, through their sojourn in the Middle East and their return to Ghana. It examines the current legislation around labour migration in Ghana, the policy gaps and also proposes recommendations on how to improve dignified access to migration to Middle East and work in safety, among other needs.

In Ghana, they are a number of key drivers for migration. These include the rising youth unemployment which has pushed a number of jobless Ghanaians to migrate to the Middle East and work as domestic workers in order to earn a living. The process of migration, work and return has not been easy. There have been several media reports on cases of violation and abuse of Ghanaian migrant domestic workers, which led to the Government to ban the issuance of visa to the GCC countries. As at the time of writing this report, migration to the Middle East is considered illegal. Consequently, there is big and thriving network that is promoting "illegal migration" which is being facilitated by various fraudulent recruitment agencies both with Ghana and in the receiving countries.

In assessing the pivotal role of private employment agencies (PEAs) in migration, one realises that the ordeals of most migrant workers from Ghana usually start from their point of departure (Ghana). This is because most of them are not even informed about the exact country they are going to, the terms of employment by their employer or even about the job and the culture in the country. Apart from the cultural shock most of them experience, they are immediately subjected to very harsh working conditions and do not have the option to change jobs or negotiate better working conditions. In most cases their challenges even extend to the time they start preparing to return home at the end of their contract.

Ghana has a national policy on migration but the emphasis is more on those who migrate into Ghana and not on protecting the rights of Ghanaian citizens when they migrate to other countries. In recent times, most African governments have signed bilateral agreements with receiving countries in the Middle East. It is on record that Ghana has a bilateral agreement with Jordan but this is not readily available to prospective migrants to read and understand before going to that country. The labour department is responsible for giving pre-departure orientation to migrants. However, with the ban on migration to the GCC countries, this has been suspended until the ban is lifted.

Most of the returnee migrant domestic workers interviewed were subjected to various forms of violence including sexual and physical assaults. They were received by their local recruiters in Ghana. When it became difficult for them to continue working under severe conditions, some of them deceived their employers that they have family emergencies back in Ghana, and used the opportunity to return home for good.

It is worth nothing that, gains from such movements for the sending countries and the receiving countries, as well as for the migrants are tangible. There is therefore the need for the government of Ghana to review the current ban, work at developing MOUs with the receiving countries and strengthen the capacities of Ghana missions to be able to respond to the needs of Ghanaian migrants in the countries they work in.

According to IOM's migration governance snapshot of Ghana from 2018, although Ghana has ratified key international conventions and instruments that promote migration and migrant labour, it still has scope for greater cooperation and integration into global migration governance structures. It has not yet signed or ratified the ILO Migration for Employment Convention, 1949, nor the ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975. It is also yet to ratify the Convention on Statelessness, although processes have been restarted by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. Furthermore, Ghana's legal framework could be strengthened with bilateral agreements, especially with the Gulf States, with a focus on migrant workers.

The labour laws of Ghana clearly provide the framework under which Ghanaian migrant workers can be recruited for employment abroad in order to prevent human trafficking and to ensure workers' safety. The Labour Department issues licenses to private employment agencies, authorising them to engage in recruitment of migrant workers after meeting legal requirements. The Chief Labour Officer issues exit permits to the Comptroller General of GIS or their representative at the point of embarkation as part of the process for the recruitment of migrants to work under a foreign contract. The Labour Migration Unit of the Department collects data on migrant workers who have been recruited for employment outside of Ghana and takes them through a pre-departure process. The Department continues to monitor the migrant workers once they have reached the destination country. Unfortunately, with the ban on recruitment to the GCC states and North Africa, this is no longer being done by the labour department. Travelling to those designated places has become illegal hence the absence of institutional support.

BACKGROUND

Although many Africans migrated within the continent for so many years, there is a new phenomenon where Africans are leaving their communities and countries for varying reasons, including economic survival, and fleeing protracted violent sectarian conflicts on the continent.

In Ghana, the high unemployment rate is one of the main reasons why there is a surge in labour migration to North Africa and the GCC states. However, there is very little of it captured statistically on the actual number of migrants to these states. The only evidence gathered most of the time is the increasing number of reports on abuses and ill-treatment of Ghanaian migrants in the GCC and North Africa. These abuses have led to the government's ban on labour migration to these places.

To better understand these labour migration trends and particularly the experiences of migrant domestic workers, the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) in partnership with International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) commissioned this research with the following overarching objectives:

- To understand the processes, trends, challenges and opportunities around migration from Ghana for domestic work in the Middle East
- To share the research findings with policy and decision makers, trade unions, international and multilateral organisations and civil society concerned with the rights of migrant domestic workers

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study, which was carried out in Accra, Koforidua and Kumasi, employed a qualitative participatory action research methodology. Secondary data was collected through an extensive desk review. The sources included books, reports, internet databases, newspaper articles, policy documents and legislations. The review of all these was specific to the African region and Ghana in particular as it relates to women migrant domestic work and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States context.

In order to generate information on the challenges and gaps before, during and after migration, interviews were conducted with returnee migrant domestic workers to the Middle East, prospective migrant domestic workers, and families of the migrant domestic workers who have worked in the Middle East. Additional interviewees included government agencies responsible for labour migration, trade unions and NGOs with interest in domestic workers to identify their levels of intervention and existing gaps in order to ensure safe, secure and dignified migration for domestic workers in Ghana. Two individuals were interviewed and their stories were used to develop two case studies on the working conditions of Ghanaian migrant domestic workers in the Middle East.

Focus group discussions were organised in both Accra and Kumasi to understand the challenges of returnees as well as the expectations of prospective migrants.

<u>Identification of Respondents</u>

It was challenging to find migrant domestic workers in the beginning. Most of the returnees were integrated in their societies and were not willing to grant interviews to the research team for fear of stigmatisation. However, once we identified several, they were helped arrange interviews with their friends. Initially most of them were sceptical but with time they relaxed and contributed to discussions in the FGDs. However, they were not comfortable with researchers taking pictures during the meetings and their wishes were respected.

In the case of PEAs, it was almost impossible to interview them since there is a ban on recruitment to the Middle East. One of them agreed to an interview based on his personal relationship with one of the data collectors.

Research Limitations

The timeframe and resources available for the research were inadequate which limited the number of participants in the research. There is a level of stigmatisation of domestic workers who migrated to work in the Middle East. There is the perception that almost all domestic workers have been raped there. This makes it difficult for most of them to agree to an interview. Some of them also went through traumatic situations and were still traumatised so they were not read to talk about their ordeals. It sometimes required a lot more probing and encouraging of the respondents to enable them talk about their experiences. It took on average two trips to agree venues for FGDs to carry out the discussions since most of the respondents didn't turn up on the first appointment.

It was difficult getting government agencies to talk about their role in migration governance. Appointments were cancelled at the last minute or when the research team was almost at the premises of these institutions. As a result, some of the scheduled interviews were called off. Some of the interviewees were expecting the research team to help solve their problems instantly. This was challenging for the team and it took maturity to explain the research's goal is and how his outcome is expected to be used.

Achievements during the research process

The research gave the research team an opportunity to establish contacts and cordial relationship with migrant domestic works, the labour department and other stakeholders. It also gave the opportunity to learn first-hand what migrant domestic workers go through in the Middle East. All researchers have trade union background and some experience in domestic workers concerns which made it easier to interact seamlessly with respondents. Discussion with trade union colleagues who have carried out some research on migration also made it easier to link up with to the labour department for the needed information for this research. The experience of the lead researcher in training migrant domestic workers both at the national and international levels made it easier to ask respondents questions for extra information.

CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

According to the International Organization on Migration (IOM) glossary on migration law, (series no. 25, 2011), "migration is the movement of persons from one state to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment." Migration is part of human existence, dating back centuries, and a phenomenon that will continue to be part of human practice across societies, ages and cultures. Migration cannot be stopped, but can be better managed to contribute to and accelerate development.

Available literature points to the fact that Africans move more within the continent than outside it. Further, more Africans move within their sub—regions to work, reside and establish themselves. However, more Africans are leaving their communities and countries for varying reasons, including economic survival, and fleeing protracted violent sectarian conflicts on the continent.

In recent times, African governments have also been signing Bilateral Labour Migration Agreements with Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States to send labour migrants there. Hence, the rate of African workers moving to the GCC states, especially domestic workers, who are mostly women, is on the increase. Gains from such movements for the sending countries (SCO) and the receiving countries (RCO), as well as for the migrants are tangible.

Unfortunately, the ordeals these migrants go through in their host countries turn to erode the gains of migration to these GCC states. Stories of horrendous human rights abuses such as rape and other forms of gender based violence as well as suicide among African migrant workers continue to inundate the African public through personal testimonies and media reports. Although African governments and the African Union (AU), The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Government of Ghana are taking some measures to address these issues, very little data on the number of migrants, in particular migrant domestic workers, and their situation in the host countries exists. Therefore, the IDWF and the Global Alliance against Traffic of Women (GAATW) sought through this research to better understand the challenges and opportunities around women's labour migration from Ghana to North Africa and the GCC states, (MENA or West Asia).

It is worth noting that migrant domestic workers are diverse, ranging from skilled unemployed tertiary school graduates to young, unskilled and less educated Ghanaians who see this as opportunity to be gainfully employed and be able to take up their responsibilities in society and their families. There are varying age groups and marital status to be considered as well. One key issue that emerged from available literature is the feminisation of labour migration in Ghana to the GCC states and North Africa. This is due to the nature of jobs in high demand – domestic services – even though security and construction sectors are also some of the major sectors that demand Ghanaian migrant labour.

At the time of writing this report, Ghana has placed a temporary ban on the recruitment of workers to the Gulf region, but migrants still find a way through the activities of recruiters. Since these new migrants travel through unapproved channels, they are mostly at the mercy of their recruiters and employers. On 6 June 2017, the state owned newspaper, the Daily Graphic, announced that the government has placed a temporary ban on recruitment of workers to the GCC states after a spike in reported cases of abuse faced by migrant workers. The Minister of Employment and Labour Relations, Ignatius Belfour Awuah, announced the suspension and freeze on issuance of recruitment licenses as part of measures to curb the abuses and any security threats this might pose to Ghana. This was also in response to calls by several human rights activists to ban issuance of Visa-20, the specific visa issued solely to those seeking to travel to the GCC states and work as domestic workers.

A former Ghanaian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia had also called on the government in 2015 to ban the Visa-20 after he visited Kuwait where he met girls who had been taken recruitment agencies to do menial jobs but ended up facing varying degrees of abuses. Another instance was in February 2018, when 500 Ghanaians were reported to be stranded in Dubai and this was blamed on unscrupulous recruiters who lured and sent these migrants to non–existing jobs. An earlier report from the same source in 2017, indicated that about 800 Ghanaian migrants living in Saudi Arabia illegally had turned themselves in at the Ghana's mission in Riyadh to be deported home.

However, the recruitment agencies are not happy with the ban on recruitment to the GCC states. Apart from the impact it has had on their business, they complained they were not consulted as key stakeholders before the ban. They also complain about the fact that the ban has rather led to an increase in fake private recruitment agencies (PEAs) who are duping migrants.

1.2 Key Drivers of Labour Migration in Ghana

A number of factors lie behind the recent increase in migration from Ghana to GCC states, although most of those who migrate are compelled by poverty and lack of decent jobs and the high unemployment rate in the country. The Labour Force Survey (2015) in Ghana estimated youth unemployment to be about 25.9 percent. A report by the World Bank published in 2016 shows that about 48 percent of individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 in Ghana are jobless. According to AfDB, 2018, in North Africa, youth unemployment rate is three times as high as the total unemployment rate. In fact, the gains in economic growth in Africa haven't been matched with adequate employment opportunities for the youth. Indeed, the growth is a jobless growth which leads to unemployment and underemployment, and because the youth and women are most affected it is no surprise they form the majority of labour migrants.

It is also worth noting that some of the youth are encouraged by their religion as Muslims to migrate to the GCC states with the wrong perception that they will face similar working and living conditions coming from the same religious backgrounds. Most of them hide under the guise of going to the hajj and remain in Saudi Arabia or continue of other countries in the region after their hajj.

Some are also encouraged by the improvement in lifestyle of successful returnees hence the desire to look for greener pastures. Sometimes parents and guardians who are not well informed about the dangers and difficulties encountered by the returnees, push their children into migrating to work as domestic workers. Local community leaders play a role in facilitating migration and unscrupulous PEAs deceive unsuspecting people to migrate too.

Another driver for the increase in migration from Africa is the weak regulations on migration. Unlike the Asian countries who have a long history of labour migration, including to GCC states, and have signed Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs), Africa falls short of this according to Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2017). Migration governance both in terms of legal and institutional structures have not been robust enough to protect migrants. Trade unions and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Africa have not done much, or have not been united in voice and systematic and sustained approach on respect and protection of the rights of migrant domestic workers. Recruiters and PEAs are therefore taking advantage of the situation and turning to East and West Africa where protections are weaker and workers demand cheaper wages compared to their Asian counterparts.

1.3 Migration Governance in Ghana

Migration is a growing trend, yet there has so far not been an agreed document that clearly presents the elements of good governance of human mobility. Migration governance "can be understood as the processes in which the combined framework of legal norms and organizational structures regulate and shape how states and other stakeholders act in response to migration, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting cooperation". In response to this growing concern the IOM developed a Migration Governance Framework (MIGOF) to guide discussions and agreements on migration. The framework captures the essential elements for facilitating orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people through planned and well-managed migration policies. IOM's Migration Governance Framework seeks to present, in a consolidated, coherent and comprehensive way, a set of three principles and three objectives which, if respected and fulfilled, would ensure that migration is humane, orderly, and benefits migrants and society. These three principles and their corresponding objectives which should govern migration are shown below:

Principles	Objectives		
1: Adherence to international standards and the fulfilment of migrants' rights	1: Good migration governance and related policy should seek to advance the socioeconomic wellbeing of migrants and society		
2: Migration and related policies are best formulated using evidence and whole-of government approaches	2.Good migration governance is based on effective responses to the mobility dimensions of crises		
3: Good migration governance relies on strong partnerships	3: Migration should take place in a safe, orderly and dignified manner		

The IOM's migration governance snapshot of Ghana, May 2018 highlighted Ghana's key migration indicators¹ which among other issues described the well-governed areas of the country's migration structures as well as areas that need further development in order to enhance Ghana's approach to migration. Although Ghana has ratified key international conventions and instruments that promote migration and migrant labour, it still has scope for greater cooperation and integration into global migration governance structures. It has not yet signed or ratified the ILO Migration for Employment Convention, 1949, nor the ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975.

The labour laws of Ghana clearly provide the framework under which Ghanaian migrant workers can be recruited for employment in order to prevent human trafficking and to ensure workers' safety abroad. The Labour Department issues recruitment licenses to private employment agencies, authorising them to engage in recruitment of emigrant workers after meeting legal requirements. The Chief Labour Officer issues exit permits to the Comptroller General of GIS or their representative at the point of embarkation as part of the process for the recruitment of emigrants to work under a foreign contract. The Labour Migration Unit of the Department collects data on migrant workers who have been recruited for employment outside of Ghana and takes them through a pre-departure process. The Department continues to monitor the migrant workers once they have reached the destination country. Unfortunately,

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The Migration Governance Indicators (MGI) initiative is a policy-benchmarking programme led by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and implemented with the support of the Economist Intelligence Unit. Funding is provided by the Government of Sweden.

with the ban on recruitment to the GCC states and North Africa, this is no longer being done by the labour department.

Strategies are put in place with the aim to combat trafficking in human beings. The Anti-Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Unit of GIS coordinates efforts to tackle migrant smuggling and trafficking. The GIS is mandated by law in this regard (Immigration Amendment Act of 2012 (Act 848) and Immigration Act of 2000 (Act 573)). The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, advised by the Human Trafficking Management Board, collaborates in the prevention, facilitation, and reintegration efforts to assist victims of trafficking in Ghana, as well as in the implementation of the Human Trafficking Act 2005 (Act 694). Moreover, an anti-human trafficking unit (Criminal Investigation Division) has been set up under the Ghana Police Service. Furthermore, the Labour Act 2003 and Labour Regulation 2007 provide clear framework under which Ghanaian migrant workers can be recruited for employment outside Ghana in order to prevent human trafficking and to ensure their safety abroad.²³

1.4 Legal and Institutional frameworks

According to the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), migration governance is in different forms. These include migration policies and programmes of individual countries, interstate discussions and agreement, multilateral consultative processes, the activities of international organisations, as well as the laws and standards.

This section will highlight the legal and supporting rules governing migration in Ghana. It will also take a look at the regional and international instruments dealing with labour migration. Finally, the section will have an overview of implementation and challenges of migration governance in Ghana.

At the national level, Ghana has a good number of existing structures that address migration. Key among these is the 1992 constitution which states among others, the rights and freedom of movement of citizens, which is the basis on which other laws are formulated. Other key laws and policies include the migration Act 2000 (Act 573), Immigration (Amendment)Act 2012 (Act 848), Immigration regulations, 2001 (L.I 16910, which dwell more on treatment of migrants in Ghana and the Labour Act 2003 (Act 651), which outlines the conditions under which Ghanaians can migrate for employment internationally.

International Legal and Policy Frameworks

At the global level, several systems and standards are applied in the regulation of international migration. Most of the standards come in the form of conventions, recommendations, protocols and declarations for protecting and promoting migrant workers' rights and ensuring non–discrimination against them.

There are three main international conventions set by the UN that directly cover many aspects of migration and migrant workers. The first and principal international standard on migrant workers' rights is the 1990 United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (known as the UN Migrant Convention), which entered into force in 2003. Other relevant conventions are: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD, 1969), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

Adopted from UNHR Migration and human rights, "improving Human Rights-Based Governance of International Migration", 2015

Ghana Ministry of the Interior 2016 National Migration Policy for Ghana, chapter 7, pp.55–56, 5 April. Available from http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=national-migration-policy-for-ghana.pdf&site=354

Women (1981), and the UN Protocol to Suppress and Punish Trafficking of Persons, especially women and children.

The key ILO conventions dealing with the rights of migrant workers include the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised) 1949 (No. 97) and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention 1975 (No. 143). Conventions No. 97 and Convention No. 143 mutually reinforce the UN Migrant Convention. The two instruments constitute a framework of complementary international standards that recognise and guarantee the rights of migrant workers in countries of origin, transit and destination. Indeed, Convention No. 143 actually complements Convention No. 97 which applies to the whole labour migration process from entry to return, including the conditions governing the orderly recruitment of migrant workers.

It is important to state that most of the specific international conventions dealing with migrant workers have provisions on migrant workers' rights to social security and protection which is an important ingredient to work. For instance, Article 27 and 28 of the 1990 UN Migrant Convention have provisions in that regard. Article 27 specifically deals with all migrant workers' (documented or undocumented) rights to social security. It, however, stated that '(1) with respect to social security, migrant workers and members of their families shall enjoy in the State of employment the same treatment granted to nationals in so far as they fulfill the requirements provided for by the applicable legislation of that State and the applicable bilateral and multilateral treaties...; (2) Where the applicable legislation does not allow migrant workers and members of their families a benefit, the States concerned shall examine the possibility of reimbursing interested persons the amount of contributions made by them with respect to that benefit on the basis of the treatment granted to nationals who are in similar circumstances.'

Similarly, Article 28 states: 'Migrant workers and members of their families shall have the right to receive any medical care that is urgently required for the preservation of their life or the avoidance of irreparable harm to their health on the basis of equality of treatment with nationals of the State concerned....'. Similarly, the ILO Conventions No. 97 and No.143 contain specific clauses on rights to social protection for migrant workers. Article 6 of No. 97 states that, with conditions as to maintenance of rights and public funding, 'Each Member for which this Convention is in force undertakes to apply, without discrimination in respect of nationality, race, religion or sex, to immigrants lawfully within its territory, treatment no less favorable than that which applies to its own nationals in respect of ... (a) (iii) accommodation; (b) social security.' Likewise, No. 143 has in Article 9 and Article 10 similar provisions for 'social security.'

Globally, as of June 2018, Convention No. 97 had received 49 ratifications, and Convention No. 143 and Convention No. 189 had both received 23 ratifications each. In Africa and the GCC states, the ratification is uneven and very low. For instance, only 10 countries (including Nigeria and Kenya) had ratified Convention No. 97, seven countries have ratified Convention 143, and only 3 have ratified Convention 189. Ghana has not ratified any of them. This situation is not encouraging, given the fact that for real good governance to exist and for opportunities for the protection of the rights of migrants preserved, national policies, laws and regulations are to be reflective of the international standards endorsed and respected.

International conventions ratified by Ghana:

Convention name	Ratified
ILO Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97)	No
Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951	Yes (1963)
Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 1954	No

Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, 1961	No
ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions)	No
Convention, 1975 (No. 143)	
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989	Yes (1990)
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of	Yes (2000
All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families	
(ICRMW), 1990	

Adherence to international standards and fulfilment of migrants' rights

Ghana has a well-defined national migration policy that addresses legal and regulatory aspects of migration. The National Migration Policy (2016) for Ghana serves as the country's official migration strategy document. It includes goals, objectives and strategies for the country, such as diaspora engagement as a vehicle for economic growth. Ghana's Migration Unit, an inter-ministerial body under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior, is responsible for coordinating national activities in the area of migration and helping with the development of a coherent migration policy framework for the country. The major challenge here is enforcing the existing legislation as a starting point to address labour migration to the GCC states.

Ghana is a participant of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and is also involved in the promotion of dialogue and cooperation on international migration at the regional level. A member of the Migration Dialogue in West Africa (MIDWA) and the Mediterranean Transit Migration Dialogue (MTM), Ghana is also part of the ECOWAS which seeks to promote freedom of movement for nationals of member countries. The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment "testifies to member countries" determination to place the free intra-regional movement of persons at the heart of the regional integration process."

Unfortunately, Ghana has not ratified Convention 189 on decent work for domestic workers. The ministry of Employment and Labour relations has developed guidelines for domestic work; however, the document is not accessible to the public yet. There have been calls for ratification and adoption of C189 to serve as the main instrument guiding domestic work and migrant domestic work in Ghana.

KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS

2.1. Profile of Migrant Domestic Workers Participating in the Research

In all there were 15 returnees interviewed for this research: five from Koforidua in the Eastern region and ten from Accra. Out of this number, the study developed two case studies (see in annex 1).

Four respondents had completed tertiary education, 5 secondary education and 6 basic educations. It is worth noting that none of these women were married. There were older women aged between 35 - 55 who were either divorced or widowed, and the age bracket of 15-36 were mostly single. This brings to the fore the question of women's mobility and ability to migrate. These respondents could migrate because they were not in a marital relationship. Whereas two of the single women had children, the other single women did not have children, hence it was also easier to migrate since they do not have young dependents in Ghana. All the interviewees worked as domestic workers in the countries they migrated to.

2.2. Migration Process

Reasons for migrating

One person completed University and couldn't get employment so she worked as a domestic worker and later got a job with the same employer as a secretary in his company but continued to work as their domestic worker when she closed after work. She saw the opportunity to earn higher salary abroad. This enabled her to start her own business on return. Apart from one respondent who indicated she migrated because she liked travelling, unemployment and financial constraints were the main reasons why most of the interviewees migrated to the GCC states for work.

Countries where the migrant domestic workers went to:

Country	Number of people
Qatar	1
Egypt	1
Bahrain	1
Saudi Arabia	3
Oman	1
UAE	1
Kuwait	1
Libya	6

Previous experience as domestic worker

All migrant domestic workers who participated in this research were first time migrants. Eight out of the 15 returnees worked as domestic workers in Ghana before migrating. One had started as a child domestic worker. Those who did not work as domestic workers were mostly petty traders. Only one respondent was still interested in working as a domestic worker after her return.

Work contracts

All the respondents indicated that details about their work contracts were not discussed with them and they did not even know the exact country they were migrating to. Some of them were only informed at the airport where they were going, as well as the terms of engagement. Travel documents were prepared

by the PEAs and some only got their passports at the airport. In other circumstances, the women were told of opportunities in a particular country but were sent to another country in the end. When one woman asked for an explanation, she was told the new country had better working conditions than the previous one. This was unsettling for most of the respondent but once the contract had been sealed, they were ready to go, work and earn income. Most of these contracts were made informally, thereby sidestepping the approved procedures for migration. Unfortunately, this is the only option for migrant domestic workers since the ban was introduced.

Those who went through agents had their contracts signed by the agents with the employer on their behalf. Sometimes the stated amount for the employee was reduced by the agent, especially in cases where the agents arranged with the employer to have their monthly salaries paid through them. Some of these agents operate from the Middle East and they keep the passports of the domestic workers until it is time for them to return at the end of their contracts. One common feature was also the fact that the domestic workers had to arrange and pay for their own return to Ghana.

2.3. Working Conditions

Most respondents worked long working hours with no rest. Typically, their day started at 3 or 4 am and would continue until 10.30 pm. For those who were nannies, they were often compelled to attend to younger children during the night if they woke up and wouldn't fall asleep again. According to one of the interviewees, "I could virtually spend the night looking after the baby especially when she is not well and I am expected to just continue in the morning with my daily chores. It doesn't matter if I didn't sleep and I am not expected to take any rest during the day because my employer paid for my services".

Most of the women reported they had no rest periods and even when they were tired and decided to take a rest, they were not allowed by their employers. They were constantly reminded they were employed to work till the daily chores were finished and hence taking rest during working hours was not possible and considered a luxury. Some indicated whenever they decided to complete their work tasks earlier than expected in order to take some rest, they were given additional chores so they just took their time to complete their daily schedule since there was no motivation to finish early. One young respondent indicated that when she had to go to the hospital for treatment, she was allowed to go but upon return she was expected to continue her chores even if she was still sick and couldn't work. On such occasions she was subjected to verbal abuse by her employer. Some respondents also indicated whenever their employers go on family trips and vacations, they were transferred to their employers' friends to work for them till their return. They were mostly not informed until the night before the journey which was unsettling for them.

Employment benefits

None of the interviewees had health insurance, sick leave or pension. Sick leave was counted as days they did not work and were deducted from their salaries at the end of the month. One person said "I used to eat once a day. Once when I fell ill for three days, I didn't eat because my madam said I didn't work to earn my meals. She warned me not to tell her husband otherwise she could blackmail me and get me jailed for theft which didn't even happen. She asked me to call the agent who recruited me to come and pick me to the hospital. I called the agent, he didn't come. He only sent me medication a day after my call. I was lucky, I recovered and continued with my work". Some of the other women were allowed to rest when they were unwell and received their full monthly salary.

Wages

Most of the women were paid monthly in cash. The average monthly earnings was \$250. Which is far more than what domestic workers earn in Ghana (below \$100 on the average). Some had delays until the following month and in the cases where the PEAs received their salaries on their behalf directly from the employers, some of the salaries were reduced and some of them never received their salaries that went through their agents.

Trade union or membership with associations

One of the respondents indicated that she joined the Domestic Services Workers Union (DSWU) in 2017. Few of them are interested in joining the union once they were told the unions could help raise awareness of the working conditions of domestic workers and also request for guidelines and legislation to protect their rights as workers both within and outside Ghana. Those interested are yet to be mobilised to join the union. The DSWU indicated their plan to reach out and organise them at the time of conducting the interviews. It is also worth noting that some of the women are also ready to give skills training to members to enable them make extra income in their spare time. Others do not even want to be associated with the fact that they did domestic work outside the country.

2.4 Living Conditions

Experience of abuse

There were cases of verbal abuse by employers. Some interviewees spoke about physical assaults like slapping by their employers and their children. Even some of the younger children were very rude and abusive because they had no respect for domestic workers. Some incidents of sexual harassment from male employers and their older sons were also raised. Sexual harassment issues were very delicate and if the madam had any suspicion her husband was interested in a domestic worker, one had to pack and get out of the house for fear of being framed up by the madams and handed over to the police.

Adapting to new environment as migrant domestic workers

When asked about the person who arranged their migration, 13 out of the 15 respondents indicated it was their immediate relatives and friends. In order to adapt as migrants, they had to change the way they dress and eat and try to learn the language of their host country, mostly Arabic. Those who worked in the GCC states were compelled by their employers to dress in accordance with their national dress codes and culture. However, there was freedom to wear one's clothes provided it is decent in Egypt. Some of the MDWs were able to link up with other Ghanaians in their destination countries and share survival strategies with each other but these were few and very rare since most of them never left their employer's homes except if they have to accompany them to events.

The MDWs who had to pick children from school got the opportunity to interact with other MDWs who do same. One respondent indicated that her salary was sent to the recruiter and she had no money and would normally set out early to pick the children from school and walk instead of taking a car to enable her buy sanitary pads and other basic toiletries she needed.

Accommodation

All of the women were live-in workers. Whereas some were lucky to have their own rooms, some slept in the same room as the children. Others slept in the kitchen or under the staircases in the homes of their employers. There were situations where the key to their doors were removed, making them vulnerable

to intrusion and harassment from the male family members. One respondent recalled there were CCTV cameras in her bathroom and bedroom. When she protested, they were not removed.

Positive aspects of migrant domestic work

Most of the women were able to save money which was brought home to invest in trading, skills learning and to support their families especially paying school fees for their children and looking after elderly parents. One person bought a parcel of land. Others were able to use their savings as capital for different business ventures.

2.5 Return and Reintegration

On average, the work contract for migrant domestic workers is two years. Most of the women returned at the end of their contracts. Their main challenge was they had to make their own travel arrangements to return and buy their own tickets. One of them said she was helped to return home by "a good Samaritan". Although the respondents themselves did not go back to the Middle East after their first contract, more than half of them knew of other domestic workers who had renewed contracts after their initial return and went back to work in the Middle East as domestic workers.

Support from family and friends

Most of the women's families were supportive of their return since they came with enough money and were in good health, which was to them a fulfilment of the reason for going to work in the first place. Some also said their families wanted them to return earlier than the contract time due to the ill treatment by the employers. However, some families have been hostile to the returnees because they thought they should have stayed longer to work and get more money to send home. For the younger returnees, their parents felt they were going to stay with them again and be a burden, hence they didn't feel welcomed home. Some of the parents were expecting them to return with a lot of money to help solve their family financial problems; unfortunately some were victims of fraudulent recruiters who extorted so much money from them and also reduced the amount of money paid them as salary by their employers since their monthly salaries were paid through these recruiters.

Challenges with reintegration

Some of the interviewees said once the money they brought was spent, they didn't have any source of livelihood. (This calls for counselling and training for returnees on how to reintegrate into the society on return as well as basic training on entrepreneurship etc.). Others also expressed frustration about the fact that they couldn't get jobs on return – the reasons they had migrated in the first place. They are therefore compelled to go (back) to petty trading. One interviewee went back into street vending. Her place was raided by the city local authorities, her goods were destroyed and the rest confiscated so she lost all her trading capital. Most did not want to work as domestic workers in Ghana due to the inadequate income. Others felt there was stigma attached to domestic workers so they wouldn't engage in such jobs in Ghana. Most of the interviewees are not keen on migrating again to the GCC states or elsewhere. They do not want to go through the harrowing experiences they had when they migrated. However, one person indicated her readiness to migrate to the US.

One respondent did not return to Ghana with any money because all her money was kept by the agent/PEA who helped her migrate. She had to stay with friends on her return since she couldn't pay for her own accommodation. She was often ridiculed by her friends and relatives who referred to her as a "failed migrant". Another person regretted missing the formative years of her children since she migrated during that period. She had to make extra effort to establish motherly relationships with them.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEARNING

The Government of Ghana

- i. The Labour Act of 2003 enables a private employment agency to recruit workers for employment outside Ghana if the agency has been authorised to do so and if there is a bilateral agreement between Ghana and the other country. However, there are several illegal operators in the labour export industry. The Labour Department needs logistical assistance to be able to monitor the operations of private employment agencies, as well as to collaborate with other stakeholders to tackle illegally operating recruitment agencies in the country.
- ii. Awareness and education of the general public need to be developed and deployed to wipe out the element of illiteracy on migration. Awareness should focus especially on the fact that laws in the GCC countries are not the same as in Ghana, information on available jobs and skills needed, rights of workers, culture and dress code.
- iii. Develop bi-lateral agreements with the various countries in the GCC and North Africa where Ghanaians migrate to.
- iv. There is the need for pre-departure training for migrants in order to equip them for their assignments in the GCC countries.
- v. In the areas of integration of migrants and reintegration of return migrants, there is a need for migrants' resource centres (MRC) and other active labour market programmes. This should include counselling sessions for returnees as well as their families to eliminate trauma and promote ease of re-integration.
- vi. It is critical and urgent for the government of Ghana to devise means of providing support and protection to migrants in the GCC states. Where embassies are present, a Labour Attaché equipped with the appropriate capacity and mandate should be deployed to cater for the needs of these migrants. It should also be mandatory for all Ghanaian women domestic workers to register with Ghana embassies in their host countries upon arrival to enable the various missions monitor them throughout their say.
- vii. The Labour department already has a programme for regulating migration into other countries including of pre-departure screening and training. This should be enforced to the letter. The TUC in collaboration with FES also developed a pre-decision material which could be used to complement the efforts of the Labour department

Non-state stakeholders

- I. Trade unions DSWU and TUC Ghana need to work strategically with progressive CSOs, as well as the media in order to scale up the voices and space of non–state actors in influencing and engaging state agencies to complement and improve efforts at migration governance in Ghana.
- II. Lobbying the Government of Ghana through the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations to lift the ban on migration to the Middle East countries, since the ban is rather promoting irregular migration and consequent extortion and ill-treatment of Ghanaian migrant domestic workers at the hands of PEAs and their host country employers respectively.
- III. The TUC could also explore getting into bilateral relationships with trade unions in the receiving countries. COTU Kenya has taken a similar initiative and it is worth linking up with them to

- understand how they were able to; trade unions and their civil society allies need more and regular capacity strengthening to improve their knowledge, skills and competences to effectively engage on migration governance.
- IV. Structured and regular campaign through the media is also key in disseminating information on the best and legal means of migration in order to avoid desperate and deadly forms of migration of women.
- V. Organising domestic workers as well as migrant domestic workers is critical in improving the chances of protecting their rights as workers when they migrate. This must remain as a continuous area of priority for DSWU.

Annexes

Annex 1: Case Study One

A job at any cost to feed her family: The Story of Miriam (not real name)

Miriam is a 44-year-old woman who left Accra, Ghana for Qatar through the support of a childhood friend. She has Ordinary Level GCE but could not further her education due to the financial situation in her house. She went into petty trading.

At the time of migrating to Qatar, she had four children, with an estranged husband who was not supporting her. She was fortunate to have a childhood friend already working in Doha, who helped her with her travel expenses. She stayed with her friend for about 6 months before getting a work contract with a family. According to her, it was difficult getting work contracts once you are already in the country. Some of the private recruitment agents in Doha were making sexual demands as one of the conditions before helping her to obtain work permit. Miriam didn't yield to their pressure and finally got her work permit legally in Doha.

Her first work was with a family of six (husband and wife with four children between the ages of 2-10). She worked with this family for nine years and was paid 100 Riyal (3600 GHS or \$750). She had her own bedroom and bathroom. She didn't normally get adequate rest because she took care of the 2-year-old baby when she woke up a night. She was obliged to stay awake till the baby fell asleep again.

Her work started at 4 am each day. Her routine assignment included washing clothes, preparing breakfast for the family, and getting the school-going children ready for school. Once the family was out of the home, Miriam took care of the baby until the siblings returned from school and she had to attend to their needs. On occasions where the school bus broke down, Mariam would go with the baby to the school to bring the other children home. With time, she learnt how to prepare their local meals so she prepared dinner for the entire family while taking care of the four children.

When the entire family was home, Miriam couldn't take rest breaks while she worked. Her madam would insist she was being paid for her services and could not be allowed to rest if the work assigned her was not completed. On occasions when she finished her assigned job early, she was given extra assignments.

There were times she was insulted and was once physically assaulted by her madam but she made it clear to her madam that she was employed to render services and not to be assaulted physically or psychologically whenever there is a problem. She also insisted she was not going to tolerate any slap or assault in whatever form from any of them while working there. This shook her employers and they never attempted to assault her again.

However, this assertiveness resulted in a change of attitude towards her. Her madam was hostile to her and the husband wanted to sleep with her. This went on for a while and Miriam realised if she did not go away, she could be framed and handed over to the police. She left the house when her employers were away with all their children. She couldn't care to wait and collect the salary due her that month.

Miriam moved in to work with another man in Doha who was a single man and later got involved in a relationship with him. She worked as a house help and was his mistress at the same time. According to her, the man was generous to her but would not agree to have protected sex with her. He was sexually abusive daily. She was afraid of getting pregnant or worse still she could contract sexually transmitted diseases. Any time she complained, he only gave her a little more money to keep her silent. Being a single mother of four, with the responsibility of taking care of her own elderly mother, she endured this house help-mistress situation for two years and decided to move out of this employer's house.

Miriam worked as a waitress in a restaurant for another three years where she was paid daily wages. When she was lucky she could get leftover meals prepared at the restaurant to eat even though this was not allowed. But those she worked with were kind and could not throw way food that could be eaten by another human being. She finally returned to Ghana after almost 15 years in Doha.

Return to Ghana. On the whole, Miriam thinks going to Qatar was useful for her economically. At the time of migrating, her estranged husband was not supportive and it was difficult fending for her children and her mother with the meagre earnings as a vegetable seller in the local market. She was able to buy a plot of land (which she discovered later on had litigation so she could not develop it). She paid school fees for all her children, paid the rent for where they were staying with her mother and could still save money to bring with her when she was returning.

She indicated it was not possible to send money through the bank to her bank account in Ghana due to the complications of opening an account as a domestic worker. There were Ghanaians resident in Qatar, who would take the money and give the cedi equivalent to her mother in Ghana. She explained that others were not lucky. Some of these guys didn't give the money to their relatives in Ghana and they were nowhere to be found to retrieve the money as well.

She realised she missed so much in the formative years of her children especially the younger ones since she was not available to ensure they were raised the way she would have preferred. It took more than six months of return for her to bond with her children.

Currently, Miriam stays in another area in Accra where she has a grocery shop of her own. Her two younger children stay with her and go to school. The older one still stays with her mother because his workplace is closer to his grandmother's. Miriam has no intention of migrating at the moment but indicated she will not go to any of the Gulf countries but to Europe or America.

Key lessons from Miriam's experience:

- Emotionally, Miriam is still unhappy and feels "dirty" about the fact that she had to sleep with her
 employer in order to be able to take care of her family. (This was evident when she recounted her
 story in tears and we had to take short breaks to enable her pull herself up.)
- Traumatised, we need to look at how to facilitate psychological counselling for such returnees in order to help them move on and fit into the society on return.
- It is also important to involve the families of returnees along the counselling process to enable them understand they need their support to reintegrate into the society.

Annex 2: Case Study Two

A trip to prepare for my future

Naa (not her real name) is 21 years old and is the oldest of four children. She went to Libya when she was 18. She completed basic education (Junior High School). After completing JHS, she couldn't further her studies neither was it possible to learn a skill that would enable her to earn a living.

After staying at home for six months, she was informed by a close friend that there was an opportunity to travel to Libya and work as a domestic worker. She saw this as an opportunity to migrate and work for two years and return to learn a trade.

Naa worked from 4 am where she washed dirty dishes, cleaned the entire house and washed two cars belonging to her employers. She washed clothes of the two children in the family and ironed twice a week. The clothes of the parents were washed with washing machine by her employers themselves. She only

ironed all the laundry in the house. She didn't have a fixed time for going to bed. She had to wait for the return of her boss who normally came back between 10.30 and 11.30 each night. She had to make sure his food was warmed and rendered any other services he may require from her before going to bed. She ate only once a day in the house and whenever she was sick, the madam of the house would not give her food. Her reason was that she didn't work and hence she didn't earn or deserve her one meal a day. She also threatened her not to inform her husband that she was not given food because she was sick and unable to work. Her madam blackmailed with a threat to inform her husband Naa has been stealing from their bedroom whenever they were not at home. This could lead to her arrest and imprisonment.

Naa recounted an occasion when she was very ill for about four days and her employer asked her to call the agent to pick her up for medical attention. She called the agent who promised to come but never turned up. She didn't eat for the four days she was ill. Fortunately, the agent finally sent someone to bring her medicine, which she took and recovered. It was after this incident that she decided to ask her employer about the details in her employment contract with the agent.

The agent who helped her to go to Libya was deceitful. He informed her she was going to earn \$150 a month instead of \$200 which was the agreed amount between the agent and her employer. Since the agent was the person who arranged all her travel, he informed her she is expected to pay 70% of her earnings to him and retain 30% in the first six months of the contract. Then she would be entitled to 70% of her salary while he took 30% to cover the travel expenses and agency fees. She was not expected to pay any money to the agent after the first year of employment. However, the agent deceived her employer that she was his (agent's) daughter and collected all her earnings for the first six months. In order to buy her basic needs, she had to walk to do grocery shopping when asked to go on errands, and sometimes she walked to the children's school in order to save her transportation money to buy her necessities. When she confronted the agent, he informed her he was keeping her money for her till she was ready to go back to Ghana. He was even keeping her passport. It was difficult for Naa since she could not even raise money to buy her basic needs such as tooth paste and sanitary pads and soap for bathing and washing. She could also not call home because she didn't have the means to pay for calls. She called home with her employer's telephone twice and when she was caught, she was warned not to call from the house phone again.

Naa informed her employer that she had not been receiving the money they were paying to the agent. It was then that she got to know her real monthly income was 200 dollars instead of the 150 dollars indicated by the agent. She also got to know the agent deceived her employers he was her father. Together, she and her employers were able to retrieve her passport. During the second half of her first year, Naa received 70% of her salary, paid directly to her. She was able to save a big part of this money for the rest of the year.

Unfortunately for Naa, just before the end of her first year, her agent went back to renegotiate with her employer in order for her salaries to be paid directly to him. This frustrated Naa since she did not even get a refund of the 30% deductions made earlier by the agent. When she tried to push for direct payment to her, she was met with hostilities by her employer. Consequently, Naa arranged for her own travel back home at the end of her first year. She had to deceive her employers she had a family emergency (that her mother was severely ill) in order to be given permission to go to Ghana. Her employer paid for her ticket and deducted it from her salary. She returned with \$800 of savings. She also indicated she came back together with two other women who were also treated the same way by the same agent.

On her return, her parents were hostile to her. They accused her of not communicating with them since she left and she was also not sending money home to cater for her family. They felt she was a burden since she came with very little money instead of a bigger amount as they were expecting. Shocked by her parents' attitude and traumatised by all she had gone through, Naa enrolled in a six-month programme to learn flower and balloon decoration and event management. She was not able to raise all the money for her studies, but the proprietor of the school allowed her to complete the course. Her certificate has been withheld till she is able to pay the rest of her school fees.

Currently she gets to do a few jobs when there are events but they are not regular, making it difficult for her to save money and pay her remaining fees. Naa thinks going to Libya helped her raise some money to learn a skill but is still traumatised by the treatment by the Ghanaian agent and her employer. She doesn't want to migrate anywhere again. She is only interested in getting work contracts to earn enough money to pay her outstanding school fees and also buy the necessary equipment for her work.

Key issues from Naa's experience:

- Deceitful recruitment agents extorting money from vulnerable migrants and lack of transparency in contract details make migrant domestic workers prone to ill treatment from both PEAs and employers.
- Guidance and counselling needed for returnees and their families to enable tem reintegrate on return to Ghana.
- Migrant domestic work is a key means of addressing unemployment so if managed well with the strict observance of regulations in both the host country and Ghana, it could help give migrants a means of livelihood and also reduce unemployment in Ghana
- If the ban on migration to the GCC states and North Africa would be lifted, it would help reduce the fraudulent work of unlicensed PEAs. Bilateral agreements between the various GCC states and North African countries will ensure that migrant labour is treated with dignity and protection.

Annex 3: Labour Migration Data

Overseas Employment Destination (Gulf States) by Country in 2017 (Jan-May)

Destination	Sex			
	Male	Female	Total	
Saudi Arabia	262	883	1145	
United Arab Emirates	117	0	117	
Qatar	307	0	307	
Jordan	0	20	20	
Total	686	903	1589	

Overseas Employment Destination (Gulf States) by Country in 2016

Destination	Sex	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total	
Saudi Arabia	345	1261	1606	
United Arab Emirates	265	0	265	
Qatar	441	15	456	
Kuwait	18	2	20	
Jordan	0	25	25	
Total	1069	1303	2372	

Overseas Employment Destination (Gulf States) by Country in 2015

Destination	Sex		
	Male Female		Total
Saudi Arabia	746	221	967
United Arab Emirates	219	126	345
Qatar	392	0	392
Kuwait	0	51	51
Total	1357	398	1755

Annex 4: Labour Migration from Ghana to the Gulf States, 2017: Occupation and Destination

	DESTINATION				
OCCUPATION	DUBAI	JORDAN	QATAR	SAUDI ARABIA	TOTAL
ALUMINIUM FURNACE MAN	5	0	0	0	5
CARPENTER	2	0	47	0	49
СООК	0	0	1	0	1
DOMESTIC WORKER	0	20	0	871	891
DRIVER	0	0	0	11	11
ELECTRICIAN	9	0	0	1	10
FACTORY HAND	0	0	0	10	10
FARMER	0	0	0	1	1
GENERAL ATTENDANT	0	0	10	0	10
GUARD	0	0	0	2	2
HELPER	3	0	19	43	65
INDUSTRIAL CLEANER	0	0	7	0	7
LABOURER	0	0	77	114	191
LONG HAUL DRIVER	1	0	2	11	14
MACHINE OPERATOR	0	0	0	9	9
MASON	23	0	48	0	71
OPERATOR	27	0	0	0	27
SALESMAN	0	0	7	53	60
SCAFFOLDER	0	0	24	0	24
SECURITY	38	0	0	0	38
SERVICE CREW	0	0	0	8	8
STEEL FIXER	8	0	62	0	70
TAXI DRIVER	1	0	0	0	1
TECHNICIAN	0	0	0	7	7
TILER	0	0	3	0	3
WAITER	0	0	0	1	1

TOTAL	117	20	307	1145	1589
WAREHOUSE OPERATIVE	0	0	0	2	2
WAITRESS	0	0	0	1	1

Annex 5: Labour Migration from Ghana to the Gulf States, 2017: Occupation and Sex

	SEX		
OCCUPATION	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
ALUMINIUM FURNACE MAN	0	5	5
CARPENTER	0	49	49
COOK	0	1	1
DOMESTIC WORKER	891	0	891
DRIVER	1	10	11
ELECTRICIAN	0	10	10
FACTORY HAND	0	10	10
FARMER	0	1	1
GENERAL ATTENDANT	0	10	10
GUARD	0	2	2
HELPER	10	55	65
INDUSTRIAL CLEANER	0	7	7
LABOURER	0	191	191
LONG HAUL DRIVER	0	14	14
MACHINE OPERATOR	0	9	9
MASON	0	71	71
OPERATOR	0	27	27
SALESMAN	0	60	60
SCAFFOLDER	0	24	24
SECURITY	0	38	38
SERVICE CREW	0	8	8
STEEL FIXER	0	70	70
TAXI DRIVER	0	1	1
TECHNICIAN	0	7	7
TILER	0	3	3
WAITER	0	1	1
WAITRESS	1	0	1
WAREHOUSE OPERATIVE	0	2	2
TOTAL	903	686	1589

Source: Labour Department Accra

