

GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH (SoGSaR)

**EXPLORING THE STRATEGIES OF HEAD PORTERS (KAYAYE) IN COPING WITH
THEIR LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND IN THE GREATER ACCRA
REGION, GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF KAYAYE AT THE MAKOLA MARKET
ACCRA**

BY

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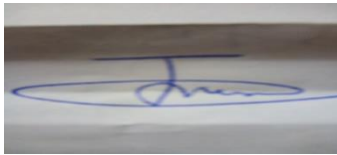
MADC20071

**A DESERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH (SoGSaR), GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIEMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS
(MA. HONS) DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

OCTOBER 2021

CANDIDATES' DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my original research, and that no part of it has been presented for another (degree or diploma) in this institute or elsewhere. I am solely responsible for any shortcomings.

A photograph of a handwritten signature in blue ink on a white surface. The signature is stylized and appears to be 'Joana Mansa Otoo'.

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4th October 2021

DATE

SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the preparation of this dissertation was supervised by me in accordance with the guidelines of supervision of dissertation laid down by Ghana Institute of Journalism.



October 4, 2021

DR. COLLINS ADU-BEMPAH BROBBEY

DATE

(SUPERVISOR)

DEDICATION

I would like to first and foremost thank the Almighty God for his mercies and grace. It is he who has sustained and maintained me throughout this journey. I also dedicate this work to myself, immediate family, Eunice Bittor, and my wonderful supervisor for not giving up on me. With perseverance and hard work, I was able to sail through even when the storm was hard.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the efforts of everyone that have played diverse roles to make this study a success.

First of all, I would like to thank the Almighty God for guiding me and giving me the needed strength to finish this dissertation within the stipulated time.

Secondly, I wish to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor. Dr. Collins Adu-Bempah Brobbey is a Senior lecturer, Dean, School of Graduate Studies and Research (SoGSaR), Campus Director- Ring way Campus, Ghana Institute of Journalism, a Visiting Assistant Professor, United Nations University for Peace, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and an Adjunct lecturer at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana Legon who painstakingly provided me with an excellent atmosphere throughout my dissertation. Also to Madam Janet Edna Name, the Executive Director of National Commission on Culture and the GETfund Secretariat for the immense financial support. God richly bless you for taking time off your busy schedules to assess and attempt at addressing any shortcomings in order for my dissertation to become exceptional. His constructive criticisms and input and selfless attention went a long way to shape this work.

.

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ACRONYMS

- (IOM)..... International Organization for Migration**
- (MOWAC)..... Ministry of Women and Children Affairs**
- (AMA)..... Accra Metropolitan Assembly**
- (MMDAs)..... Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies**
- (NGOs)..... Non- Governmental Organizations**
- (CSOs)..... Civic Society Organizations**

ABSTRACT

The 2019 Migration Report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) indicates that movement of persons from one destination to another is widely recognized as an important characteristic of modern-day developing economies. Although, it takes numerous forms such as internal migration, which is the movement of persons within the same country, and international migration which is the movement of people from one country to another. Evidence shows that in the past two decades about 272 million international migrants has been recorded globally, estimated to be about 3.5% of the global population and that this phenomenon is witnessing a rapid pace of urban population concentration in especially the developing countries of which Ghana is no exception. Consequently, in recent times, a new dominant north-south migration has emerged involving females moving independently from their families to urban centers like Accra and Kumasi; especially into leading market centers in Southern Ghana. This study deployed in-depth interviews and observation methods to collect data on the challenges facing female migrant porters from the northern parts of Ghana as well as the strategies they have to adopt in dealing with the challenges. Findings revealed that female porters had low socio-economic backgrounds that turn to expose them to vulnerabilities. Also, it is revealed that, as a result of their vulnerabilities, they have adopted innovative ways of mitigating against their challenges. This study recommends the incorporation of challenges that are peculiar to female porters into migration policies in order to be able to address the issue effectively. It recommends further that, intensive education on the difficulties that exists in urban centers should be provided for the female migrants and those intending to migrate to empower themselves in terms of migration decision-making.

Keywords: North-South Migration; Female Head Porters; International Organisation for Migration; Migration Report 2019; Population; Urban centers; Market centers; Internal and International Migration; Migration Policies; Developing Economies

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0. Introduction

The past two decades or more continues to witness a rapid population movement which is referred to as migration (Kuyine, 2011 & Skeldon, 1997). The concept of migration which involves the movement of persons from one destination to another is widely recognized as important characteristics of modern day developing economies (Kuyine, 2011 & Skeldon, 1997). Evident show that, about 272 million international migrants globally which equates to 3.5% of the global population. Migrations come in different forms and styles. Internal migrations have to do with the movement of persons within the same country where as international migration is the movement of people from one country to another (IMO Report, 2019; Kuyine, 2011 and Skeldon, 1997).

The internal migration which is the focus of these studies for instance is characterized by rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural with the rural-urban form of migration being the most common or prominent in Africa. As indicated earlier, Studies have shown that there has been a tremendous upsurge in urban population concentrations in most developing countries of Africa, of which Ghana is no exception (Kuyine,2011 and Skeldon,1997).

There are several reasons why people migrate from one destination to another which can be simplified under voluntary and forced migration. People are sometimes forced to migrate to other places in order to avoid persecution, political unrest. Others also flee from war and other natural disasters such as famine, earthquake among other phenomenon. In some circumstances, some people do migrate to other places in search of greener pastures and survival (Kuyine,2011& Skeldon,1997).

In the face of population growth, competition for land and decreasing farm productivity, among others, migration has in most cases become a worthwhile alternative to poverty and deprivation at home (Netting, 1993). The above situation simply explains the reasons for recent trends in the short term southward migration of teenage girls and young women within the West African sub-region which can be traced back to the early 1980s.

In Ghana, for example, there has been a steady increase in urban population since the 1960s and studies by Twumasi-Ankrah (1995), indicates that Ghana's urban population increased from 23 percent in 1960, 32 percent in the 1980s, and has been continuously increasing over the years. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008), also has it that a new dominant north-south migration has emerged involving females moving independently of their families to urban centers such as Accra and Kumasi; especially into leading market centers in Southern Ghana. These female migrants mostly migrate to leading Market centers such as Accra and Tema in the Greater Accra region, Kumasi in the Ashanti region and Takoradi in the Western region, in search of non-existing greener pastures. Specifically, the Northern regions have historically constituted a belt of sparse population with some pockets of population concentration.

This phenomenon can be attributed to the regions' disadvantage due to lack of enough natural resources deposits as compared to regions in the southern part of Ghana. In addition, the pattern of development which the country inherited from the colonial administration at the time of independence and the subsequent development programmes which the post-colonial administration embarked upon has resulted in a relatively developed south and a largely undeveloped north (Kwankye et al., 2009; Misiri, 2012). For example, facilities for quality higher education, health care delivery, telecommunication, sporting and entertaining facilities, modern and vibrant economies are mostly concentrated in the southern parts.

These disparities have resulted in the migration of rural folk, especially young girls and women to market centers in the urban areas to work as head porters, popularly referred to as *Kayaye*. Kuyini (2011) asserts that the *Kayaye* phenomenon in Ghana began in the late 1980s when young women who had never been to school began to visit Accra and Kumasi during the dry season (when there was little to do on the farms) to work for some income. These girls often returned to their villages before the next rainy season. However, there has been a shift in trend in the past two to three decades as many of these seasonal female workers have decided to stay for longer periods of time with some even making homes for themselves in the streets of Accra.

The pace with which young females are migrating mostly from the northern parts to the south in search of non-existing jobs has attracted and resulted in research works within Ghana and outside.

In spite of the fact that there is considerable research on the general consequences of migration in Africa (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Kuyini, 2011, among others), studies do not shed much light on the challenges facing female migrants and the strategies they adopt in the face of these challenges as well as their contributions to the growth of the Ghanaian economy. This study also argues that examining the living and working challenges facing female head porters will enhance the understanding of the issues at hand and provide more insight into ways in which policy can be targeted at solving these specific challenges. This study thus attempts to fill this gap in the literature by exploring the challenges that face female migrant porters, popularly known as *kayaye* and the various strategies they adopt in dealing with these challenges at the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region as well as their contributions to the economic growth of both the Southern and Northern part of Ghana respectively.

1.1.0. Statement of Problem

Migration, which has played tremendous role in the lives and livelihood of people of Northern Ghana has resulted in the large proportion of adults (both male and female) and sometimes children traveling many kilometers and miles each year to the Southern part to work in various sectors of the economy. These young adults were prompted to embark on these journeys due to the unavailability or few employment opportunities in their home villages. Several young girls and women from the Northern part of Ghana embark on the trip year after year to seek non-existing “greener pastures”.

Studies have shown that most of these young female adults who travel down south in search of non-existing greener pastures do end up working in popular market centers as head porters (*Kayaye*).

This is due to the fact that most of them were either school drop outs with little formal education and vocation or have never attended school or learnt any vocation before (Kuyine,2011).

The head porters (*Kayaye*) who positively make impacts towards the wellbeing of their families back home especially their aged parents in the north, as well as the respective economies of the southern and northern Ghana, are also bedeviled with challenges such as working and living under deplorable conditions, and frequently being the victims of exploitation and several forms of abuse.

Even though there have been several researches on the challenges of head porters in the southern part of Ghana, none or only few of those researches have touched on the survival strategies adopted by the *Kayaye* as well as their contribution to the economies of southern and northern Ghana respectively. Therefore, this study posits that there are ominous challenges and plight of the northern female head porters popularly referred to as *Kayaye*, working at the Makola Market

in the Greater Accra Region and that the survival strategies they have adopted, their contributions to the respective economies of southern and northern Ghana have not been adequately addressed empirically. This circumstance raises a number of empirical questions as follows:

1.2.0. Research Questions

This study provides empirical answers to the following questions:

1. What is the socio-economic background of female migrant porters working at the Makola market?
2. Which factors influenced them to migrate to the South?
3. What is the nature of the *kaya* business?
4. What are the challenges facing female migrant porters in their new environment?
5. Which strategies have been adopted by female migrant porters to mitigate the challenges facing them in their new environment?

1.3.0. Research Objectives

This study has two-fold objectives, namely broad and specific. Broadly speaking it explores the strategies of head porters (Kayaye) in coping with their low socio-economic background in the Greater Accra region, Ghana using Kayaye at the Makola market Accra as a case study. Besides, it brings to fore the problems facing female head porters (Kayaye) working at the Makola Market, in the Greater Accra Region. However, specifically, it sought to:

1. Examine the socio-economic background of female migrants at the Makola market.
2. Investigate the factors that prompted female migrant head porters to migrate down south (Pull in and push out factors as stated by Lee 1966)

3. Examine the nature of the *kaya* business

Kayaye Phenomenon in Ghana begun in the late 1980s and includes the conveying of goods from one place to another which also involves bargaining.

4. Explore the challenges facing female migrant porters.

Female head porters face several challenges as a result of migration to the urban centers (Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf, 2008, Kuyini, 2011,)

5. Examine the ways in which female migrant porters deal with the challenges they face in their work.

1.4.0. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study is confined to only northern female head porters (Kayaye) working within the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region. The findings of this work can therefore not be used to generalize all northern female head porters in Accra but it can however serve as a resource guide for further research work by students and relevant institutions.

1.5.0. Significance of the Study

The study hopes to add to the existing literature on migration in order to throw more insight on the challenges facing female migrant porters and the strategies they adopt in the face of these challenges. The study will enhance further academic and research works on migration and its ensuing challenges.

The study will contribute to the Migration Policy which Ghana adopted in 2016 by providing research evidences on migration related issues in the country and beyond.

The study will shed more light on gendered aspects of migration in order to help incorporate gender issues in Ghana's Migration Policy document. The study is expected to serve as a comprehensive policy guide to Ghana's internal and intra-regional migration flows. The study

will also touch on the tremendous contribution of Kayaye to the economies of Southern and Northern Ghana respectively.

1.6. Organization of the Study

This research work is structured in five different chapters or stages with the First Chapter dealing with general overview and background to the study, introduction, statement of problem, research objectives, research questions, scope of the study significance of the study, and organization of the study. The Second Chapter reviews the related and relevant literature which provides a wider explanation on rural urban migration, causes of north-south migration, Female migrant issues, and motivation for head porters amongst others. The Third Chapter provide the methodology, the research design, including the population and sampling technique used to select respondents, primary and secondary data sources, data collection procedure, ethical issues and data analysis. The study area will also be examined under this section as well as the limitations of the study. The Fourth Chapter, the Penultimate Chapter deals with the analysis and discussions of the empirical findings on the socio-economic background of female head porters, the factors that compelled them to migrate from the north to the south, the challenges they confront in their work, and the strategies they (Kayaye) have adopted in the midst of the challenges. The Fifth Chapter, summarizes the key findings, draws conclusions and make some recommendations for actions and future research and praxis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter as indicated in chapter one reviews the related and relevant literature which provides a wider explanation on rural urban migration, causes of north-south migration, female migrant issues, and motivation for head porters amongst others. It organizes the review in themes such as migration concepts, British colonial policy and trends in internal migration in Ghana, the history of head portage in Ghana, and theoretical explanations for north-south migration in Ghana. In addition, it explains the theoretical foundation and the basic assumptions underpin this study. It provides the operational definition of terms as well as the relevance of the study. It finally, concludes by summarizing the findings which buttress the knowledge gap this study attempts at bridging.

In what follows, the theoretical foundation is discussed to elucidate the comprehensibility of the rural urban migration, causes of north-south migration, female migrant issues, and motivation for head porters amongst others.

2.1.0. Theoretical Foundation

There seems to be general consensus in the literature on migration that economic considerations are the main factor compelling people to migrate. Most studies on migration rely on the “push and pull” theoretical framework developed by Lee in 1966 to explain rural-urban migration, especially for head portage (Yeboah, 2008). This study finds this theory very suitable and hence it is explained as follows:

2.1.1. Push and Pull Theory

As indicated above the theoretical underpinning of the female head porters migration is subsumed under the rubric of economic theory called the Push and Pull theory. This theory was propounded by Lee in 1966. The theory was of the view or assumes that there are certain ‘push’ factors in the place of origin that trigger emigration of people. These factors may be economic, breakdown of the family system, peer influence, outmoded cultural practices, the socio-cultural environment, lack of education and employment opportunities, environmental factors, lack of social services and infrastructure in rural areas among others. Besides the economic considerations, social and political factors are also some of the causes of migration. These social factors include movement; to join spouses, to be free from burden posed by family members, to enjoy social services such as education and health from social amenities abundant in the urban areas and religious reasons. The political factors also include asylum and freedom from conflicts. Kesse (2004) argues that the architectural designs of markets in the Ghanaian cities which do not allow for the use of intermediate and modern modes of transports in the congested markets, promote the carriage of goods by human beings.

The socio-cultural environment in which female head porters live in Ghana are also known to influence the migration of girls to cities. Many migrant girls in Ghana come from poor rural communities in which children start earning their own independent incomes quite early, as well as contributing to family income. The ‘pull’ factors on the other hand include the perception of available jobs at the intended place of destination, better social services and infrastructure, and freedom from family pressure (Opare, 2003; Awumbila, 2007; Kwankye et al., 2007). This theory suggests that peoples’ desire to migrate involves a complex interplay of the conditions

they are experiencing in their place of origin, as well as their perception that their desires will be fulfilled in their place of destination.

Even though several researchers have written on female head porters and the challenges they are confronted with from several parts of the country, they have failed to shed more light on the strategies' these porters have adopted to make life comfortable for themselves. This study will therefore throw more light on the survival strategies adopted by female head porters in their work.

Meanwhile, Opare (2003) writing on the situation of the Kayaye at the Mallam Atta Market in Accra, argued that some Kayaye engage in the Kaya business to acquire possessions like utensils and clothes in their preparations towards marriage while others save money to enable them to undergo an apprenticeship in hairdressing or dressmaking. Some Kayaye want to earn income and send remittances to their families such as husbands, children, and parents back home. This situation is similar to that of the Makola Market where most of the female head porters do send some money back home to cater for their families' wellbeing. Some of the monies they remit to their families would also be used in purchasing certain equipment such as cooking utensils, sewing machines amongst others for themselves. When these female migrants arrive at urban areas, most of them do not have any relations or friends to support them financially. This leads them to settle in slum areas where accommodation is cheap, and the quality poor. Securing such cheap accommodation is one of the survival strategies employed by the Kayaye in the quest to spend little and save more money.

As cited by Theresa Yaaba Baah-Enumh & Martina Owusu Adoma [2012], most female head porters who fell below the age of 18 in the Kumasi Metropolis in the Ashanti Region live in

harsh and hazardous conditions such as poor housing, health care delivery, nutrition as well as water and sanitation. This is similar to the conditions of the Kayaye at the Makola market. The Makola market female head porters lack proper accommodation as most of them sleep in front of shops and some pack themselves in wooden structures. Where to bath and change their clothes after a hard day's work is another challenge in addition to proper nutrition as most of them do not cook but buy food from the market or roadside which are most often not nutritious enough. However, most of the female head porters at Makola have registered with the National Health Insurance Scheme [NHIS] and therefore have access to proper health care when they are sick. They however complain that the scheme does not cover 100% of health care as some of the medicines or drugs they need are not covered by the scheme.

2.1.2. Criticism of the Push-Pull Theory

Although the push-pull theory has been acknowledged as a defiance model that explains migration at various periods and has stood the test of time, it has also faced criticism. Many scholars are of the opinion that, it is difficult to determine which plus factors and which minus factors at both origin and destination are quantitatively the most important to different groups and classes of people. Moreover, the presence of intervening obstacles do not help demographers to identify which factors have major influence and which ones are minor factors. For this reason, Lee's theory offers little practical guidance for policy and decision-making in developing nations.

2.1.3. Basic Assumption

The guiding assumption of this study is that female porters had low socio-economic backgrounds that turn to expose them to vulnerabilities hence they have adopted innovative ways of mitigating against their challenges.

Even though there have been several researches on the challenges of head porters in the southern part of Ghana, none or only few of those researches have touched on the survival strategies adopted by the Kayaye as well as their contribution to the economies of southern and northern Ghana respectively. Therefore, this study posits that there are ominous challenges and plight of the northern female head porters popularly referred to as Kayaye, working at the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region and that the survival strategies they have adopted, their contributions to the respective economies of southern and northern Ghana have not been adequately addressed empirically

2.2.0 Review of Related and Relevant Literature

Many researchers and scholars have defined migration in different forms and ways. Migration has been defined by some researchers and scholars in terms of geography, territorial borders, length of time, etc. Generally, migration can be defined as the movement of people from one geographical location to another for the purpose of either taking up permanent or semi-permanent residences, usually across a political boundary. An example of non-permanent migration includes seasonal movements of migrant farm laborers' or miners from rural to urban centers. People can either choose to move on their own accord (voluntary migration) or be forced to migrate (involuntary migration) [National Geographic Society, 2005]. Voluntary migration may be the result of a person travelling willingly to other

geographical areas for the economic, diplomatic or educational purposes. On the other hand, involuntary or forced migration usually results from certain unfavorable conditions that exist in a person's place of abode, thereby compelling such a person to migrate to areas with more favorable conditions. These unfavorable factors include political persecution or civil wars, religious persecution and abuse of human rights such as discrimination against witches, Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) persons.

Migration may be categorized as internal or external. Internal Migration manifests in various forms: urban-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and rural-urban. Rural-urban migration is the most common aspect of internal migration. Most poor people in rural or remote areas embark on this form of migration because of the higher cost associated with travelling far to areas outside their national boundaries, although there might be other reasons. As a result, the percentage of people who engage in internal migration is far higher than those of external migration for greener pastures. In line with this, UNDP Human Development Report (2009) has argued that the number of internal migrants is nearly four times the number of migrants who travel to other nations. Rural-urban migration is not only common in Ghana but is a major pattern of flow of migrants in West Africa. This implies that more people are leaving the more agrarian communities and other rural economic engagements in search of jobs in the towns and cities. The focus of this research work is however on the migration of female migrants from the rural-northern parts of Ghana to the urban- southern part of Ghana.

2.2.1 British Colonial policy and trends in internal migration in Ghana

Migration of people from one part of the Ghanaian society to another can be traced back to the colonial period. However, it is important therefore to state that internal migration of people from

the north to the south of Ghana cannot be understood independent of colonial policy of the British colonial masters. The British sought to develop the southern parts of Ghana while leaving the north largely undeveloped. The British under its colonial policy, designated or earmarked the north as a labour reserve for the south. This is because the British made conscious efforts to develop the south through investments in mining, timber and cash crops whose export abroad were facilitated by harbors' and ports, and left the northern part undeveloped. The result of this colonial policy is that it stimulated migration of large numbers of northerners to the south, especially in industry-concentrated urban centers and cocoa-growing areas of Accra, Tema in the Greater Accra, Kumasi in the Ashanti and Sekondi-Takoradi in the Western Regions.

The poverty situation in the three northern regions of Ghana was further intensified by liberalization and Structural Adjustment Programs of the 1990s because of their impact on the agricultural sector, which is the main economic activity in the North. These Neo-liberal policies led to the removal of subsidies on fertilizer, healthcare and social services, with devastating effects on women and children. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2005), even though there is evidence that national poverty levels were declining steadily, there was evidence that poverty in the north continued to rise, making the people very vulnerable and excluded. I must state that since women in the north are mainly engaged in agriculture, the effects of Structural Adjustment made their situation worse off, with respect to the security of their livelihood. It is therefore interesting to note that until quite recently, the north-south migration trend which was male-dominated has taken on a new dimension. Historically, colonial regimes contributed to the dominance of male migration and low coverage of female migration. While male migrants left rural areas for urban or plantation areas to work, female migration was discouraged during the colonial period. Mbilinyi (1985) argues that in colonial times, policies were formulated and

implemented to discourage women from migrating to towns, plantations and mining areas. For example, women could not accompany a contract labourer unless in possession of a marriage certificate or a letter of authority from the Native Authority (Njombe n.d. quoted in Mbilinyi, 1985). Female migration was also curtailed deliberately because of the need to confine women to the domestic sphere (Mbilinyi, 1985). Women were expected to produce in the farms and cater for family members rather than becoming a burden in urban areas. Whereas in the past, it was the norm for females not to move from the northern part of Ghana to join their husbands or relatives in the south for economic and social reasons, it is now common for female adolescents to travel independent of family to markets in urban centers in Accra and Kumasi to work as Kayaye.

According to Anarfi et al. (2003), northern Ghana in particular has been identified as a region of high internal out-migration. Traditionally, north-south migration in Ghana was largely male-dominated, long-term and long distance. However, due to the prevailing economic difficulties, a new dominant north-south migration stream emerged; that of female adolescents moving independent of their families, largely towards the cities. People migrate from their respective communities due to the lack of productive economic activities during the prolonged dry season. This is because unlike the southern regions which have double rainfall seasons, the northern regions have a single rainfall season - three months of rains annually. The area experiences prolonged dry season which makes farming during this period nearly impossible due to the absence of water which is a critical ingredient in farming. As an adaptive measure, the rural people migrate from their communities to areas in the southern part of Ghana in search of job opportunities to fend for themselves and their families back home (in the north). Thus, migration served as a survival strategy to support the family. According to Kwankye et al, (2007), cited in Baah-Enumh et al, (2012:230), more than half of all migrants today are women and girls, with

many of them migrating independently rather than as part of a family. The Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), now Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, estimated that as many as 40,000 porters, most of whom are girls under age 18 years lived on the streets in major cities, including Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi. Many of the Kayaye have little or no basic educational background, lack access to decent shelter, health care, personal security, and are often targets of exploitation, harassment and violence.

2.3.0. History of Head Portage in Ghana

According to Kwankye et al. (2007), the activities of head portage predate the colonial period. In their view, the absence of modern means of transportation especially in rural areas led to head portage becoming a major means of transporting goods in Ghana.

Thus, head portage emerged as a strategy to fill the void created by the absence of modern technology for transporting goods. Agarwal et al. (1997), have argued that historically, domestic head portage in Ghana was confined to women. It is very common to find several women in rural areas in Ghana and other parts of Africa carrying farm produce and firewood or other loads of goods on their heads. This continues to be practiced in rural and urban areas in modern times. It is important to state that head portage during the pre-colonial and early colonial period was largely confined to domestic activities and did not have economic orientation. The shift in head portage from a predominantly domestic activity to a vibrant economic activity that employed several vibrant sections of the society can be ascribed or attributed to male migrants from the Sahelian areas of West Africa, especially Mali (Kwankye et al., 2007). At this time, head portage was virtually dominated by males and those who engaged in the practice were referred to as, Kaya (Baah-Ennumh and Adom-Asamoah, 2012). In modern or contemporary times, head

porterage has become very popular because it is comparatively cheaper and the most convenient mode of transport, especially in the absence of vehicular modes of transport between market places and bus terminals. The Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, under the Second Republic of the Progress Party (PP) under Dr. K. A. Busia, saw the expulsion of several foreigners from Ghana. Contrary to popular notions, the Aliens Compliance Order did not aim at expelling all foreigners from Ghana, but rather those who did not have genuine permits to stay and work in Ghana. This policy had the unintended effect of ‘killing’ the kaya business since most of the people who practiced it were affected by the expulsion order. The vacuum created by the expulsion was eventually filled by Ghanaians, with the activity still dominated by males. The difference was however in terms of technology. The men preferred to transport their loads using hand trucks instead of their heads. It is generally agreed in the literature that certain factors such as unplanned buildings and structures, human and vehicular traffic made it difficult to effectively use trucks, thus leading to the reintroduction of head porterage, which was more suited to congested markets. Head porterage therefore became the most preferred and convenient means of transporting goods from one part of the city to another, dominated exclusively by young girls and women. This activity of female head porters is popularly referred to as Kayayei. Kaya is a Hausa word which means goods, while yoo is a Ga word meaning woman or girl.

2.4.0. Conceptual Framework

The review of related literature which provides a wider explanation on rural urban migration, causes of north-south migration, Female migrant issues, motivation for head porter amongst others

2.5.0. Operational Definition of Terms

Several female migrants mainly from the northern part of Ghana migrate to the south to work as porters (*kayayei*) in markets. These teenage girls and young women engage almost exclusively in the carrying of luggage on their heads for a fee. A woman who engages in such a business is referred to as a *kayayoo*. *Kaya* in the Hausa language means luggage, load or goods whilst *Yoo* means woman in Ga, the language of the indigenes of Accra, the Ghanaian capital. A *kayayoo* is thus a young woman or a teenage girl who carries other people's loads on the head for a fee. The plural form of *yoo* is *yei*, hence *kayayei* are women head porters.

2.6.0. Relevance of the Study

This study augments or to adds to the existing literature on migration in order to throw more insights on the challenges facing female migrant porters and the strategies they adopt in the face of these challenges.

This study serves to enhance further academic and research works on migration and its challenges.

The study contributes to the Migration Policy which Ghana adopted in 2016 by providing research evidences on migration related issues in the country and beyond.

2.7.0. Chapter Summary

This work reviews themes such as migration concepts, British colonial policy and trends in internal migration in Ghana, the history of head portage in Ghana, and theoretical explanations for north-south migration in Ghana.

Even though there have been several researches on the challenges of head porters in the southern part of Ghana, none or only few of those researches had touched on the survival strategies adopted by the Kayaye as well as their contribution to the economies of southern and northern Ghana respectively. Therefore, this research work focuses on the challenges and plight of the northern female head porters popularly referred to as Kayaye, working at the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region and the survival strategies they have adopted and their contributions to the respective economies of Southern and Northern Ghana

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the various methods and techniques that will be used to achieve the purpose and conclusion of this research work. The chapter involves the data sources, sampling techniques, data analysis, approaches, research design, sample frame, and data collection procedure. The qualitative research approach was adopted to explore stakeholder engagement in improving the challenges faced by head porters in Ghana. The qualitative research strategy provides a way to get an in-depth understanding of policy direction, roles and impact of stakeholders and challenges in addressing the numerous challenges head porters face in Ghana.

3.1.0. Methods

This study deployed qualitative research method involving in-depth interviews to solicit information on the coping mechanism of the head porters in mitigating against their low socio-economic background in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, specifically using Makola Market area for the field study.

In spite of the busy nature of their work, female migrants were kind enough to allow me interview them especially when they were relaxing. Another factor was the outbreak of the novel Corona Virus Pandemic which has slowed down business for them. Thus, I was able to interact with some of the female porters for lengthy periods. Most of the responses were captured through the use of a recorder. The majority of the interviews were conducted in Dagbani, and the fact that I spoke their language greatly worked to my advantage. A few interviews were conducted in Twi. I observed their work activities, conditions and environment in a way which did not make them feel uncomfortable. Sometimes, I engaged the female migrants in short

conversations in order to make them feel comfortable while working. Observation of their work activities, conditions and environment were written down.

3.2.0. Research Design

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), a study design is a plan of how a researcher intends to conduct a research. A research design is usually made up of four key components; (a) the research questions, (b) what data to collect, (c) data collection methods and (d) data analysis. The primary objective of a research design is to help the researcher to avoid a situation in which the evidence in a study does not address the research questions. In order to generate a deeper and better understanding of the challenges and strategies adopted by the northern female migrants from their own perspectives, the study therefore, used the qualitative research approach method for the design. In the view of Saunders et al. (2007), qualitative approach helps a researcher to have a better understanding of the problems to be investigated.

3.2.1. Population

A population can be defined as the larger group from which individuals are selected to participate in a research work or study. It is also the sum of all the individuals who have certain characteristics and are of interest to a researcher. However, due to the large size of populations, researchers often cannot test every individual in the population because it is too expensive and time-consuming. For this reason, researchers limit themselves to sampling. Sampling is the process of selecting a representative number of units (e.g. people, organizations, cities) from a population of interest, in order to fairly generalize results to the population from which the sample was drawn (Welman and Mitchel, 2005). Population for this study includes all northern female migrant porters working at the Makola Market, of the Greater Accra.

3.2.2. Sample Frame

Purposive sampling and snowballing were used to select respondents for the study. The main limitation of these sampling techniques is that the sample may not be representative of the population, and thus the extent to which findings from the study could be generalized is limited.

3.2.3. Sample Techniques

Sampling is the process of selecting a representative number of units (e.g. people, organizations, cities) from a population of interest, in order to fairly generalize results to the population from which the sample was drawn (Welman,2003 and Mitchel, 2005). Population for this study includes all northern female migrant porters working at the Makola Market, of the Greater Accra Region. In-depth interviews and direct observation were used to collect data. An interview guide was also used for the in-depth interviews while information gained from observation was written in a field notebook. In-depth interviews were conducted in Dagbani, Twi and English, since the majority of female migrants could speak these languages, direct observation enable the researcher to objectively study the work conditions and environment of female migrants in order to compare it to responses given by interviewees.

3.2.4. Sample Size

A total of thirty (30) female migrants, aged, fourteen (14) to thirty-five (35) were interviewed to gain insights into the challenges and strategies adopted by female porters working at the Makola market. In-depth interviews and direct observation were used to collect data.

3.3.0 Sources of Data

The study used both primary and secondary sources of data to provide the required responses to the research questions. The Primary data for the study was derived from in-depth interviews and observation. Secondary sources of gathering and collecting information included already researched materials on related topics, relevant publications, credible internet sources, books, and journals.

a) Technique of Data Analysis

The data collected involved transcribing the tape-recorded interviews, extracting relevant information from the transcriptions, summarizing and interpreting. In addition, notes recorded through field observation were summarized and interpreted. The socio-demographic background of respondents were represented in the form of tables and placed under specific themes. With respect to data analysis, responses that represented the plurality of opinions or that suggested extreme views were recorded verbatim and placed under specific themes.

This study use both primary and secondary data. Primary data for the study will be derived from in-depth interviews and observation. Secondary sources of gathering and collecting information such as already researched materials on related topics, relevant publications, credible internet sources, books, journals will also be referred to for reliable information. These sources will provide the researcher with credible and requisite material and information used in the literature review.

3.4.0. Ethical Issues

Ethical considerations were observed in the entire process of data collection. Permission was sought from respondents before conducting the interviews. The purpose of the research was

made known to them, respondents were assured of confidentiality, and information given will not be disclosed to other respondents.

3.5.0. Limitations/ Delimitations

This study adds to the body of knowledge that exists on migration in order to throw more insight on the challenges facing female migrant porters and the strategies they adopt in the face of these challenges; however, a possible limitation with this research sampling technique is that the sample may not be representative of all the population, and thus the findings from the study could not be generalized. One major limitation of the research is that it is a case study focusing on only strategies adopted by northern female head porters and the strategies they have adopted in the face of the challenges that are peculiar to porters at the Makola Market meaning that the conclusions and results may not be applicable to head porters in general.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE STRATEGIES OF HEAD PORTERS (KAYAYE) IN COPING WITH THEIR LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND IN THE GREATER ACCRA REGION, GHANA USING KAYAYE AT THE MAKOLA MARKET ACCRA AS A CASE STUDY

4.0. Introduction

This chapter analysis the strategies of head porters from the Northern regions of Ghana, in coping with their low socio-economic background. This chapter also explored the push and pull factors that compelled female migrants to migrate from the northern parts of Ghana to Accra, specifically the Makola Market, of the Greater Accra Region, to work as head porters (Kayaye).

4.1.0. Transcription of Key Findings

4.1.1. Demographic Background of Female Porters

Interviews I had with these female porters indicated that out of the total of thirty (30) respondents, the majority fell between the ages of 15-45. In addition, data collected showed that the highest educational level attained by female porters was primary education only few had secondary education. This is due to the fact that most of them dropped out of school during the early stages of primary education. This finding is in line or consistent with the study by Kuyini (2011), which found that most of the Kayaye had never been to school or had very little education.

4.2.0. Region where female porters come from

Table-1.1:

Region where female porters migrated from

REGION	NUMBER
Northern Region	5
Upper West	10
Upper East	3
North East	7
Savana Region	5
TOTAL	30

4.3.0. Factors that prompted female porters to migrate

The explanations given by female porters for migrating, supports the “push and pull” theory developed by Lee (1966) cited in Yeboah (2008). The theory states that people’s desire to migrate involves a complex interplay of conditions they are experiencing in their places of origin, as well as their perception that their desires will be fulfilled in their place of destination. Several of the female porters interviewed mentioned poverty as a major factor that compelled them to migrate to Accra. According to them, their families’ survival depended on their ability to migrate to urban areas in order to earn money to support their families back home. Thus, migration should be seen as intricately linked to conditions that exists within the place of origin,

within the context of survival. Interestingly, some of them said that they travelled independent of their family, and were therefore not working to support their families' back home. Some of them also said that they were attracted by the social amenities and infrastructure that existed in Accra which could actually help them develop. In other words, they felt left behind and therefore decided to 'run' to Accra in order to benefit from these social amenities such as proper educational and health facilities, road networks, and even access to jobs. One of the female porters was quick to say that the kind of lifestyle one of the returnees lived in the North made her decide to come to Accra because of her belief that her life would be transformed. The kind of clothes, bags and other nice stuff her returnee friend brought home attracted her to also join the bandwagon. When female porters were asked why they migrated to Accra and no other place, they said that most of their relatives and friends were already in Accra, and this made it quite easy for them to migrate to Accra. This shows that social networks play an important role in people's decision to migrate. The "push" and "pull" factors of migration failed to examine certain mediating factors that make people migrate. The point is that people may experience pressures from their places of origin or may be attracted by certain things in urban areas, but they may not migrate because of the absence of social networks in the place of destination. Some of the statements made in relation to their reasons for migrating are:

"I have been to school before but I stopped in primary three due to financial reasons. I came to Accra because I wanted to work and get some money to help my people back home" (Interview with Cynthia Tia Abugri, 28 year old female head porter).

"I am a native of Bimbila, I chose Accra because I was deceived by friends that there are a lot of jobs waiting for people in Accra. My sister, when I got here the story was different" (Agatha Bukari, 32 year old female head porter).

"I have been in this job for about 7 years now. I was motivated to migrate to Accra because of the kind of lifestyle my returnee neighbour from Accra was living- I thought things were easier over here" (24 year old ,Rebecca Tingoli).

"Poverty in my place was the main reason why I migrated to Accra to seek for greener pastures but I never knew this is the kind of work our people are engaged in until I got here" (34 year old Samia Musah from Tamale North).

However, through interactions with the female head porters, I found out that it is not always true that people migrate from the North to Accra due to poverty. There are several reasons for migration from the north to Accra to work as Kayaye in the various market centers of the capital, Accra. Amongst the reasons for migration is the search for additional income, socialization, or just for fun as well as curiosity. Some of the female porters pointed out that their reasons for migrating to Accra was not because of poverty. "They indicated that they have no problem with what to eat because they are assured of three square meals on a daily basis back home in the North. They however chose to migrate because they needed additional income to be able to purchase certain basic things for themselves." "My father has a large cattle farm and we are not poor as we always have what to eat at home but I chose to migrate because I needed money to do things for myself" Alamisi said. "She was also of the view that her father would not afford to sell one or two cattle just to cater for her needs", hence her decision to migrate to Accra to work as a Kayaye at the Makola Market.

One female porter also told me that she travelled down south to Accra just for fun or to reunite with an old school mate who has been staying in Accra for some time. She said; "I only came to Accra to reunite with my good friend but I ended up working as a Kayaye here at the Makola Market, because that is the work my friend is engaged in. My family is not poor as both of my

parents are working and making sure that we are not deprived of our daily meals. My father has a large farm whilst my mother sells at the market.”

I also found out that some travel to Accra due to curiosity and they end up working as female head porters. One, Atinga told me that she heard people travel to Accra to work and make money. She was therefore curious to know how Accra looks like and the kind of work people especially her female colleagues from the North do in Accra. Thus, she joined the bandwagon to migrate to Accra and work in the kaya business.

Therefore, it is not always true that the reason(s) for the migration of females from the northern part of Ghana to Accra is due only to poverty, as there are other outstanding reasons.

4.4.0. Nature of the Kaya Business

Interviews with female porters generally indicated that the head portage business is quite difficult, since it involved carrying of loads that are sometimes heavy. Most of them said that the kayaye came in two forms, those who work with stores in the market and those who solicited for customers. Those who worked with stores usually sat at the entrance and carried items that a customer bought from the store. The charges in such instance were fixed, compared to female porters who solicited for clients. The porters who had to solicit for customers said that they were often cheated by their customers and sometimes insulted and verbally abused. The kaya business involves bargaining with a potential customer over a fee and carrying heavy loads over usually short distances to mainly transport terminals where customers board their vehicles. The fee charged by porters depends on the weight of the load being carried, familiarity with customer, and distance over which the load will be carried. They indicated that it was easier to maneuver loads on the head through the market because of human and vehicular traffic, and the congested

nature of the market. Thus, they prefer carrying the goods on their head rather than using mechanized equipment. On the nature of the Kaya Business, they described it as carrying loads on their heads for people for a fee. With respect to remuneration, there were varied answers. On a good day, some said they earned between Twenty Five to Forty Ghana Cedis [GHc25 to Ghc40], while others said that one could earn as much as Fifty Ghana Cedis [GHc50], depending on the client. However, when business is on the low, you can earn as low as Five Ghana Cedis [GHc5].

4.5.0. Discussions of Key Findings

In the previous chapters, chapter 1.2 and 3, this study diagnosed the problem under study, set out the procedure to investigate the problem by providing a clear methodology after reviewing the related and relevant literature. Here, it is only right to do some prognosis in the light of the objectives. At this point, this study discusses the key findings in the light of the objectives and the basic assumption of the study. In what follows, the objectives of the study are presented and discussed below:

As indicated in chapter 1, this study is to bring to fore the problems facing northern female head porters (Kayaye) working at the Makola Market, in the Greater Accra Region, it sought to:

1. Examine the socio-economic background of female migrants at the Makola market.
2. Investigate the factors that prompted female migrant porters to migrate down south. (Pull in and push out factors as stated by Lee (1966))
3. Examine the nature of the *kaya* business

Kayaye Phenomenon in Ghana begun in the late 1980s and includes the conveying of goods from one place to another which also involves bargaining.

4. Explore the challenges facing female migrant porters.

Female head porters face several challenges as a result of migration to the urban centers

(Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf, 2008, Kuyini, 2011,)

5. Examine the ways in which female migrant porters deal with the challenges they face in their work

Moreover, the guiding assumption of this study is that female porters had low socio-economic backgrounds that turn to expose them to vulnerabilities, hence they have adopted innovative ways of mitigating against their challenges.

Even though there have been several researches on the challenges of head porters in the southern part of Ghana, none or only few of those researches have touched on the survival strategies adopted by the Kayaye as well as their contribution to the economies of southern and northern Ghana respectively. Therefore, this study posits that there are ominous challenges and plight of the northern female head porters popularly referred to as Kayaye, working at the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region and that the survival strategies they have adopted, their contributions to the respective economies of southern and northern Ghana have not been adequately addressed empirically. In what follows, this section does some discussions based on the key findings in relation to the challenges facing female head porters and their coping strategies or mechanism.

4.6.0. Challenges Facing Female Head Porters

In the day to day adventure of every human, there are challenges we encounter, especially in the administration and running of our businesses. Interviews with female porters showed that they faced five major challenges relating to their work and general living conditions; economic, accommodation, health, security and harassment. Some of them mentioned that they sometimes

earned very little after working so hard (from 6am to 7pm). This made life quite difficult for them since the monies earned were for feeding, clothing, among others. A major challenge facing female migrant porters is accommodation.

They sleep in the open, mostly at the Makola Market, Tema and Afloa stations respectively and some, in front of shops. Getting accommodation in Accra is not an easy thing and the majority of these ladies have to go through the hardship of sleeping outside because they cannot afford it or there is none available. During the rainy season, they cover themselves with rubber to prevent the rain from touching them but when it rains heavily, they have no option than to stand in the rain till it subsides. One of the female porters said:

“We are confronted with a lot of challenges – place of shelter is our number one challenge as we have nowhere to lay our heads after our hard days job. We sleep in the open. We are also confronted with the problem of criminals and thieves who steal the little monies that we have earned at night. They sometimes have sex with us just to give us a place to sleep” (Amama, 25 year old head porter).

Health wise, they mentioned that some of the sicknesses they experience are directly related to their work and living conditions. These include fatigue, bodily pains and stress as well as malaria. One female porter mentioned STDs as being prevalent among female porters. She said that some of the female porters sometimes engaged in prostitution as a strategy to augment their earnings, while others contract STDs from rape. They also said that their children were prone to cholera because of the poor sanitary conditions they live in. They also lack proper sanitation places such as bath houses and places of convenience, and often have to join long queues in order to bath or access place of convenience. Fati Kunyo from the Savana Region says,

One other serious challenge these female porters face has to do with security. During the interviews, most of them said that they were often attacked by thieves during the night because of where they sleep. These thieves at times succeeded in stealing the little monies that they have earned during the day. There are times they get raped by the thieves or even men around their areas of business.

I observed that most of the female porters had children with them, but when I tried to enquire about their fathers, they could not tell me much. One of them who only gave her name as Chiringa, said that she gave birth to her only child whilst in the North and that she is the one who is solely taking care of the child. Some of them explained that because they had no convenient place to sleep, men who rooms had lured them into their rooms under the pretext of accommodating them, and ended up sleeping with them. Interestingly however, once they got pregnant, they were left to cater for themselves during and after the pregnancy. The following section is also devoted to the discussions of the strategies adopted by the female head porters in coping with their low socio-economic challenges

4.7.0. Strategies Adopted by Female Porters to Mitigate their Challenges

Interviews with female porters showed that in spite of the challenges facing them, they had found innovative ways of dealing with these challenges. With respect to economic challenges facing them, female porters had resorted to saving a part of their earnings with Susu collectors, in order to accumulate money over a period of time. This has also made it difficult for thieves to steal their monies while they were asleep. They are engaged in washing dirty clothes and engaging in other house chores for people around their surroundings for a fee during the weekends. They as well carry mortar at construction sites around neighboring areas like Osu to augment their little

income from the kaya business. Some also resort to prostitution in order to augment their finances while others resort to stealing. With respect to health, a few of them have acquired treated mosquito nets to sleep under while others burn mosquito coils to deal with mosquitoes. In terms of preventing sexual harassment, the female porters have adopted the strategy of sleeping closely together to prevent men from sexually harassing them. This is because they realized that rape often occurs where they are isolated. Some of them have also adopted the strategy of sleeping with males in exchange for protection from other men.

4.8.0. Conclusion

The guiding assumption of this study is that even though there have been several researches on the challenges of head porters in the southern part of Ghana, none or only few of those researches have touched on the survival strategies adopted by the Kayaye as well as their contribution to the economies of southern and northern Ghana respectively. Therefore, this study posits that there are ominous challenges and plight of the northern female head porters popularly referred to as Kayaye, working at the Makola Market in the Greater Accra Region and that the survival strategies they have adopted, their contributions to the respective economies of southern and northern Ghana have not been adequately addressed empirically.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

The challenges facing female migrant porters from the northern regions of Ghana were explored, as well as the survival strategies they have adopted in the face of these challenges. The study examined specifically, the socio-economic background of female migrant porters, reasons for migrating, nature of their work, challenges and strategies adopted to deal with these challenges.

5.1. Summary of Key Findings

5.1.1. Demographic Background of Female Migrants

The study found that majority of female migrant porters had low educational backgrounds, with the highest level being primary education. In addition, the majority of them fell between the ages of 15-45 years, with the largest number of them coming from the Northern Region.

5.1.2 Factors That Compelled Female Porters to Migrate.

The factors that led females to migrate can be grouped into economic, social and environmental factors. It was found that some of them migrated in order to augment their families' income. The study also found that some of the female porters travelled independent of their family, and were therefore not working to support their families' back home. The study also found that peer pressure from their friends who had returned home with some form of wealth, and social amenities and infrastructure that existed in Accra influenced their decision to migrate. The study

also found that social network in urban areas played a very important role in the migration decisions of females.

5.1.3. Nature of the Kaya Business

The study found that the kaya business involved carrying of heavy loads from one point of the market mainly to transportation terminals. The kaya business also involves bargaining with potential customers over a fee and carrying heavy loads over usually short distances to mainly transport terminals where customers boarded vehicles. The fee charged by porters depended on the weight of the load being carried, familiarity with customer, and distance over which the load was carried.

The study found that the northern female porters faced five main challenges in their work and living conditions, including economic, accommodation, health, security and harassment. These challenges made them vulnerable in terms of health, sanitation, accommodation and security. Interestingly, the female porters have developed coping mechanisms to mitigate these challenges.

The study found that the female porters had resorted to saving a part of their earnings with Susu collectors in order to accumulate money over a period of time. Female porters also adopted a strategy of engaging in labor jobs such as carrying of mortar, stones and sand at construction sites and also washing of clothes and undertaking house chores during weekends for people around their working areas. These kind of activities help in raking some extra amounts to augment the little income they earn in the head porterage business. Some also resorted to prostitution in order to augment their finances. With respect to health, it was found that some of them had acquired treated mosquito nets to sleep under. With respect to sexual harassment, the female porters adopted the strategy of sleeping closely together to prevent men from sexually

harassing them. This is because they realized that rape often occurs when they are isolated. Some of them have also adopted the strategy of sleeping with specific males in exchange for protection from other men.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings this study makes the following recommendations:

5.2.1. Recommendation For Policy Action

Migration policies should incorporate challenges facing female migrants in order to be able to specifically address issues facing female migrants. I believe that such an approach will effectively help in addressing general migration concerns of women, rather than aggregating them.

5.2.2. Recommendation For Stakeholder Action

There is the need for intensive education of migrants and those intending to migrate through the media and other channels to bring to fore the realities that female migrants face in urban areas. This, I believe will go a long way to address the migration issues since most of the female porters were unaware of the respective work and living conditions in urban centers prior to their coming. I will also recommend that the government through the Ministries of Women, Gender and Social Protection, the Interior and Local Government and Rural Development as well as the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies [MMDAs] put up accommodation for these female migrants in Accra and other places to help ease their plight in terms of shelter. Non-Governmental Organizations [NGOs] and Civil Society Organizations' [CSOs] should also partner the government in educating people of northern Ghana on the negative trends of irregular migration to the southern parts of the country. Finally, I will recommend for the government to create jobs, provide social amenities and proper infrastructure such as schools, health centers,

and recreational places amongst others in the northern part of the country. I believe when such things and others are in existence in the North, it will discourage female migrants from descending all the way from these parts of Ghana in search of non-existent jobs in Accra and other cities such as Tema, Takoradi, Kumasi amongst others.

5.2.3. Recommendation for future research and praxis

The menace of the Kaya business has come to stay in the Ghanaian society and a concerted effort needs to be taken to ensure that the Kayaye working conditions are improved. The researcher offers the following recommendation for future research work on internal migration and its ensuing challenges as well as strategies adopted by Northern female head porters in Ghana be embarked on to address the issues effectively.

5.3.0. Conclusions

This study examined the challenges facing female migrant porters from the Northern parts of Ghana and the strategies they have adopted in mitigating these challenges. The study concludes that although female migrant porters are faced with a myriad of challenges, they should not be viewed as incapable helpless people who cannot do anything about their situation. They are very much aware of their challenges and have put in place mechanisms, strategies and measures to make their situation better. The study also concludes that there is the need to incorporate social networking into the “push” and “pull” factors of migration, rather than assuming that people only migrate due to pressure from their places of origin or factors within the place of destination.

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APPENDIX

SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide for Female Head Porters

Dear respondent, I am a Master's Degree student of the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ), in Accra. I have designed this interview guide to collect data for a study on: Problems facing female head porters [Kayaye] working at the Makola Market: All information provided is for research purposes and strict, confidentiality will be exercised in the use of the information. I will be very grateful if you agree to answer the following questions.

1. Please may I know your name and age?
2. What is your educational background?
3. Please what part of Ghana are you from?
4. Why did you leave your original place of abode for Accra?
5. Can you please tell me why you chose to come to Accra and not any other town?
6. Are your family members aware you are in Accra? If yes, did they support you to travel to Accra?
7. Why did you choose to work as a head porter in the Makola Market?
8. Can you please tell me about the kaya business (nature, activities, wages, etc)
9. What are some of the challenges (e.g. economic, social, accommodation, health and sanitation, security) that confront you in your work as porters at Makola?
10. Please do the porters have any association? If so do you belong to the association?
11. Can you please tell me why the association was formed?
12. Please in what ways are you dealing with the challenges you are facing in terms of your work activities and the general conditions you are facing?

13. Please do you intend returning to your original place of abode one day? Under what conditions will you return?

Thank you.