

MOTIVATION AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF KAYAYEI



ASHESI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

UNDERSTANDING THE MOTIVATION AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF KAYAYEI
IN THE GHANAIAN ECONOMY: THE KAYAYEI EXPERIENCE

BY

TENI AGANA

Thesis submitted to the Department of Business Administration Ashesi University
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degree in Business Administration

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature:

Candidate's Name: Teni Agana

Date: 30th April, 2018

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the Thesis were supervised in accordance with the guideline of supervision of applied projects laid down by Ashesi University College.

Supervisor's Signature:

Supervisor' Name: Mrs. Rebecca Awuah

Date: 30th April, 2018

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ABSTRACT

Kayayei is an occupation in Ghana that involves carrying items in the market from one place to another for a fee. Kayayei is not a crime neither is it an immoral act, but the social, economic and health issues associated with the work makes it dangerous.

A lot of interventions have been created in the north but the kayayei phenomenon is increasing. This research sought to understand the motivations and circumstances that influence women from the north to migrate to the southern part of Ghana to work as kayayei rather than engage in the various interventions that have been established for them.

Using a qualitative approach, data was collected from people from Sherigu, Sumbrugum and Zaare, all in the Upper East region through interviews and questionnaires. The convenience sampling method was used and the sample size for the questionnaires was 50, and 15 out of them were interviewed.

From the data collected, some of the circumstance to migrate include crop failures, few opportunities, rural poverty, inability to save, low wages as well as inadequate jobs. Also, some of the motivation to migrate include, the promise of greener pastures, job opportunities, ability to save and peaceful environment. Most importantly, some of the challenges with the interventions included lack of proper planning, lack of constant supply of raw materials, bias/corruption, low wages and inadequate jobs.

It was recommended that the various initiatives should be evaluated before they are set-up. Also, the minimum wage in Ghana should be enforced by the government in the various interventions.

Keywords: Kayayei, Migration, Urban Intervention, Initiatives, northern, southern.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ID – Identification

KAYA- Kayayei Youth Association

NGO- Non- Governmental Organization

SADA – Savannah Accelerated Development Authority

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Overview and Background

Kayayei, also known as head-porter, is an occupation in Ghana that involves carrying items in the market from one place to another for a fee. Most kayayei are women from the three northern regions of Ghana. They move from the north of the country to the south mainly in search of jobs to support their families as well as make a living (Huijsmans, 2012). The communities in the northern part of Ghana are seasonal farming communities, and the harvests are frequently not enough to sustain families until the next harvest, therefore, most of the women migrate from the north to seek greener pastures in the southern part of Ghana. However, there are other factors that influence these women to migrate from the north to the south, to work as kayayei despite the anticipated challenges they may encounter.

This paper seeks to understand the motivations and circumstances that influence women from the north to migrate to the south in the Ghanaian context. Data were derived from kayayei women in both Accra as well as the north. Also, other stakeholders involved in this issue were engaged such as the managers and project leaders of the various programs and initiatives established in the north. Most importantly, the various initiatives and programs itself were analyzed and evaluated. The focus of this paper is on the three-northern regions of Ghana.

The northern part of Ghana has fewer natural resources as compared to the southern part of the country (Huijsmans, 2012). During colonialism, the colonial administrators, settled in the southern part of the country since the north had less of the things they needed

(Awumbila, 2008). The colonial masters introduced these southerners to education and they also brought about other developmental projects in the south (schools, roads, hospital). Taking all these factors and others into consideration, the development of the Ghanaian economy has been skewed to the southern part of the country (Shamsu-Deen, 2013). This leaves the north deprived of amenities and poorer than those in the south.

The kayayei occupation has been in existence for a very long time and according to Shamsu-Deen (2013), kayayei started when migrants from Togo came to Ghana in 1970. It used to be a source of occupation for both male and female migrants from Togo (Shamsu-Deen, 2013). The men used the track to push the items to their various destinations while the women used basins to carry the items on their heads in the major markets in the south (Shamsu-Deen, 2013). Currently, Kayayei continues to be a major source of income for women, especially those from the three northern regions of Ghana.

Kayayei is not a crime, neither an immoral act, but the conditions under which these women work seems to be detrimental in many ways. These kayayei women's situation is severe because they move to the south, without knowing where their next meal will come from, where they will sleep at night and even where they will bathe (Awumbila, 2008). Apart from the health hazards they are exposed to, the kayayei phenomenon increases school drop-outs in the north, fewer human resource in the rural areas, increased unemployment in urban cities, pressure on social amenities in the south and increase in social ills such as robbery, prostitution, rape cases, teenage pregnancy and high levels of illiteracy in the north.

Many scholars have written about the issue of kayayei in the major cities of Accra and Kumasi. Some have highlighted the challenges and crises these women face as they go about their usual day-to-day activities. Also, some scholars have underlined the various job opportunities that have been provided by Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) and other stakeholders both internal and external, in the northern part of Ghana. These stakeholders seek to reduce the number of female migrants from the northern to the southern part of the country who are been exposed to these challenges. Jobs such as basket weaving centers, smock sewing centers, shea-better industries, dressmaker and hairdressing training are established in these regions to encourage women to stay rather than migrating to the south. However, the issue at hand is, are they actually achieving their vision and mission by creating these initiatives?

However, the establishment of jobs and initiatives have not prevented these women from moving to the major cities in southern Ghana and working as kayayei. Now, the question is why do these women choose to not stay in the north with their families and do the jobs that are being established for them? Rather, they travel all the way from the north to the south where they are exposed to bad living conditions. Is it that these jobs do not pay well or there are not enough jobs to reach everyone? Or is it that the working conditions are not favorable to these women or is it that they are not aware of the existence of the initiatives? Is there anything that they are missing from the jobs established in the north?

The main aim of this paper was to understand the motivations and circumstances that influence these women to migrate despite all the job opportunities created in the north. This study will also help to recommend to the Government, Non-Governmental Agencies and other interested stakeholders on the various ways that the kayayei occupation can be

improved in the south. Further recommendations will be made as to the various ways in which the jobs, initiatives, and programs established in the north could be made attractive, in order to minimize the number of women who migrate. This will also help give ideas on the way forward that the three northern regions of Ghana can be improved, in order to be attractive women who, migrate from the north to stay. This research will help policymakers to improve the quality of life of the people in the north. Most importantly, this research will help NGOs and other stakeholders to establish initiatives and programs that will be adopted by the people in the north. Finally, the research will help policymakers to improve the quality of life of kayayei working and living in the south.

1.2. Problem Statement

In recent times, NGOs and other stakeholders have provided initiatives, programs and job opportunities for women who migrate to the south as kayayei workers. However, these women still migrate to the south living the jobs and initiatives behind. Why do these women choose not to stay in the north and work in the jobs that have been provided to them? Also, how might the living conditions of these women in the south be improved? The only way we can answer all these questions is to get an in-depth understanding of these women, their circumstances and motivations as well as why they choose to do what they do.

1.3. Description of Research Problem

The number of kayayei workers who migrate from the north to the southern part of Ghana, increases every year (Opare, 2003). This has brought a lot of issues in both

northern parts as well as the southern part of Ghana. As a nation, what is the way forward to tackling this issue? According to Michael Porter (2008), every natural being has something that influences them to act, whether positively or negatively. Therefore, there is a need to understand kayayei's motivation as well as their circumstances and what influences them to do what they do.

According to Todaro & Smith (2015), in most developing countries most women are poorer than men and Ghana is not an exception. This therefore, explains the reason why these kayayei are mostly women. Most of these women in the north are poorer than the men because the household upkeep is in their hands. They have to make sure there is food in the house, take care of the children and as well as the husband (Opare, 2003).

However, these majority of women in the north have little to no education that will help them get well-paid jobs (Opare, 2003). Therefore, in order to make ends meet, they travel to seek greener pasture in the south in order to support their families and themselves.

1.4. Research Questions

Some of the questions, I will be exploring are:

- Why do these women choose not stay in the north and work in the training and jobs that have been provided by the NGOs and other stakeholders?
- What are some of the motivations that influence these women to migrate, despite the challenges they anticipate?
- Are there issues with the jobs provided in the north and why?
- How might we improve the living conditions of these women in both the south and that of the north?

1.5. Methodology

The research is a qualitative study as it seeks to understand the motivations of these women, hence an in-depth analysis is needed. A Phenomenological approach was used to understand people's perceptions and perspectives. The research tools included interviews, surveys and a non-random (Non-probabilistic) sampling method was employed. A convenience sample, which is a type of non-random sampling, involves selecting people who are available (or convenient) for the study employed, given the tight working schedules for kayayei workers during the day. More so, there is no particular place that these kayayei can be located at all times. Therefore, the few that were available at that time were used. The research included an in-depth interview on the motivation and circumstances of these women as well as how the north could be improved in order to reduce the number of people who migrate to the major cities to work as kayayei. These women provided suggestions on how the north could be improved, so as to reduce or minimize the number of women who migrate to the south.

1.6 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this paper is to understand the motivation and circumstances of the kayayei women in Ghana. The study also intends to find constructive ways in which the various initiatives, programs and jobs that have been provided in the north by NGOs and other stakeholder can be improved in order to attract these women to work there rather than travelling all the way to the south and being exposed to the various living conditions in the south.

1.7. Relevance of the Research

This research is not looking at the problems that these women face, but it is trying to understand these women's motivation and other factors that influence them to leave their homes, families, friend, love ones and move to places where they become strangers. This would help to identify the various means in which this nation can improve the kayayei experience in the south and also help reduce the number of kayayei women who migrate, by improving the various intervention that has been established in the north. This, in the long run, will help reduce the number of social issues as well as the overall development of the economy of Ghana and Africa as a whole. The research will also help NGOs to established initiatives and programs that will be adopted by the women in the north.

1.8. Conceptual Framework

The **push and pull model** is used to explain the factors leading to the migration of kayayei. Lee (1966) came up with the term push-and-pull model. This model takes into consideration the factors that attract (pull) people or drives (push) them away to migrate (Huijsmans, 2012). In the case of the kayayei, there may be things in the south that are attracting or pulling them, like social amenities such as electricity, education or the promise of greener pastures, easier to save money, job opportunities or better healthcare facilities. On the other hand, push factors that may drive them away may be forceful marriage, poor educational facilities, rural poverty, unemployment and inadequate social amenities and economic amenities as well as civil war in their various communities in the north. Below is a figure that illustrates the conceptual framework of the kayayei using Lee's model.

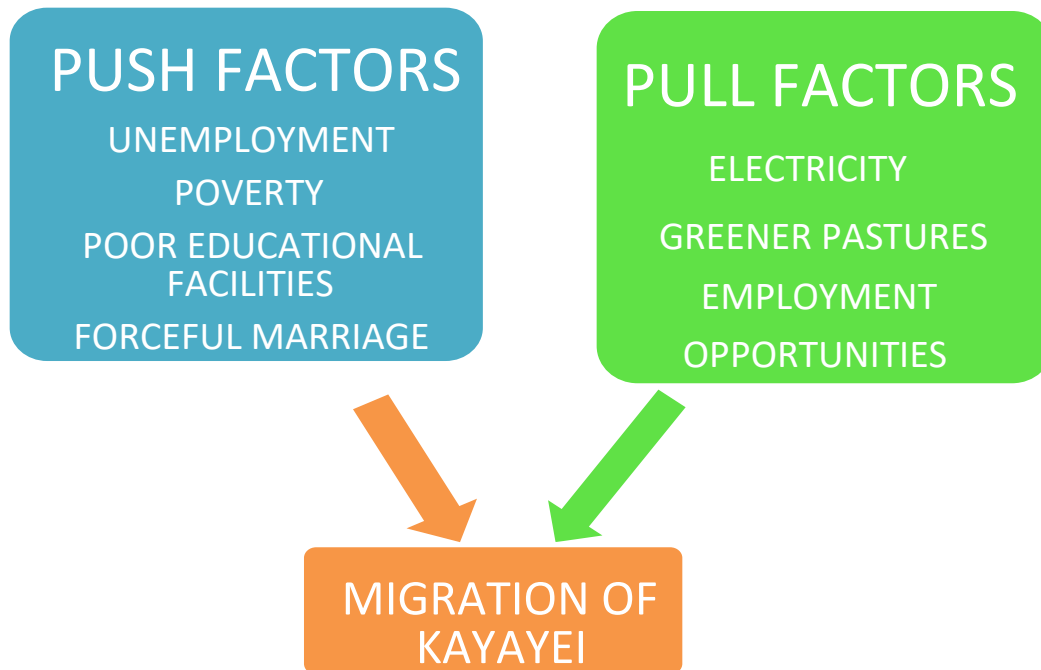


Figure 1: Push and pull factors to migration

Also, according to Opare (2003), people migrate for four reasons, which are Environmental, Economic, Cultural and Socio-political issues that they may face in their communities.

Environmental factors include the circumstances surrounding their environment, such as health. The economic factor is the economic situation of the individual at a particular time, which include employment opportunities (Opare, 2003). Culture, on the other hand, is the way of life of a particular people at a particular period of time. Therefore, there are some cultural practices that will influence people to migrate such as forceful marriage or female genital mutilation (Opare, 2003). Moreover, the Socio-political issues are another factor to consider. This involves political belief and social classes in the community in which one finds themselves. The figure below illustrates it.

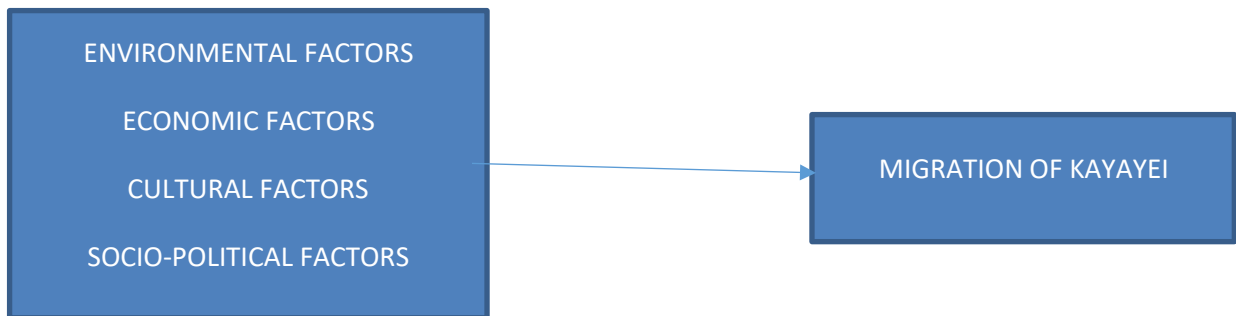


Figure 2: Factors to migrate

Moreover, according to Adu (2015), another migration theory is the **human capital theory**, this includes economic factors such as skills, age, gender, occupation, marital status and gender, that influence a person to migrate (Adu, 2015). This is because these factors will determine if that person is likely to gain employment. In the case of kayayei, migrants feel they will have access to reliable employment in the south.

Another migration theory that could be used to explain the migration of kayayei from the north to the southern part of the country is **aspiration theory**. According to (Adu, 2015), aspiration theory also known as “Intention Theory” which suggests that a person’s intention is the main determinate of their behavior. In this case, women in the north’s intention to migrate influences them to act or move.

Among the various migration theories that have been mentioned, I consider the push and pull factor to migrate to be the best theory in explaining the migration of kayayei from the north to the southern part of the country. Because there are negative factors in the north that push these women to migrate and other factors that pull these women from to

the south. Most importantly, I believe that all the other factors of migration find their root in the Push-Pull theory. (Opare, 2003).

1.9. Motivation

I would not have been in university if I had not worked as a kayayei for four years which enabled me to pay my school fees through my secondary school education. For this reason, I understand that kayayei is not a crime but an occupation that helps people earn a living or make a dream come true. However, the circumstances in which they work in the market and go about their normal day to day activities makes it difficult and unfavorable for their living conditions. Therefore, I want to understand other kayayei' motivations and their circumstances that makes them choose to work as kayayei. In my situation, my motivation was to work hard to get money to have a secondary school education and my circumstance was that my parents could not afford it. I believe that understanding more broadly why women migrate will help to find ways to improve their occupation as well as their circumstances. Also, this will help NGOs to established initiatives and programs that will be adapted by the people in the north. I intend to get an in-depth understanding of these women and find the various ways in which we could enhance their occupation and improve their circumstance, and this will be about development in the north and also eliminate some problems in the south as well as the overall development of the nation as a whole.

1.21. Scope and Limitation

The research was based on women who had worked as kayayei and were currently back home in the Upper East region of Northern Ghana. Data were obtained from Sherigu,

Sumbrugu, and Zaare all in the Upper East region. Also, the research included visiting several interventions, initiatives and program that had been set-up to address the issue were analyzed and evaluated.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Much literature has been written on the kayayei phenomenon and some have highlighted on the effects and challenge these migrants face (Boaten, 1997). Some have also proposed solutions such as the provision of employment opportunities so as to motivate these women to stay. Others have highlighted on the need to set-up a kayayei agency in the southern part of the country, so as to effectively elevate the kayayei occupation (Abdali, 2014). In recent time, NGOs and other stakeholders have created projects and initiatives which have provided job opportunities, training and funding for these women in the north, such as Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA), CAMFED, shea-butter companies, hairdressing, dress making and basket weaving (Boaten, 1997). However, the major markets of Accra and Kumasi are full of kayayei, which means the jobs and opportunities provided in the north by these organizations have not been fully utilized (Tufuor, 2009). It appears more research is needed to understand the circumstances and motivations behind women's decision to migrate from the north of Ghana to take up the kayayei occupation in the South.

2.2 The Working Conditions of the Kayayei

The living condition of kayayei are not favorable as they live and work in the south. First, these kayayei migrate to the south without knowing where they will sleep at night. At the end of the day, they sleep in the open space where they are exposed to the open weather, armed robbers, rapists as well as ritualists (Boaten, 1997). Hence, making the livelihood of kayayei in the south dangerous and problematic.

Kayayei are often maltreated by their customers. This is because, most people look down on northern migrants. When they are maltreated and insulted by their customers, it affects their emotional and physical wellbeing. Another challenge is that customers rather decide how much they should pay them for the transport services rendered (Opare, 2003).

2.3 The Health Issue of the Kayayei

The heavy loads these women carry affects them physically, especially their spines (Fournier & Padovani, 1958). However, the cost of going to the hospital for check-up prevents these women from accessing health care since they do not have enough money to pay the associated expenses (Bastien, Schepens, Willems & Heglund, 2005). They end up buying painkillers to soothe any pain they feel. Others also access cheaper drugs from men who carry drugs around in the market, these drugs might be expired, and the other issue is that the sellers of the drugs are not health professionals and so lack the needed knowledge on which drugs to take. This leads to precarious effects on the health of the kayayei.

Also, kayayei do not cook since they have nowhere to stay so they end up buying cheap food from the street since that is what they can afford (Shamsu-Deen, 2013). Most importantly, most kayayei do not eat a balanced diet and others do not eat three meals a day because they want to save and make money, a key reason why they migrated (Tufuor, 2009), and this affects the health of the kayayei.

2.4 The Case of Child Labor

The children's act of 1998, states that the minimum age for child employment is 15 years. However, in the major markets in Accra and Kumasi, children below the age of 15 are found working as kayayei (Azinga, 2015). This shows that some of the kayayei engage in

child labor which is illegal. Interestingly, these under-aged kayayei, who should not be working in the first place, pay tax to government officials in the market before they can work. This indicates that the government officials are not only aware of the existence of the child labor issue but they are encouraging the act (Azinga, 2015). Now the issue is, should these girls be allowed to work in the first place, since this serves as a livelihood for these children who have migrated from the north to make a living in the south (Tufuor, 2009).

2.5 Non-Governmental Organizations in Southern Ghana

There have been a number of interventions set up in the south to improve the livelihood of kayayei and that of their children. In southern Ghana, street girls' association have realized that the kayayei phenomenon cannot be stopped, so they have established a school for students below the ages of 15 (Baah-Ennumh, 2012). The aim is to give these girls education which will help them in the future.

Kaya Care, another project setup in the south, believe that children cannot decide which family they are born into so they provide education to the children of kayayei. This helps the kids get access to basic education and also help the mother to work efficiently and more freely. Most importantly it prevents the child from health hazards.

2.6 Past Interventions Established in the North and Proposed Solution

A number of non-governmental organizations have worked in the north in order to reduce the migration of girls and women to the south to become kayayei. Also, a number of solutions have been proposed by government officials and scholars. However, the kayayei phenomenon continues to be an increasing issue (Baah-Ennumh, 2012). I believe that, unless the root cause of the issue is addressed, the number of women and girls who

migrate in search of greener pastures will continue to rise. This section highlights on what has been done in the past in the north. This section will also, highlight on how the various interventions can be improved in the north to attach women to stay.

2.6.1 Savannah Accelerated Development Authority

Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) is an independent agency that was set-up in 2010 to help reduce poverty in the three northern regions of Ghana through agriculture by 2030 (Al-Hassan, 2013). This intervention aimed to help peasant farmers, especially women.

Addressing the poverty in the north would have helped reduce rural-urban migration in Ghana. However, the issue is, farm produce takes a long period to harvest, as such, school children who need money to pay their fees cannot rely on the harvest. Most importantly, farm produce is not reliable, as it is difficult to predict how much they can earn from a harvest. This is because there are certain times when the harvest is not favorable (Baah-Ennumh, 2012) and times that the harvest is favorable. The SADA initiative appears not to have reduced rural to urban migration since many women still migrate to find jobs elsewhere, thereby increasing rural-urban migration. However, the SADA project helped increase food supply in the northern part of Ghana (Al-Hassan, 2013).

2.6.2 Non-Governmental Organizations in the North

There are other non-governmental interventions that have taken place in all the three northern regions as well as the south, Accra and Kumasi. In the north, NGO's intervene in equipping the girls with skills such as hairdressing, basket weaving, shea butter making, dressmaking as well as tie and dye making. These interventions have not been

successful due to the conditions the women encounter as they go for the work and training. They have to take care of themselves as they acquire these skills which is very difficult for them. Some of them do not value the skills they acquire compared to someone who acquired those skills from the south (Van den Berg, 2007). According to Huijsmans (2012), Swift Aid Ghana, provides vacation training to these kayayei in the north.

These also help them to understand the dangers involved in migration. African Movement for Working Children and Youth have realized that kayayei cannot be eliminated because it is an occupation that helps people to make a living. Therefore, they support the education of students who do not migrate with the aim of encouraging them to stay in the north and go to school.

2.6.3 Government Intervention

Another initiative was launched by the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs dubbed "Operation Send Them Home". This initiative has allowed more than two thousand kayayei to be sent back to their communities. This has led to a reduction in the number of female kayayei in the streets of Accra and Kumasi (Huijsmans, 2012).

Unfortunately, this initiative did not benefit them as they still found it difficult to make ends meet when they were sent back to the same deprived situations they were before. As such, they are not able to realize the aim of making money in the cities.

Furthermore, in 2010, transport station officials working under the government in the north, especially Metro Mass Transit, were instructed by the MPs in the three northern regions not to accept children who migrate, especially students. Most students use Metro Mass because it is affordable and the transport officials used voter's ID to decide who

should go and who shouldn't (Opare, 2003). This helped reduce the number of students who migrate. However, this instruction was made without taking into account the needs of the students they have denied from migrating to the south to get money to pay for their school expenses. Most importantly, this intervention was not successful, because there were other transport services that were not operating under the government and were willing to take these students once they could pay for their services.

2.6.4 Campaign for Female Education (Camfed Ghana)

CAMFED Ghana is an NGO that gets funding from the Mastercard foundation and they operate in the three northern regions (Awumbila, 2008). Their aim is to help girls who are smart but from economically disadvantaged families to access quality education. The aim is to eradicate poverty in the three northern regions by powering them through education.

2.7 The Negative and Positive Effects of Kayayei

The kayayei phenomenon does not only present negative effects but also positives. This section will highlight both the negative and positive impact of kayayei in the Ghanaian economy.

2.7.1 Positive Effects of Kayayei

Apart from the fact that the kayayei occupation helps one to make a living, it has helped reduce early marriages in the three-northern region of Ghana (Van den Berg, 2007).

This is because, these young girls who would have been given up for marriages migrate to the south of the country working as kayayei, making money to support their families and themselves. In the Upper East region of Ghana, a family gets four cows when they give their daughter out for marriage (ShamsuDeen, 2013). However, in recent years,

families are more concerned about the little that the child sends back to the family to support them rather than giving them up for marriage.

Also, the kayayei occupation has supported a number of females. The occupation has enabled a lot of women to prepare themselves for marriage by buying cooking utensils, clothes and other marriage items as well as live comfortably in their houses (Kwankye, 2012). Another effect is that, it has supported students like myself in education. Students who work as kayayei during their long school vacations are able to get enough money to pay for their school expenses. This has reduced the number of girls who drop out of school because of financial difficulties.

The kayayei occupation contributes to the revenue of the government because they pay tax daily before they can work in the market (Huijsmans, 2012). Currently, before a kayayei can carry people's load in the market, they have to be holding a ticket which cost GHS 1 per day. Without the ticket, they cannot work in the various market in Ghana. Therefore, they contribute toward government revenue for the developmental project in the country.

2.7.2 Negative Effects of Kayayei

The kayayei occupation has impacted and supported a lot of women. However, the number of females who migrate have been increasing in recent times. This has posed a problem because the energetic people who can work on the farms in the north migrate leaving behind the old people who have less energy to do the farm work (Huijsmans, 2012). Consequently, it affects the number of farms produce they are able to harvest.

Also, the kayayei phenomena increases the number of social vices in the country. This is because, kayayei do not have a particular place they live or sleep (Tufuor, 2009). This leads to increases in the number of rape cases, robbery and teenage pregnancy cases. Also, because, there is no ready jobs for these girls, some of them end up becoming prostitutes to make a living.

Most importantly, when these youths identify a way to make a living, they tend to question the notion that they should go to school in order to be successful, “am working now “(Azinga, 2015). Therefore, the kayayei occupation increases the number of students who drop out of school. They tend to enjoy the life now with the little money they are making without thinking about how their future would be.

The kayayei occupation increases the illiteracy rate in the northern regions of Ghana, especially, girls. This is because, these girls are in the south working as kayayei instead of going to school to develop their capabilities and skills for their future (Van den Berg, 2007).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand the motivations and circumstances of the kayayei in the context of the north to south migration in Ghana. It also has the aim of understanding why the phenomenon continues to increase despite the various interventions in the north, such as shea butter companies, dressmaking, basket weaving and hairdressing initiatives (Awumbila, 2008). There is a need for data collection that can help understand the motivation of women and girls from the north migrating and engaging in the kayayei profession. Such data can provide important insights into the interventions in the north and how they can be improved to dissuade women and girls from migrating and seeking employment as kayayei, as well as improving the working conditions of those who still migrate to the south.

Most studies on the kayayei phenomena gathered data using interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires (Awumbila, 2008). The type of qualitative research that has been used by other researchers includes phenomenology, ethnography or case studies. Also, the quantitative data that has been used by other researchers includes regression and ANOVA (Tufuor, 2009). This chapter describes the research tools as well as the methods of data collection that were used for this study. It also discusses the techniques, sample size, area of study, and potential drawbacks of the data collection as well as the ethical consideration that will be dealt with.

3.2 Research Design and Methods

A qualitative approach was used in this research, including data collection as well as an interpretive analysis of the findings. The type of qualitative approach used is the

phenomenological approach. The research is classified as phenomenological because it seeks to understand the experiences, feelings and preferences of the kayayei (VanderStoep & Johnson, 2008). The focus of phenomenological inquiry is what people experience in regard to some phenomenon and how they interpret those experiences. A *phenomenological research* study is a study that attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular situation (or phenomenon). The instruments used to collect data included questionnaires and interviews. The study seeks to explore the following research questions:

- Why do women migrate from the north to the south instead of utilizing skills and opportunities provided to them by NGOs and other stakeholders?
- What are some of the motivations that influence women to migrate, despite the challenges they anticipate?
- Are there issues with the jobs provided in the north and why?
- How might we improve the living conditions of these women in the south?

3.3 Sampling Strategy

There were three areas considered for data collection in the north. Data collection included a door to door gathering of data from women and girls who have previously migrated to the south. The areas of the study were Sherigu, Sumbrugum and Bolgatanga girls' secondary in Zaare, where many students migrate to work as kayayei during the long vacations. Also, questions regarding the women's experiences with intervention in the north were explored. A convenience sampling approach was used. This type of sampling was chosen because there is no particular place to locate kayayei, therefore,

those who were found and were willing to fill the questionnaire and take part in the interview were chosen.

3.4 Context and Participants

The participants of this study were women and girls who had worked as kayayei or planned to work as kayayei in the south but were currently in the north. They were asked questions regarding their experience as kayayei as well as the motivation behind their migration to the south, and why they chose to migrate rather than staying and working in the various interventions established. The communities from which data were collected are farming communities where many of the women travel to the south after the harvesting. The poverty level in these communities is such that people have food from their farm product but find it difficult to earn income. The older people in these communities have little or no education whilst most of the youth have attained some level of education. Also, in all the three study areas there is a community clinic within walking distance.

3.5 Questionnaire

In the north, questionnaires were administered through the door to door method in the area of study. Questions relating to demographic were asked, and questions about participation in intervention projects were highlighted. Most importantly, questions relating to the motivations to migrate and circumstances that make them choose to migrate rather than stay in the north were explored. Most of the participants were not able to read the questionnaires, therefore, the questionnaires were verbally read in the local language (Frafra). Also, questionnaires were administered to students who worked during vacation as kayayei in Bolgatanga Girl Secondary School. One problem that came

about was the time factor. The illiteracy of the women and girls was high which meant that the questionnaires were administered verbally, which became a time-consuming part of the data collection.

3.6 Interviews

A sample of 15 women out of the 50 who completed the survey were asked to participate in an interview. This meant that, the interview was a matter of choice among those who were selected for the questionnaires. However, the emphasis was on those who had previously participated in programs and interventions set up in the north to address the issue of migration and jobs. The interview helped to obtain an in-depth understanding of the feelings, experiences and preferences of those who had made the choice to work as kayayei in the south. More so, the topic was subjective, since the experience of one kayayei may be different from another, hence an in-depth understanding of their circumstances and their motivations was needed in order to understand the push and pull factors that influenced their choice to migrate.

3.7 Data Analysis and Techniques

Microsoft Excel was the primary data analysis tool used. Data from questionnaires and interviews were analyzed using the excel application. Content analysis was also used to analyze responses from the interviews. Themes were established among the responses from participants and were then analyzed.

3.8 Limitation of The Study

Large sampling: due to the nature of the kayayei occupation it was very difficult to reach a large number of them for the research, since an in-depth understanding was needed

from each of the participants. Also, the location of kayayei in the north was a problem. This is because, there is no particular place to find these kayayei, which made data collection difficult.

Also, the willingness of kayayei to get involved was a problem since there was no incentive for them to tradeoff their jobs for the interview. This made it difficult to get a high number of kayayei to participate in the interview.

Moreover, almost all participant could not read and write, this affected data collection. However, Language was not a barrier since I understood the language and was able to translate it for the participants to understand.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

- Voluntary participation in the study, thus participants have to make a decision to be part or not.
- Participants identity was not disclosed or mentioned in the research (Complete Anonymity).
- Full consent of participants will be obtained, and consent forms were signed by the participant to show that they had accepted to be part of the study.
- Sensitive questions were eliminated from the questionnaires as well as the interview guide, which enabled participants to be comfortable in answering the questions. This was done through the pilot test.
- The conclusion will be based solely on the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this section, I present the results, the key findings from the data analyzed as well as the conclusion drawn from the findings. The data analyzed is field data obtained from the questionnaires and interviews. The analysis of the data collected for this research was simultaneously conducted using Rstudio and Nvivo.

4.2 Description of samples

Questionnaires were administered to 50 participants and 15 of them were interviewed from the various communities used in this research. Of those who completed the questionnaire, 15 who indicated that they had participated in interventions, and whose intervention sites were in close proximity, were selected for in-depth interviews. The prerequisite for getting interviewed was that the respondent should have filled out the questionnaires. In all 50 questionnaires were given out and 15 participants were interviewed.

4.2.1 Questionnaires

Women aged between 15 and 40 years were involved in this research, irrespective of whether or not they had migrated or worked as kayayei in the past. The questionnaires were administered to women in their homes based on their availability and willingness to be involved in the research. The participants answered 25 questions in the questionnaires, which included close-ended questions and a few open-ended questions. The questionnaires took between 30 and 40 minutes to complete. The questions focused

on the circumstances that may have motivated the women to migrate and their experiences with interventions designed to support local employment in the North.

4.2.2 Interviews

Fifteen participants were chosen for the in-depth interview in order to obtain a deeper understanding of their beliefs, attitudes and motivation to migrate. Participants were asked 11 open-ended questions and in total the interview took approximately one hour. This interview helped to obtain an in-depth understanding of the participants, and their motivation to migrate.

4.3 Visiting the Various Intervention (Observation)

During the interviews a number of issues regarding interventions in the north came up. In order to gain further insight, there was a need to visit the interventions sites in proximity to the research area. In all, six intervention sites were visited which include Sherigu Basket and Smock Weaving Center, Sherigu hairdressing and dressmaking center, Zaare Shea-butter Making, Sumbrugu Basket Weaving, Sumbrugu as well as dress-making. This helped gain insight into some of the challenges that managers of the interventions also encounter. Visiting the intervention sights helped to verify and gain insight into the challenges that were mentioned by participants in the interviews and questionnaires.

4.4 Data Finding

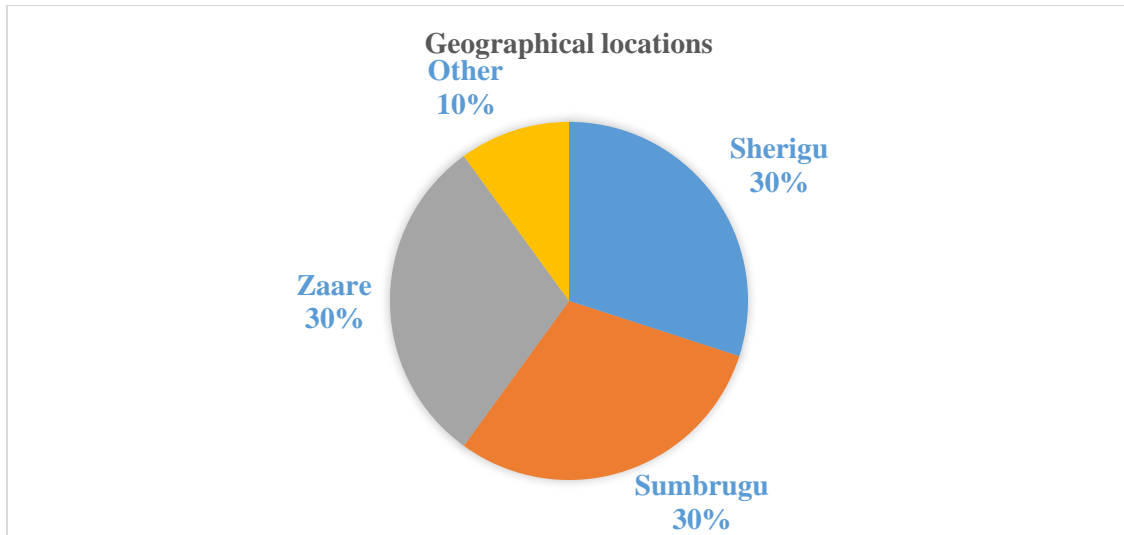


Figure 3: Geographical location of participants involved in the questionnaires

In each of the research areas, 15 participants were included in the questionnaires and 5 participants from each community were chosen to be part of the interview. However, 5 extra people who were involved in the questionnaire were not part of any of the areas of the study, two were from Duaa while three were from Bongo. Figure 3 shows the percentage of participants from each of the areas in this research.

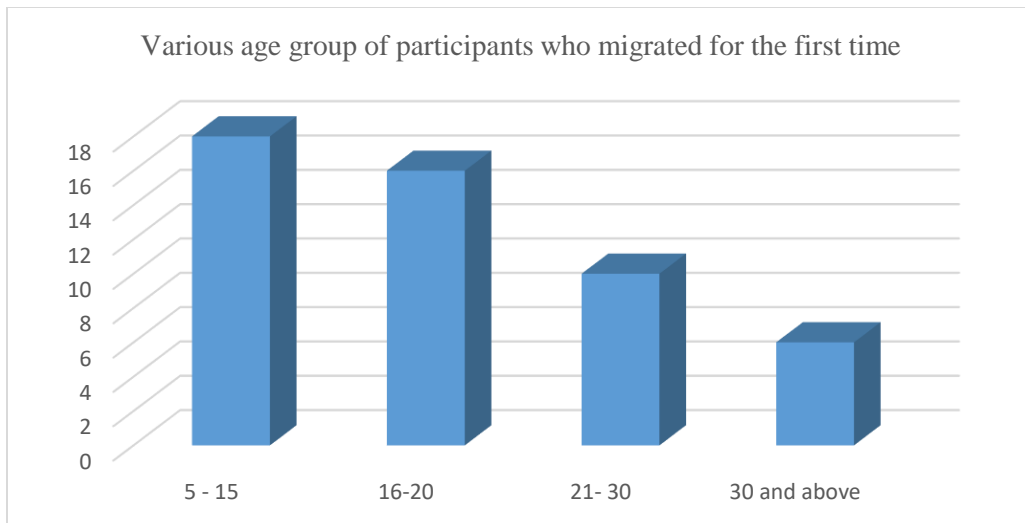


Figure 4: Age when participants migrated for the first time

Figure 4 above shows the age when the participants migrated for the first time from those who took the questionnaire. From the data collected, the age group that was the highest to migrate for the first time among the participants was between the ages of 5- 15. There were 18 participants who were between the ages of 5-15 when they migrated for the first time to work as kayayei. However, the least age group to migrate for the first time was between the ages of 30 and above. This means that most kayayei migrate at a very young age. Figure 4 is a graph representing the different age groups and the number that migrate for the first time from the northern to the southern part of Ghana.

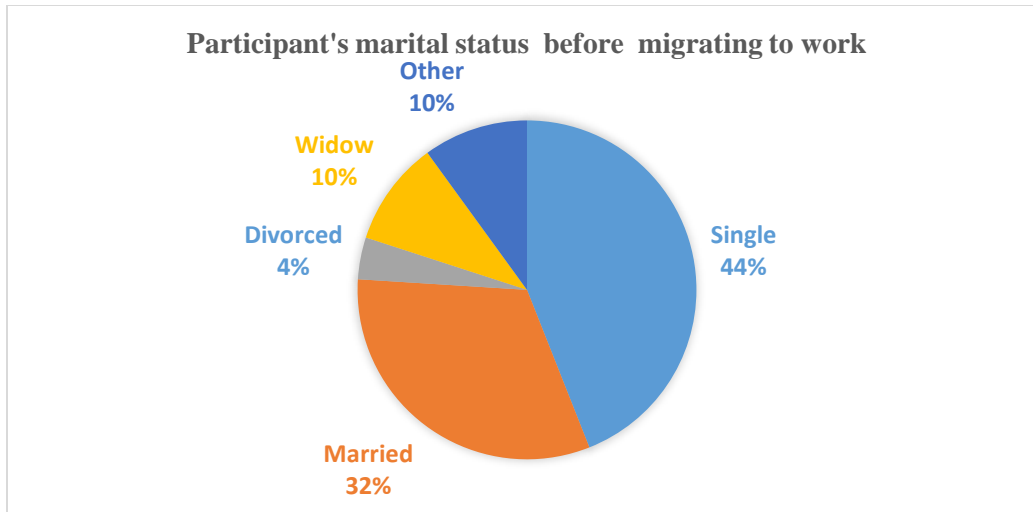


Figure 5: Marital status of participants before migrating to the south

From the figure above, about 44% of the participants were single when they chose to migrate. It can be noted that few widows migrate to the south. One of the participants who was a widow highlighted that most of the women like herself have to stay home and take care of the family and the house as opposed to someone who was married.

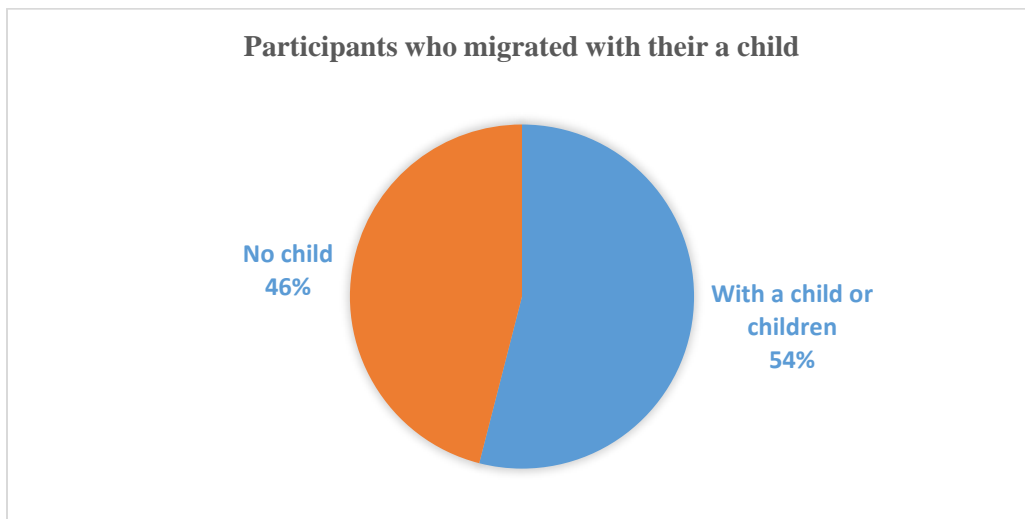


Figure 6: Percentage of participants who migrated with their children and those who did not

From the graph above, about 54% of the respondents indicated that they travel with their children, when the children are between the ages of six months to two years, they bring them along as they migrate. This does not mean that, participant give birth at an early age, since they migrate at an early age for the first time as indicated in figure 4. However, two findings are independent on their own, figure 4 indicates the past whiles figure 6 indicate the present experience of the kayayei. Some participants indicated that sometimes, there is no one in the house that they can trust their child with, hence they take them along to avoid danger. In the south they usually put their children on their backs while they carry peoples' things. The other 46 % of the respondent indicated that they either leave their children at home or wait for them to grow to a certain age before they migrate. They highlighted that they do not think the south is a safe place for children.

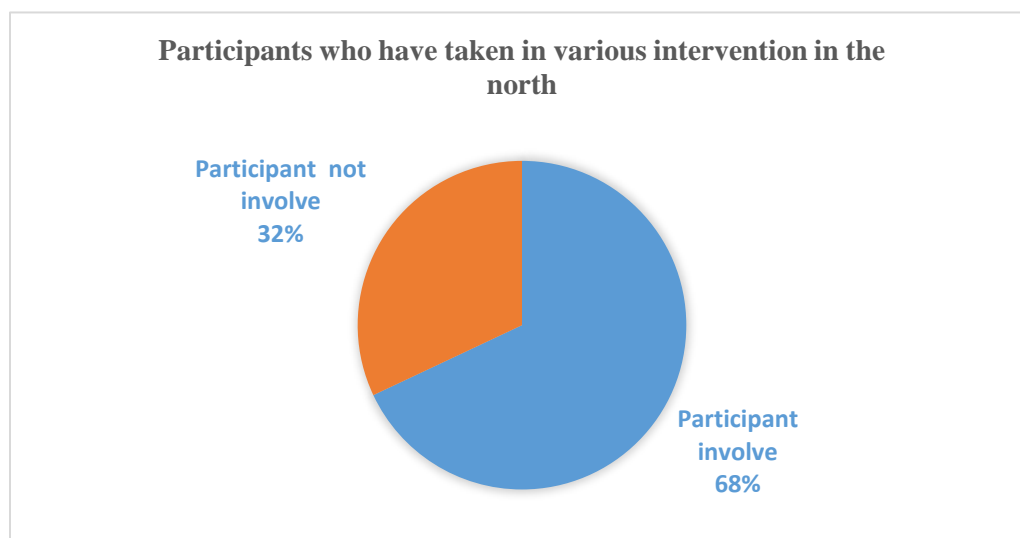


Figure 7: Percentage of participants who have taken part in initiatives

Figure 7 shows that 68% of the respondent indicated that they were involved in interventions that aim to give them skills and employment in the North. They worked at intervention sites for some time but still chose to migrate. One participant highlighted that she usually works at the intervention during the farming season when she is back from the South. On the other hand, 32% of participants indicated that they have never worked with an intervention initiative. They gave a lot of reasons which included low wages and time wasting.

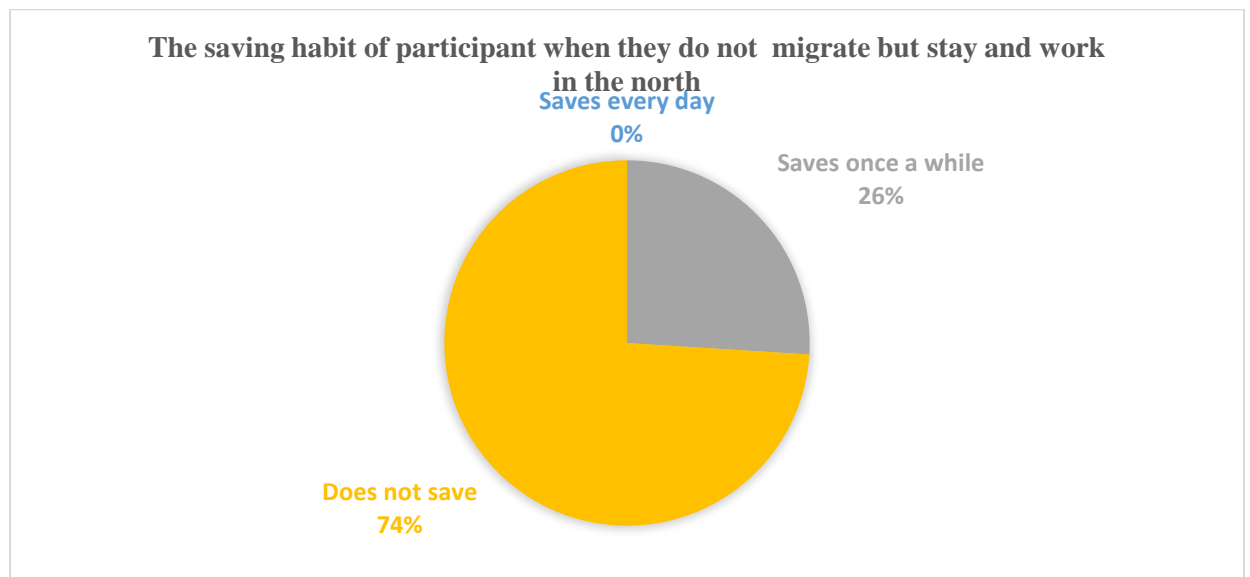


Figure 8: Percentage of participants who save when they work in the north

Figure 8 above shows the saving habits of participants who answered the questionnaires, and who have also migrated. Respondents were asked about their saving habits as they live and work in the south. About 74% of the respondents indicated that they do not save at all when they are in the north. They indicated that because their family members are around them it is very difficult to save, they end up practicing “hand to mouth”, thus they

spend what they earn. On the other hand, 26% of the participants indicated that they save once a while.

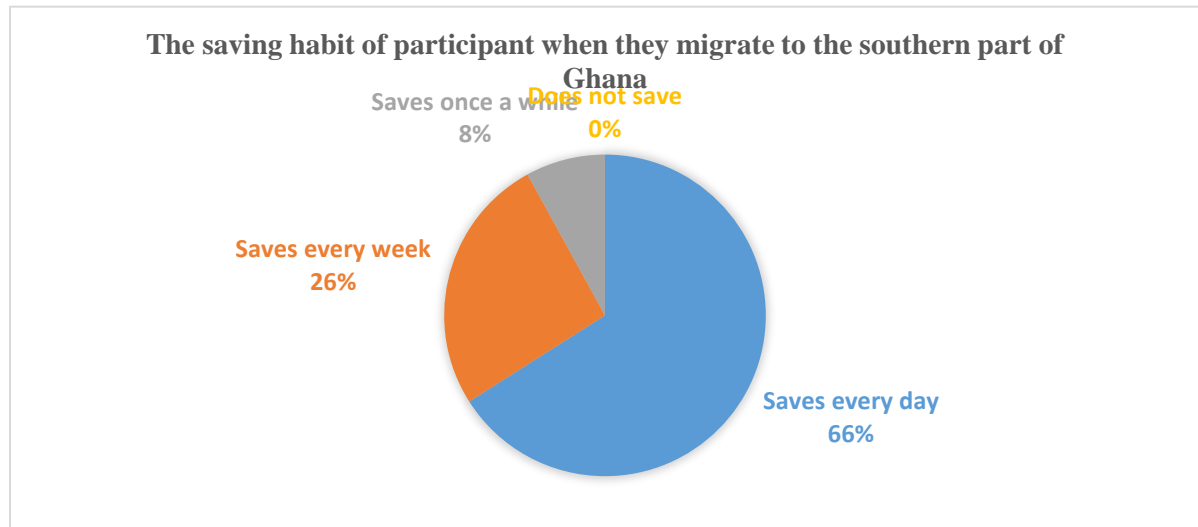


Figure 9: Percentage of participant who saves when they work in the south

The participants were asked further questions concerning their saving habits when they migrate to the south to work. About 66% of them highlighted that they save every day. Their reason for this habit of saving was that there was no secure place for them to keep their money because there are no places for them to stay. Therefore, the best way to ensure the safety of their money was to give it to the susu collectors. 26% of the participants highlighted that they save every week. Their reasons were that it is this round saving system that they do among themselves, every day they add their money together to one person and the next person till everyone has benefitted. One participant adds that, they do this to ensure the money is enough. They added that it all started when one of

them needed one gently to help the child back at home but had not worked enough to get that money, so they contributed to help and she paid them back later.

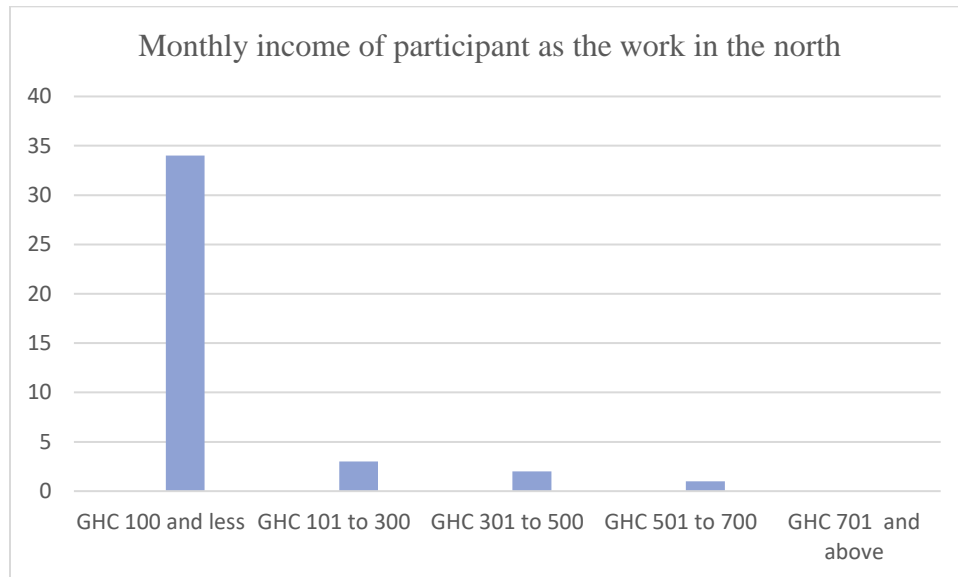


Figure 10: Monthly income of participant as the work in the north

The participants were asked further concerning the amount they obtain as they stay and work in the north. Majority of the participants, which is about 92% of them, indicated that they were able to make GHC 100 or less in a month as they work in the North. The participants indicated that they are paid mostly GHC 3 per day, which is about GHC 90 per month. Only three participants indicated that they make more than GHC 100 a month. These three women worked in the smock weaving center and indicated that there is always a market for their projects, which motivates them to weave more smocks.

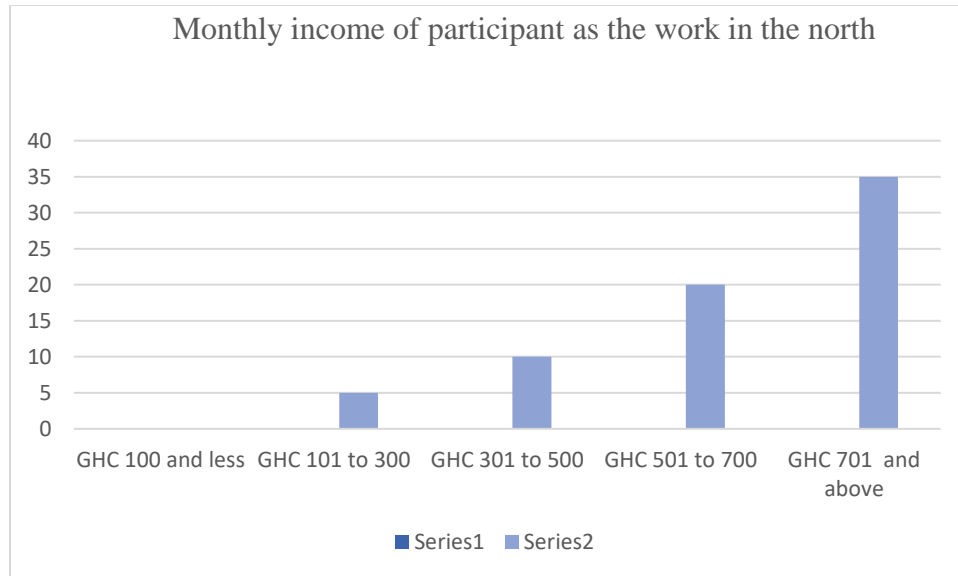


Figure 11: Monthly income of participant as the work in the south

The participants were asked further concerning the amount they obtain as they stay and work in the south. Their responses were direct opposite to when they were asked for their monthly income as they work in the North. About 60% of participants indicated that they get between GHC 701 and above. One participant stated that, “In the south, you are not working for someone but yourself, so, you put in much more effort and you know for sure that working was the main reason why you came to Accra”. Interestingly, with this question, none of the participants indicated that they earn GHC 100 or less working in the south. This means that, one earns more money when they work in the South as a kayayei compared to working in the north.

The reality is that even though kayayei earn more by working in the south, the cost of living in the south is high as compared to that of the north. Cost of living in the north is cheaper because one does not buy certain items especially when they are naturally

available. In the south one has to buy everything including water, bathing space, washing space as well as food and other needs. This at the end reduces that amount they earn.

4.5 Analysis of Data

4.5.1 Circumstances to Migrate

The issues or circumstances that push people to migrate to the South to work as kayayei are called push factors. The push factors are conditions or situations in the North that influence people to want to leave the rural area and migrate to urban areas. Below are some of the push factors frequently stated by those who were interviewed.

- **Drought or crop failure:** Most female farmers highlighted that they often choose to migrate to work as kayayei when their crops fail them. One participant highlighted that, “In order for my family not to go hungry or die due to hunger, I am forced to migrate to work as a kayayei since that is the only occupation that can provide me immediate money to cater for my family.” Another participant stated that, “Sometimes the situation is severe to the extent we will not be able to get seed to plant in the next season and the only option is to migrate and work to support my family”. They indicated that, usually when there is no crop failure, they tend not to migrate because the harvest can sustain them and their family until the next farming season.
- **Few opportunities:** Other participants also emphasized that in the north, there are fewer opportunities and the opportunities that do exist require that one should have some form of skills, an example is being a weaver of a basket or smock. If one has not gone through the training, then you cannot get access to those opportunities. Unlike the south, where there are varieties of opportunity for

unskilled individuals to make a living. A participant who worked in one of the market weaving centers indicated that “Working in this basket weaving center, one needs to be innovative and have different skills in order to come up with different styles. If you still do the traditional basket, there will not be a market for you. Currently, I have 12 baskets that were rejected four times in the market and I cannot make different ones apart from the styles I know which means I am automatically out and have to find different opportunities”

- **Poor lifestyle or rural poverty:** Most participants highlighted that they migrated to the south because of the poor lifestyle in the north. One participant indicated that any northerner who migrates to the south comes back with a lot of wealth, with which they are very certain that they can improve their lifestyle and not have to live in poverty. A participant highlighted that, “I know at least three people who migrated to the south without education and skill, but they are now wealthy within eight months of traveling”.
- **Inability to save:** 39% of the participants focused on the fact that they migrate because it enables them to save and they use it to do other important things in their lives. They highlighted that in the south they are away from all their family members and this helps them to keep most of the money they make. Unlike working in the north where family members are also around and demand financial assistance. A participant indicated that, “After being paid very little, there are a lot of demands from my family and I end up spending the little money I got from working which is not the case when I migrate to the south”.

- **Search for adventure:** Only two participants highlighted that they migrate because they wanted to see new things and new people. They migrate to see the city life and experience a different weather. A participant highlighted that “I have been living in the north all my life and migrating to the south and working as a kayayei was a chance for me to experience that city life”
- **Low wages:** Almost all the participants who worked in the various interventions complained of not being paid well. They are motivated to migrate to the south because they will receive higher wages there than when working in the north. A participant who was really disappointed by the amount the intervention pays to their workers highlighted that, “they pay 5 times less than the amount I will have gotten if I was working in the south”.
- **Unemployment/ inadequate jobs:** The unemployment situation in the north was also a persistent factor for all the participants. They highlighted that one can be unemployed for six straight months. Without farming, there are no jobs and most farming in the north is seasonal, with harvesting done once a year. One participant who was a farmer, indicated that “I am usually active from April to July which is the raining season in the north. However, I am idle from August to March which is the dry season in the north. Hence I migrated since there is nothing else for me to do in order to earn money in the north”

The graph below ranks the various factors mentioned above.

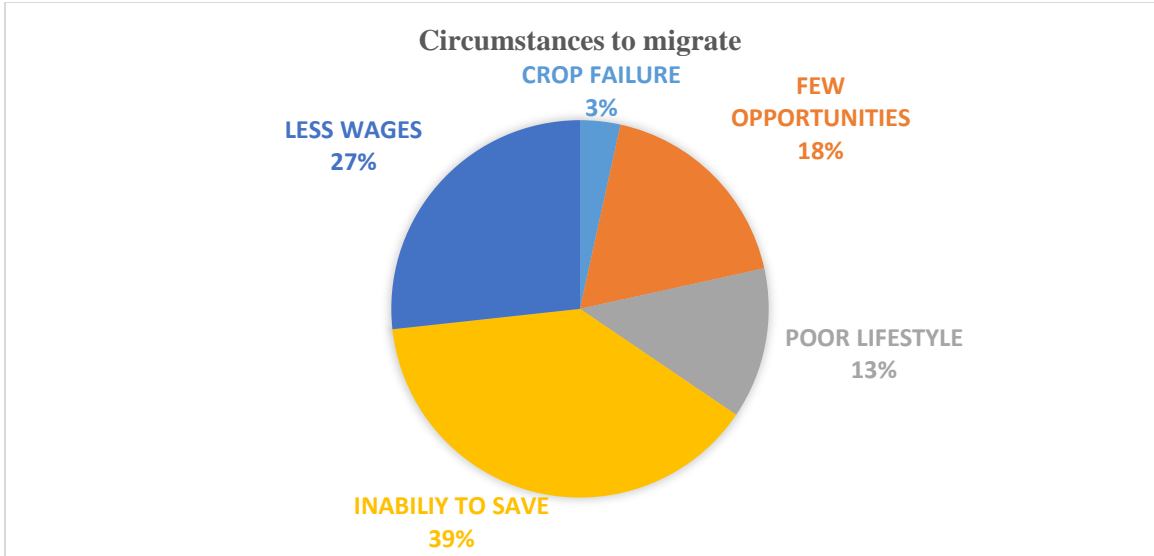


Figure 12: Push factors that influence participants to migrate

Below is a word cloud that highlights the push factors that affected the participants who were interviewed. The bigger the word, the more frequently it was mentioned by participants during the interview as responses to questions about the circumstances in the north that influenced their choice to migrate.



Figure 13: Word cloud that shows the circumstances that push participants to migrate

4.5.2 Motivation to Migrate

Motivations to migrate are the factors in the south that are attracting these women to migrate there; these factors are called pull factors. They are conditions or situation in the south that influence people to migrate from the rural area to urban areas in the Ghanaian economy. Below are some of the pre-dominate factors that were consistent among the participants that were interviewed as well as those who filled the questionnaire.

The promise of greener pastures: Most participants were very certain that the south was a place they could make money because they perceived a variety of opportunity awaiting them. Also, others they know have made it through migrating to the south. A 16-year-old participant, who has been working in the medina market for the past two months indicated that, “I have been able to save a lot of money these past two months which I would not be able to do throughout my whole life in the north. I am very certain that I will be able to make a lot of money in the next year and use it to develop myself”.

Job opportunities: They believe that there are well-paid jobs available in the south for them when they arrive, unlike the north where there are no jobs. One participant indicated that “there are a variety of things that one can do in order to make money in the south as compared to that of the north. I can wash bowl in a chop bar, go to the plantain, oranges or the cassava line in the market to carry their items and at the end of the day, I will make a lot of money. There is no such opportunity in the north for me, hence I prefer migrating to the south”

Ability to save: all the participants indicated that, they save almost every day when they are working in the south and this is because there are no family members around to care for. Most importantly, they now have access to susu collectors (microfinance banks).

Susu collectors are a form of financial intermediaries, mostly found in Ghana. They primarily provide Ghanaians a means to save money as well as gain access to credit at a fee. Their work can be categorized as a traditional form of microfinance. This helps the migrants a lot since they are now able to accumulate money that helps them in the future to solve their problems. One participant indicated that, “after work which is around 4:00 pm to 5:00 pm, I save with susu collectors when they come around and this has helped me to sure that the money that I have worked is at a safe place. I just ask them to bring me the money when I am ready to go home”. Another, participant who is not a fan of susu collectors indicated that, “these people are thieves, I don’t save with them, they will end up going away with the money that you have labored for. I save with GCB bank every week, so they don’t run away with my money again, they went with my money last three years when I came to work as a kayayei work”

Peaceful Environment

The two participants who were exposed to early marriage, highlighted that the south was a peaceful environment. This was because none of their family members were there to force them to marry. One of them highlighted that, “when I migrate to the south, I am very far away from the people who forced me to marriage and no one will be there to tell me what to do and what not to do”.

The graph below ranks the various factors mentioned above.

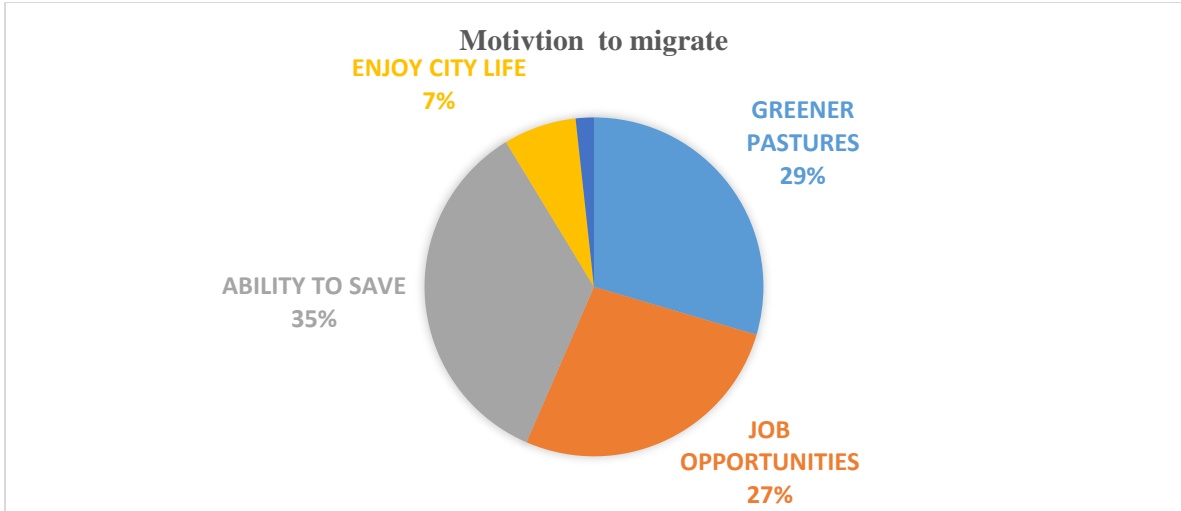


Figure 14: Participants motivation to migrate

Below is a word cloud that highlights the pull factors that effected the participant who were interviewed. The bigger the word, the more frequently it was mention by the participants during the interview questions about their motivation to migrate.



Figure 15: A word cloud that shows the motivation to migrate by participants

4.6 Interventions

The various interventions that were involved in this research include: Savannah Accelerated Development Authority SADA, Sherigu Basket and Smock Weaving Center, Sherigu hairdressing and dressmaking center, Zaare Shea-butter Making, Sumbrugu Basket Weaving and Sumbrugu dress-making. It can be noted that some of the initiatives are run by the same organization, but they have different branches in different communities.

Below is a graph that shows the percentage of respondents to the questionnaire that participated in each intervention.

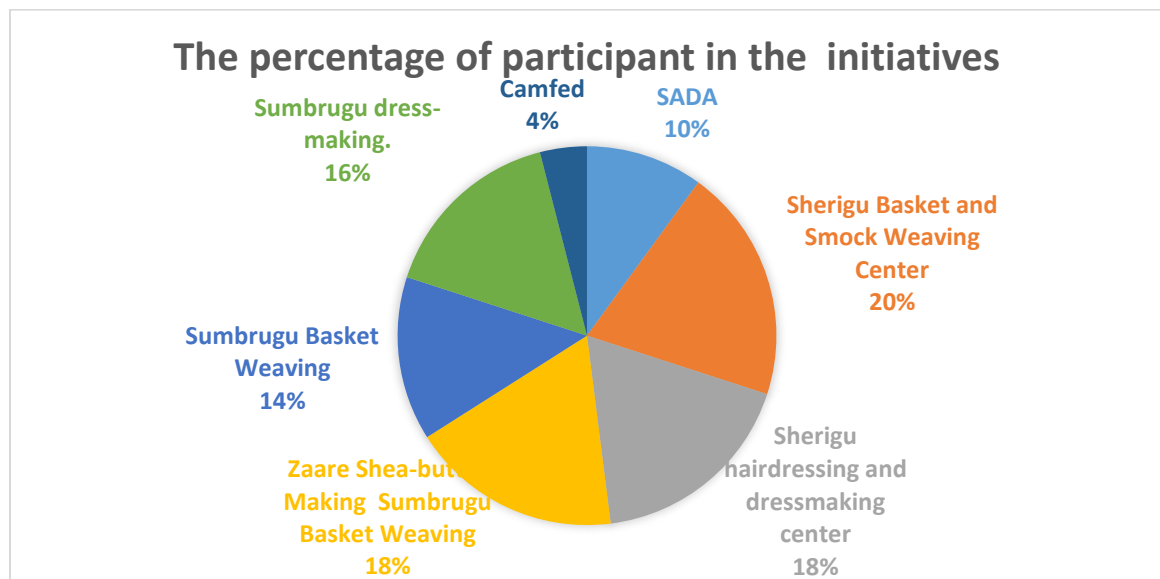


Figure 16: Participants in the various initiatives that were involved in the research

4.6.1 SADA

About 10% of the participants in the questionnaire engaged in the SADA initiative. The SADA initiative engages women in the agricultural sector in the northern region. They provide fertilizers and farm supplies to farmers in the three-northern regions. The

supplies offered by SADA helps increase the foodstuff that are harvested by farmers compared to when the initiative was not established. This also helps farmers to reduce the costs they incur for farming inputs and helps reduce their cost of living. However, participants involved in this initiative complained that the leaders or the chiefs that are involved in the distributions of the supplies or fertilizers end up giving it to their families and friends rather than the people that actually need it. They highlighted that some of the leaders even end up selling the supplies at a reduced-prices instead of it being free.

4.6.2 Zaare Shea-butter Making

About 18% of participants in the questionnaire were involved in the Shea- butter initiatives. There were two shea-butter companies in the communities involved in this research: Sumbrugu shea-butter and Zaare Shea-butter Making. Zaare Shea-butter Making was visited for this study. This initiative provides job opportunities for the people in the communities as well as serves as a market for shea-nuts sellers. The workers in this initiative complained of low wages as well as late wage payment, which makes life difficult for them and their families. One participant who worked with the shea-butter initiative indicated that, “I earn GHS 3 per day and I have to work from morning to evening for which I don’t think the wage is fair, but because my child is still young, I have to manage with the job for now. However, I will have to migrate when he is older because we can survive without working”.

4.6.3 Sherigu Basket and Smock Weaving Center

About 20% of the participants in the questionnaire engaged in the Sherigu Basket and Smock Weaving Center initiatives were involved the questionnaires. This initiative provided skills, job opportunities as well as a market for the products the girls weaved.

One participant who has been working in the initiative said, “They train and help us sell our products across Ghana and the world as a whole”. However, some of the participants complained that, sometimes it takes a very long time for the products they produce to be sold. However, some of the participants complained that, “most of times it takes a very long time for the products they produce to be sold and they end up borrowing to support themselves. By the time the baskets are sold, they use all to pay their creditors and nothing to save for the future, it just a matter of hand to mouth”.

4.6.4 Sherigu and Sumbrugu Hairdressing and Dressmaking Center

About 18% of the participants were engaged in the Sherigu Hairdressing and Dressmaking Center while 16% of the participants were involved in the Sumbrugu dress-making initiatives. These centers have been established in the two communities by the same organization. The centers provided young women with skills at no cost. The women acquire skills for life which help to earn a living. However, some respondents complain that the centers do not plan well and centers stop and resume any time they like. One participant who had worked in this initiative complained that, “ I wasted my two and half years of my life acquiring training in the dress making initiative but at the end, did not get a license because they had to close down due to financial challenges.

4.6.5 Campaign for Female Education (Camfed)

4% of the questionnaire participants engaged in Camfed. Camfed supports student's education and other expenses pertaining to their education. This has helped students who could not go to school due to financial difficulties complete their education at no cost.

Camfed operates in Ghana, Zimbabwe and other African countries. They get their funding from the Mastercard Foundation. They help students who are in the secondary and tertiary level.

4.7 Positive Impact of the Various Intervention

Below is a graph that shows the percentage of the impact of various interventions that were indicated by the participants.

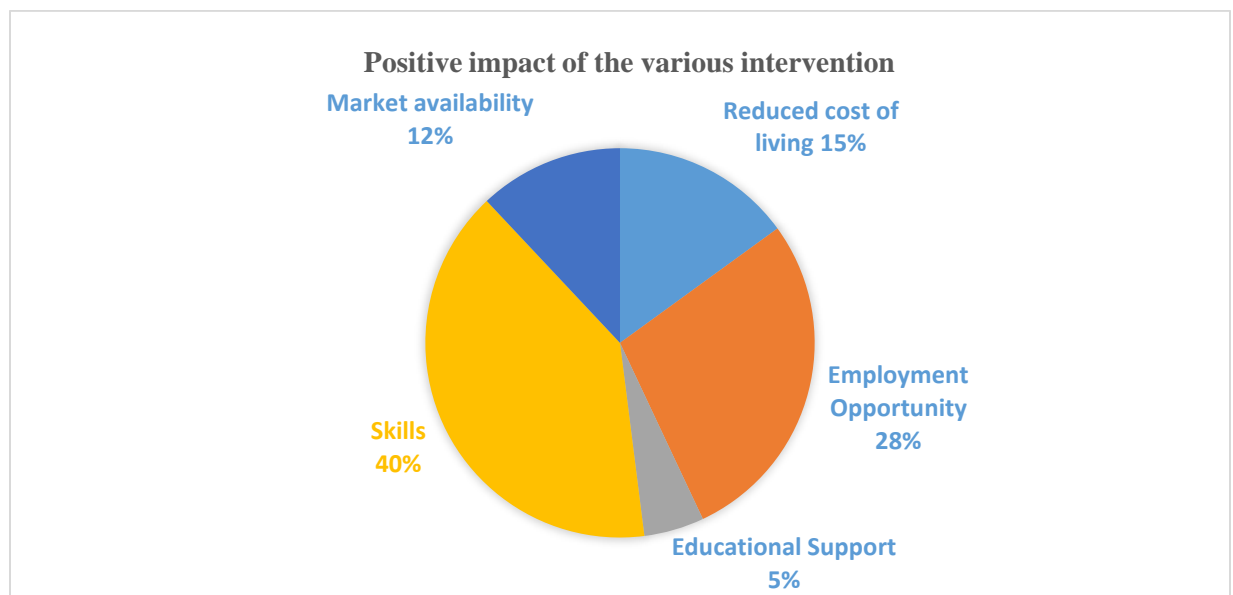


Figure 17: The positive impact of the various interventions

Reduced cost of living

There are items that some people in north do not spend money on anymore and this has helped to improve their living condition. One participant indicated that, “some of the interventions provided farm fertilizers which helped increased the crops harvested and reduced cost of farming. This has motivated others to join farming, since they do not have to think of where to get fertilizers for the crops”. The initiative also, provides

training to farming on how to apply the right fertilizers to their crops. The SADA initiative was highly mentioned for helping reduce the cost of living in the north. About 15% of the participant indicated that the various interventions have helped them to reduce their cost of living.

Employment Opportunity

Some of the initiatives served us a source of employment for the women and helped them to support their families. Participants felt that this has helped to reduce the unemployment rate in the area. About 65% of the initiatives included in this research provide job opportunity for the people in the north. About 28% of the participants indicated that the intervention helps provide employment opportunities. One participant highlighted that, “ there are a lot of opportunity for you when you migrate, you can even decide to be a maid and you will make a lot of money from it but there is no such opportunity in the north”.

Educational Support

Some initiatives help women from the north with their education, which includes paying school and feeding fees. Camfed Ghana is one intervention that provides educational support to students from the north. About 5% of the participants indicated that interventions helped provide for their educational support. A participant who joined the camfed intervention for three years now, highlighted that, I used to go to the south during the long vacation to work in order to pay my fees. However, ever since I joined the initiatives everything related to my education have been carter for by Camfed Ghana. Now all I have to do, is to concentrate on my school work”.

Skills for life

They help to provide skills to young women in the north and also support the youth as a whole. The training given to the youth enable them gain employment and ensures their sustainability since the skills acquired is for life. Initiatives that provide skills include Sherigu Basket and Smock Weaving Center and Sherigu and Sumbrugu Hairdressing and Dressmaking Center. About 40% of the participants indicated that the various intervention helps provide skills to the people in the north. One participant who was part of the Smock weaving initiative indicated that, “I had a training with them for two years and now I can make smocks by myself for which no one can take it from me forever”. Another, participant who engaged with dress-making initiative highlighted that, “anytime I need money, I just pick my machine and in the next one hour I will have someone’s cloth to work on and no one can take this skills away from me.

Market availability

The various initiatives also linked buyers to the products that the northerners produce such as smocks, basket and shea-butter. The intervention that did a good job with providing a market for products produced was Sherigu Basket and Smock. They tried their best to get buyers for the product these women produced. About 28% participant indicated that the various interventions they work in also helped to provide a market for the product they produced. A participant who worked in the various intervention indicated that, “I will not have known where to sell my basket, if not with help of who established the basket initiatives. I don’t know how they do it, but they help us to get buyers for our baskets”

4.8 Challenges\Problems Faced by Women Working in The Interventions

Lack of proper planning

Most initiatives that are set-up in the north are funded by grants and do not appear to plan how they will fund the initiative after the grant has run out. One participant who took part in the dressmaking initiative highlighted that, “ I had to stop in the middle of a training because there was no money to continue it, I wasted two years of her life without getting the certificate and the full training needed to set up her own hairdressing salon”

Lack of constant supply of materials

Raw materials that are essential to the production in the various initiatives are not always available. Take for instance, for the shea- butter companies, shea nuts are a seasonal crop and are not always available for production. These companies depend solely on the nuts for the production so when there are no shea-nuts, the workers are laid off and most of them end up, going to the south to work as kayayei. A participant who works in the shea-butter initiative indicated that, “when there are no shea-nuts for us to make the butter, we are usually laid off until further notice. However, some of us cannot make a living without working, so I end up migrating to the south, since the work there is unlimited”. Another participant indicated that, “they sent tell us to go on holidays and that they will call us back when they get the nuts, this is usually disheartening, since my family and I depend on the income I receive from working with them. I just realized that, the best option for me is to migrate to the south and join the other women to work to support their family”.

Biased/corruption

Some of the chiefs and leaders who are link to the initiative end up taking their family members and close friends to the initiative rather than the people in the community who actually need the help of the intervention. Getting into the project is based on who you know, and not on need basis. One participant gave an example where in the training initiatives, people who could afford to pay for the training got in, ignoring those who couldn't afford; this was because they were related to chief in that communities. Others also highlighted the fact that things that were supposed to be given free of charge were rather sold to the people. One participant who was dissatisfied with the behaviors of the chiefs and leaders in the community indicated that, "I have five girls and none of them were able to go to secondary school due to financial challenges. When the dress-making initiative was established in the community, they offered to train 60 girls based on need-based, for which I was hoping that three of my girls will join. To my surprise, not even one of my girls got in. This was because the chief and other elders in the community had presented their relative who could afford to pay elsewhere".

Another participant indicated that, "the leaders end up selling items that have been donated by these interventions to the community. I remember last farming season, the SADA initiative donated so many bags of fertilizers to the community but before we realized, the leaders were selling it to us, for which I don't think it is fair."

Low wages

Most of the workers in the various initiatives complained about low payment. One of the women complained that the initiative that she was working in paid very little. She added

that, when she decides to go and work as a kayayei in the south, she gets five times as the money she gets when she works in the north. This means that the amount that these interventions pay is less than the amount women could receive when they work in the south. This may be one of the motivation to go to the south and work. The participant emphasized that, “when I work in the north, I make at least GHC 3 per day, however, when I work in the south as a kayayei, am able to earn at least GHC 10 per day”.

Lack of capital to start

Some respondents highlighted that, it was very difficult for them to set up or start their business after completing the training. The banks will not give them a loan because they do not have collateral. This does not encourage other girls to join the intervention, because those who went through the training did not achieve anything. One trainee graduate indicated that, “after the training from the hair-dressing initiative, it was very difficult for me to start my own salon in the north due to financial problems. I tried getting a loan from the bank, but this did not result in anything. I migrated to the south with the aim of working toward the capital of my saloon for which I did”.

Inadequate Jobs

Often there are no jobs with the initiatives and this may be due to the fact that there are no raw materials for the production. Others go out of business due to lack of funds. When this happen, they have to lay off their workers and it breaks the trust that people in the community have in the various intervention. This effects new initiatives, because the people in the communities view them skeptically. A participant who was once laid off from an initiative she was working for indicated that, “Just out of the blue, I was laid off

because the managers said there were not enough funds to run the program. This affected my family and I and from that time I promised myself that neither I nor my children will work there. They cannot be trusted and they will always disappoint you when you need them the most”.

Reliability and undependable

The trust that the people in the community had for the various initiative had been broken. This may be due to what other initiatives in the past have done. The people can no longer rely on those initiatives. This may be because past initiatives usually stop working at any point in time. They people consider those initiatives to be unstable and that they cannot depend on them for their livelihood but would rather migrate to work as a kayayei. One disappointed participant highlighted that, “I was obtaining a training as a hairdresser at that intervention until it was closed down. They stopped in the middle due to lack of funds to support the intervention and wasted two years of my life. I never get involved in any intervention and will never get involved”.

Smart students only

With respect to those initiative that are involved with the educational support, some participants highlighted that, they do not support students with lower grades, only the smart ones are included. Some students felt ignored by the program. Others complained about the fact that it does not include older women who want to help their children in school. One disappointed participant highlighted that, “If I don’t know book knowledge that does not mean, I am useless, there are other things I can be good at other than going to school”.

Support family

Though scholarships cover personal needs, some student still migrates to work as a kayayei during the vacation to support their families. One participant said that, before getting the scholarship, she used to work as a kayayei, however, even after obtaining the scholarship she still migrates to work as a kayayei to support her family. One participant said that, “before getting the scholarship, I used to work as a kayayei. However, even after obtaining the scholarship I still migrate to work as a kayayei to support my family.

Highly Dependent on Grant

Most of the initiatives that are set-up in the north depend on grant funding. Therefore, when there are not enough funds to support the initiative, many people involved have to stop in the middle of their training. This has been a major concern for participants because they end up wasting their valuable time and resources. Due to the bad experiences these women encounter, some are never going to work, neither will they encourage someone close to them to work there, which means the only option they have is to migrate to the south.

Based on long-term benefits

Majority of the interventions do not provide money to solve immediate problems, but rather target long-term benefits. The various NGOs or initiatives provide training rather than quick money in the short run. One participant’s concern was that, they should be giving them money rather than training and this was because, it takes a long time for us to get money to solve our problem. The quicker way to do it is migrating to work as kayayei.

Cost of living of trainees

They only provide skills for the young women ignoring the fact that the person has to eat before getting the training. if they do not have a supportive family than some of them have to drop to make ends meet. They only focused on getting skills for the girls and ignoring the need of the girls that will help them to be comfortable in learning the skills that you are offering them. there is no upkeep of the girl. which means you can't go for the skills on an empty stomach. One formal trainee added that, “sometimes I go to work on an empty stomach and when the situation became worse, I stop the initiative and migrated to the south to work as a kayayei”.

Lack of market for their product

Sometimes there is no established market for the product these interventions train women to produce. They spend a lot of time getting the training and a lot of time producing the product as well as a long time waiting for the product to be brought. A participant complained that, “they do not buy the baskets fast, which makes it unable for us to save. This is because by the time they buy the basket, we will have to use the money to pay the debt of the things we borrowed. Also, the is less price for a basket which will take a long time to be ready”.

Late and unpaid wages

There is no regular payment, sometimes you go to work and you would not have received three months' salary. When you compared this to working as a kayayei where you are

paid immediately after your service. Some women also complained of not being paid all due to the collapsed of the intervention.

Unable to save

Inability to save was also another factor, most women complained about the fact that the amount they receive was relatively small. Others highlighted that, because they are not paid on time, they end up borrowing and end up, using all their salary to settle the debt. Others also pointed out that, because they lived with their family, it was very hard to save, they end up spending all their salary unlike, when they are in the south where they are alone, without family members depending on them.

Early marriages

Some girls migrate because of early marriages. When girls are pressured by their families to get married, they end up migrating to the south, where they would be free from the marriage. They end-up working as a kayayei.

Below is a graph that shows the problems that various intervention is facing that were indicated by the participants.

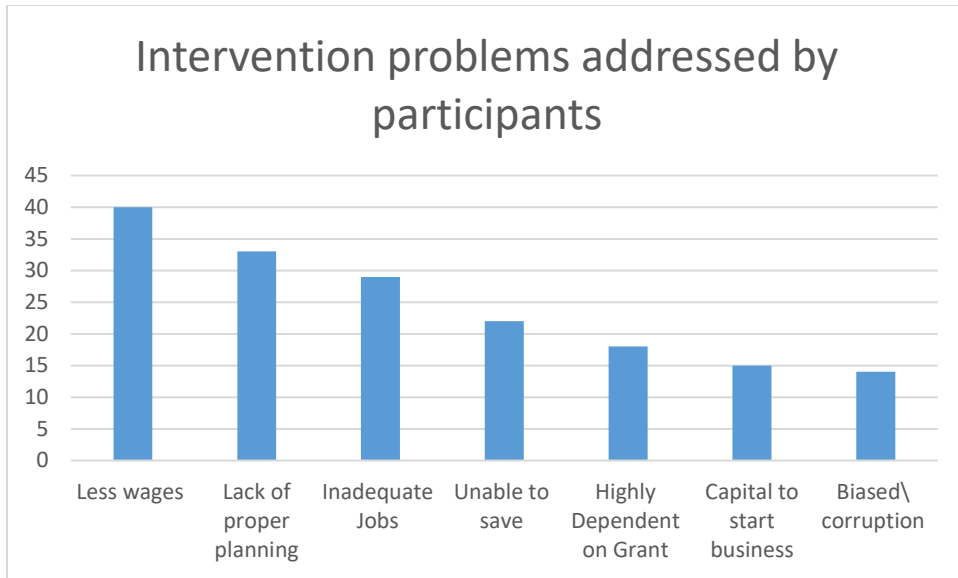


Figure 18: Intervention problems addressed by participants

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter discusses the conclusion drawn from the analysis performed in Chapter Four. This chapter includes recommendations on how interventions in the north can be improved in order to better meet the needs of women so that they remain in the north and do not choose to migrate to the south. Most importantly, it will include a recommendation for policymakers to ensure that interventions are effective in order to improve the lives of the women in the north.

5.1 Conclusion

Based on the study conducted and the analysis performed, it can be concluded that the various interventions that have been established in the north, still have a lot of work to do if they want to achieve their vision and mission. This conclusion is deduced from the analysis of interviews and questionnaires collected from women who have participated in the interventions, some who are still involved with the organizations, and those who never worked in any of the initiatives. Even though there were a lot of issues, the initiatives have helped improve the lives of some people, including employment opportunities, educational support, training in skills for life, reduced cost of living and sometimes offering a market for the products the women produce.

On the other hand, some of the challenges that were identified include: lack of proper planning on the part of the managers of the various initiatives, lack of constant supply of raw materials which makes it very difficult for productivity to take place and the corruption level is high and this prevents the right people from receiving the help they need. There are also the issues of inadequate jobs following training, the amount given to workers as wages is very small, and it is very hard for people to depend and trust

interventions based on problems in the past. This was because the initiatives depend highly on grant and once the funds are finished, it sends the people back to the original stage.

Common complaints included the fact that, there is no available market products which the women have been trained to produce, late and unpaid wages, and difficulty women have in saving money to help their families in the future. With regards to initiatives that offer support to student's education, people complained that they only focus on academically capable students and recommended that education initiatives should find ways to involve those who are not academically inclined. The most profound complaint was the lack of trust the people in the north had towards that various initiatives and this was due to some of the decisions they have made in the past.

One of the recommendations provided was that, the various interventions should make an effort to gain the trust of the people in the north. Also, the initiatives should have a long-term plan so they don't disappoint the people in the future.

5.2 Recommendations

The establishment of initiatives by the government and NGOs have helped to improve lives in the northern part of Ghana. However, there still adjustments that need to be made in order to attract these women to stay and work.

5.2.1 Recommendation on How the Various Intervention Can Be Improved

The following are recommendations based on the results of the research:

- **Adequate Research:** Proper research should be undertaken to ensure that, the intervention that is being set is based on what the people need and available

markets. The research indicates that some initiatives setup without enquiring about what the women in the north truly need and what markets exist for products and skills the initiative offers. Therefore, before setting up, organizers should do research to ensure that they capture the needs of the people.

- **Long-term planning:** There should be proper planning because many of the initiatives start and stop in the middle of their operations. Planning and sufficient fundraising will help them to stay in operation and attain the change they want to make without wasting others' time. This can help build trust between the community and various initiatives.
- **Create a good image:** The various initiatives should create a good image for themselves in order to gain the trust of the people that they set-up the intervention for. This will help to increase the number of people who choose to participate and thus can help organizations to achieve their mission and vision.
- **Need-based:** The interventions should be need-based, and access should not be about who you know. Measures should be put in place to ensure that those who access the initiative truly need it. This will help to ensure that the right people get the opportunity to change their situation.
- **Large inclusive:** The initiatives that focus on education should be re-designed to include those who have lower grades to obtain some form of skills that would help them in the future. This can include educational support for vocational and technical training.
- **Available market:** Measures should also be put in place to create a dependable market for the people when they produce baskets, shea-butter, smocks, and other

goods. This will help women sell their wares to support their families and importantly, save for the future. Inability to save is a key push factor for women migrating to the south.

- **Quick monetary support:** Some women migrate to the south because they needed money to solve their immediate problems. Therefore, the initiative should provide for their short-term needs. That is, initiatives should help women make money in the short run to solve immediate problems, as well as offer training in skills for life. This will reduce the level of migration.
- **Better wages:** About 90% of the participants complained about the low wages they receive in the various initiative in the north. One woman said she earns five times more monthly working in the south than in the north, Therefore, the various interventions should ensure that they paid women a fair wage. In the various interventions, workers are paid as low as GHC 3 per day. The various initiatives operating in the north should consider the minimum wage as per the employment law in Ghana, which is GHC 9.60. I believe that increasing the wage will go a long way to help the people working in the north, hence motivate women to stay and work rather than migrate.
- **Creating awareness of the intervention:** Some people were not aware of the various initiatives and emphasized that they would have loved to work in the north rather than migrating and facing all the challenges that they encounter in the south. With this the various intervention should find various means to people aware of their operations. They can do this through radio advertisement or

through the town criers in the various communities. They can also be known to a lot of people through the door to door means.

- **Saving habit:** With regards to those working in the north, Measures should be put in place to encourage the women to save, rather than using everything to support their extended families. This will help them to be ready, during unforeseen circumstances. On the other hand, those who work in the south and end up losing the whole saving from
- **Adult literacy programs:** Literacy programs should be organized for the women. This could include basic financial literacy, health education, entrepreneurship classes and how to obtain capital.

5.2.2 Recommendation for Government and Policy Makers

Government bodies should find ways to analyze any new initiatives before they are set-up. This is important to ensure that organizations have a long-time plan and sufficient financial resources. It will also ensure that there are proper long-term planning and market analysis. This can be done during the registration of the organizations before they can get the licenses to operate at a particular community.

The government of Ghana should put measures in place to ensure that managers of the various initiatives use the minimum wage to pay their workers. This would help increase the amount these women are paid in and hence improve their living standard. Adopting the minimum wage policy can also enable them to save.

5.2.3 Recommendation for Future Research

Other researcher can look at the procedures that a new initiative has to go through before they can be established in the north. This will help to ensure that initiatives that would be

set in the north are reliable and trusted by the people. It will also help to ensure that they have a long-term plan but not only the short run. This may include the format of a proposal that they have to submit.

Furthermore, based on the data conducted participants indicated that, one of the problems they face as they live and work in the north was that, the susu collectors (microfinance banks) end up disappearing with the money they saved with them. Therefore, other researchers can look at the various producers of the susu operators that they kayayei save with them and advise (KAYA), which one they should go for.

Also, other researchers can look at the feasibility of setting up an agency to regulate the operation of kayayei in the south. From the data gathered, kayayei make a lot of money as they work and live in the south. Kayayei are also able to save a lot of money as they work in the south as compared to that of the north. Setting up an agency that ensures that structures are in place to help the kayayei in the south will help reduce the risk and challenges these women encounter in the south.

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APPENDIX A

This questionnaire will be administered to people who said they have ever migrated. This questionnaire will serve as a data collection instrument for the research conducted to understand the motivation and circumstance of kayayei in the Upper East region of Ghana.

All answers would be kept confidential

Have you ever migrated to the south?

- Yes
- No

For what purposes did you migrate for the first time?

- Visit family
- education
- Vacation holidays
- Work
- Other.....

How old are you now?

- 5 - 15 years
- 16 - 20 years
- 21- 30 year
- 30 - above

How old were you when you started migrating to the south to work as kayayei?

- 5 - 15 years
- 16 - 20 years
- 21- 30 year
- 30 - above

What is your marital status now?

- Single
- Married
- Divorce
- Widow
- Other.....

What is was your marital status when you first migrated?

- Single
- Married
- Divorce
- Widow
- Other.....

What is your employment status?

- A student
- House wife
- Self employed
- Government worker
- Unemployed
- Other.....

Which geographical area do you stay in the north?

- Sherigu
- Sumbrugu
- Zaare
- Other

Do you have children?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how many children do you have?.....

Think of the time you migrated, did you have children when you migrated?

- Yes
- No

Has there been a time that you are unable to pay the school fees of your children?

.....

Has there been a time that you are unable to provide food for your children?

.....

Has there been a time that you are unable to afford health care facilities for your children?

.....

How far did you go in your education?

.....

Do you have any skills or training?

.....

What were you hoping to gain from migrating to the south?

.....

What are some of the hardship that made you want to migrate?

.....

Are you aware of any project or initiatives that have been set-up in the north to help women?

- Yes
- No

Have you ever worked in in any of the interventions that have been set-up in the north?

- Yes
- No

If yes why did you leave to work as a kayayei in the south instead?

- Less payment
- Health risk
- Inability to save
- Inadequate job
- Other.....

If no, why have you not participated in any of the intervention?

- Less payment
- Health risk
- Inability to save
- Inadequate job
- Other

In your own opinion, what intervention will be useful to you?

.....

What are the various means, through which the various intervention can be improved to attract women to stay?

- Increase payment
- Less health issues
- Encourage saving habit
- Create more jobs in the north
- Other

What are some of the challenges you encountered as a kayayei in the south?

- Health issues
- Accommodations
- Maltreatment by customers and other people
- Unstable occupation
- Other.....

Have you ever felt home sick as you migrate? If yes what did you do?

.....

Will you prefer to stay in the north and work or migrate to the south and work?

Explain.....

In comparing the cost of living will you rather stay in the north or migrate to the south?

- North
- South

Explain.....

How much income do you make per month as you live and work in the north?

- GHC 100 and Less
- GHC 101 to 300
- GHC 301 to 500
- GHC 501 to 700
- GHC 701 and Above

How much income do you make per month as you live and work in the south?

- GHC 100 and Less
- GHC 101 to 300
- GHC 301 to 500
- GHC 501 to 700

- GHC 701 and Above

How often were you able to save?

- Every day
- Every week
- Every month
- Once a while
- Most of the times

Explain.....

How often did you send money home when you were in the south?

- Every day
- Every week
- Every month
- Once a while
- Most of the times

Explain.....

Do you have skills that you can use to earn an income?

- Yes
- No

If yes, do you use it, explain.....

Has there been a case where forceful marriage, war or chieftaincy issues have made you to migrate?

- Yes
- No

If yes explain.....

Do you plan to migrate again?

.....

Under what circumstances will you rather stay in the north than to migrate to the south?

.....

APPENDIX B

This is an interview guide questions that will be conducted to understand the motivation and circumstance of kayayei in the Upper East region of Ghana. The focus is on the various intervention established. All answers would be kept confidential.

1. What are some of the various projects and initiatives that you are aware of?
2. Have you ever worked in the various interventions that have been set-up in the north?

If yes, what was your experience.....

3. What are some of the positive impact, the various interventions have made in the north?
4. What are some of the negative impact, the various interventions have made in the north?
5. In what ways were the interventions helpful to you?
6. “Where there Some aspects of the programs that you did not like?
7. How could programs have better met **your** needs?”
8. What are possible problems one may encounter when working in the various interventions in the north?
9. In your own opinion, how should the various intervention be modified in order to reduce the number of women who migrate to the south?
10. In your own opinion, what key structures need to be put in place to reduce rural-urban migration?
11. What will make you stay in the north rather than migrating to the south?