

Running head: CHALLENGES OF FEMALE MIGRANT STREET HAWKERS



Ashesi University

Investigating The Socio-Economic Challenges Faced by Female Migrant Hawkers at
The Kasoa Tollbooth

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B.Sc. Business Administration

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DECLARATION

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

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Date: 13/05/2022

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of theses established by Ashesi University.

Supervisor's Signature: _____

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Date: 13/05/2022

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ABSTRACT

Ghana, like many developing countries, experiences a high rate of internal migration (rural-urban migration). This type of mobility is many times performed by people moving from rural dwellings to urban centers in search of economic opportunities. Over the years, women's participation in Ghana's rural-urban migration streams has seen a rise and street hawking is one of the popular informal economic opportunities taken up by female migrants in Ghana's urban spaces. Despite its opportunity for financial freedom, the job is characterized by harsh working conditions, insecurity and the risk of physical harm and abuse.

The objective of this study is to recommend solutions for sustainable, long-term positive impact in the lives of female migrant street hawkers by focusing on those who work near the Kasoa Tollbooth. To achieve this, the research asked questions concerned with why the females migrated and what socio-economic challenges they faced. The study also looked at whether the females still believe that the decision to migrate was the correct one, given different factors. The research was analyzed using the qualitative phenomenological approach which is advantageous in its ability to capture the experiences and essence of a phenomenon from the perspective of participants. Primary data was collected on the street hawkers at the Kasoa Tollbooth in the form of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. From the research, it was found that the female migrant hawkers at the Kasoa Tollbooth face many socio-economic challenges including injuries, illnesses, harassment by officials and theft. According to the respondents, the best way to help them achieve their long-term goals involves financial assistance either to open a shop, further one's education or pursue a career with an existing skill.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Background to the Research

Although there exists no one definition for migration (Sinha, 2005), in broad terms, migration describes a form of spatial or geographic mobility where a person changes one's usual place of residence between “clearly defined geographic units” (Shryock, Stockwell, & Siegel, 1976). Migration can be temporary, seasonal, or permanent (Sinha, 2005). In the economics literature, there is usually a distinction between internal migration, which is movement within the same country, and international migration which is done across national borders.

The case of international migration presents itself in four main dimensions: permanent migration, labor migration, undocumented migration and refugees (United Nations, 1982). According to the Pew Research Center (2018), international migration from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa has grown dramatically over the past decade and over a million Sub-Saharan Africans have moved to Europe and the United States since 2010 as resettled refugees and labor migrants. In addition to these records, the Pew Research Center even highlights that there is also a gap in data from thousands of undocumented African migrants who emigrate through illegal, unrecorded pathways.

In spite of the astounding data, internal migration in Africa is still far more common than international migration (Awumbila, 2015) and most African migration is seen to happen within the continent. Coupled with its far lower travel costs (Abrar & Seeley, 2009), internal migration is widespread because of its potential to reduce poverty amongst millions of people moving from rural areas to urban centers (Awumbila, 2015). Due to the poverty-reduction potential, internal rural-urban migration has become a crucial livelihood strategy for many Africans over the years.

In Ghana, data indicates that about 52% of the total population aged seven and older is highly mobile (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2008), and by 2010, 94% of all migration was internal (GSS, 2012). In comparison to other African nations such as the Gambia and Nigeria, it is true that international migration is not as severe a problem in Ghana. Given that the primary push factors for African migration are the presence of conflict, repressive governance and limited economic opportunities (Africa Centre for Migration Studies, 2021), the lower rates on international migration in Ghana compared to other African nations may be attributed to the country's thriving democracy and peaceful status amidst its growing economy over the past decades.

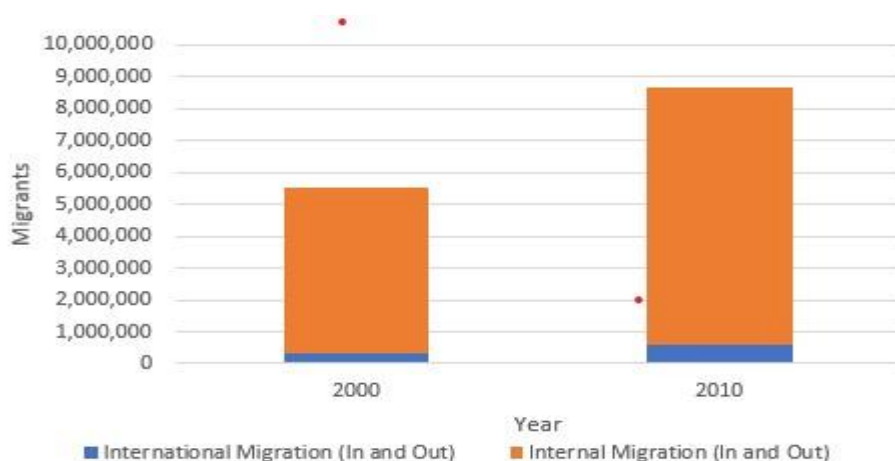


Figure 1: Trend in Internal and International Migration

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014); World Bank (2021)

Much of the rural-urban migration performed in Ghana involves the movement of people from the northern part of the country to the South in search of jobs and economic opportunities. In their research, Cooke, Hague, and McKay (2016) highlight that by 2013, whilst 50.4% of the population in the Northern Region of Ghana was living under severe poverty, the situation existed for only 5.6% of persons in the Greater-Accra Region, which is in the country's South. As a result, North-South migration is a common trend of migration in the country.

Accra, Ghana's capital and financial and commercial center is located in the Greater Accra region and boasts very advanced services and infrastructure, as well as first-world health services, shopping opportunities and entertainment. However, Accra also offers significant employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for informal sector workers such as head porters, hawkers, street vendors and artisans like carpenters, masons, plumbers, tailors, seamstresses, hairdressers, and painters. Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi, Cape Coast and to some extent, the whole South of Ghana is very different from Northern Ghana. This results in migration to the South from the Northern regions of Ghana that are less developed.

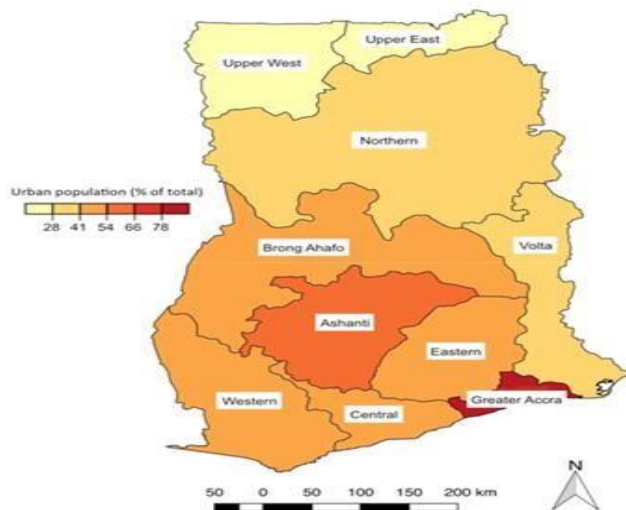


Figure 2: Old Map Of Ghana By Region With Differentiated Urbanization Levels (2010)

Source: Latoff, Coast, Leone and Nyarko (2018)



Figure 3: The New Administrative Map of Ghana Indicating The 16 Regions

Source: Ghana Meteorological Agency (2021)

The reasons why Southern Ghana is more developed than the north are geographical, historical, and also likely due to neoliberal economic policies (Awumbila, Owusu & Teye 2014). Great Britain, Ghana's colonial masters till independence in 1957, as well as the other European missionaries that came to the Gold Coast (now Ghana), including the Danes, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Portuguese, and Germans, were primarily interested in harvesting natural resources such as timber, gold, diamond, bauxite, manganese, cobalt etc. (Chamlee-Wright, 2002). The British built roads, railways, and ports in Southern Ghana to achieve these purposes as these commodities were found in Southern but not in Northern Ghana. The Europeans also educated the local population, built schools, and converted the South to Christianity. This resulted in a dichotomy in Ghana where the South had more western influences including western educated people and a western market-style lifestyle while the north was influenced by Muslim Arab traders who converted the North to Islam (Fuseini & Kemp, 2015).

It is also clear from a cursory look at the map of modern Ghana that middle and south Ghana experience more rainfall than the northern regions and have fertile lands

for the growth of both food crops like maize and cassava and cash crops like cocoa (Rademacher-Schulz, Schraven & Mahama, 2014). Ghana has raked in billions of dollars over time from cocoa and gold exports that have been the main export earners for the country. The middle and south of the country also have several precious minerals like gold and bauxite. Historically, the north-south migration in Ghana was composed of migrant labor responding to labor demand in the cocoa plantations in the South or responding to demand for gold, diamond, bauxite, manganese, or cobalt (RademacherSchulz et al., 2014). More recently, self-employment within the informal sector appears to have more of an influence in attracting migrants to the economic activities in the capital and the other parts of southern Ghana (Pickbourn, 2018)

Within southern Ghana, there also exists spatial differences in poverty levels. The difference in poverty levels results in people migrating to locations closer to the country's capital (Greater Accra) and even its outskirts, with better economic prospects. For instance, whilst 18.8% of the Central Region of Ghana population was living below the new poverty line by 2013, the situation existed for only 5.6% of persons in the Greater Accra Region (Cooke et al., 2016). The significantly higher poverty levels in the Central Region is a natural draw for migration to Accra or cities near Accra.

The Greater Accra region has the largest migration inflow for any region in Ghana (Latoff, Coast, Leone and Nyarko, 2018), and the Kasoa tollbooth, situated at the border between the Central Region and Greater Accra is one of three regional borders to the Greater Accra Region. Kasoa is a peri-urban town in the Awutu-Senya East Municipal District of the Central Region. Amongst the three regional borders to the Greater Accra, the Kasoa tollbooth is the most actively used on a daily basis with record high volumes of traffic.

Over the years, women's participation in Ghana's rural-urban migration streams is gaining more attention in literature (Awumbila, 2015; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Pickbourn, 2018). By 2019, more women (42.9%) in Ghana were participating in internal migration than men (36.9%) (GSS, 2019).

Awumbila (2015, p.2) infers the growing participation of females in migration streams in Ghana as a "feminization of migration". She explains the increasing trend as due to the increasing independence of women and their participation in more economic activities. According to Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, (2008), many young women and girls who move independently of their families from rural agricultural communities to urban centers in the south end up working in the informal sector and in low-scale, mostly unskilled occupations which offer no social protection and regulations.

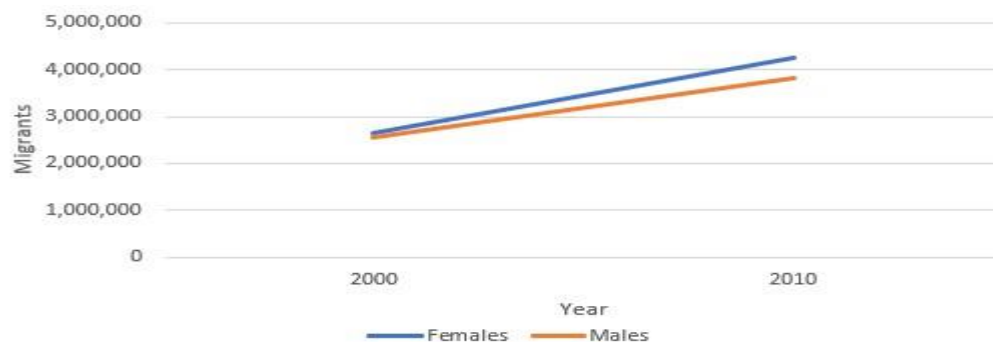


Figure 4: Trend in Internal Migration by Sex Between 2000 and 2010 (10-Year Period)

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014)

Street hawking is a popular economic activity practiced by female migrants in the urban dwellings of Ghana. Street vendors or hawkers are people who sell items on the street, directly to the driving public, without necessarily having a permanent shed or structure they sell from (Bhowmik, 2005). Street hawkers chase the cars when they slow down or stop because of traffic to sell to them. Typically, street hawkers have to

compete with each other, manage the risk of avoiding being hit by moving cars, and the risk of losing their wares or money to drivers going to distant places.

Dey and Dasgupta note that some attributes of street vending that influence its widespread are the ease of market entry, the small-scale of its operations, low capital requirement and unregulated and competitive market (as cited in Jumah, Somua-Wiafe & Apom, 2021, p.4). In recent years, the growing number of motor vehicles users without the corresponding widening of Ghanaian streets have led to more intense traffic congestions, and the most congested points have become ready markets for street hawkers (Steel, Ujoranyi and Owusu, 2014).

Research also reveals that in developing countries, many street hawkers are of the female gender (Duh, 2004; Pick, Ross & Dada, 2002), and in Ghana, many of these women sell items like fast food and pastries, confections, water, amongst others.

The Kasoa tollbooth is one of the many convenient places where street hawkers congregate to sell their wares. With more people who work in Accra relocating to Kasoa for less expensive housing, Kasoa has experienced an increasing population and rapid urbanization over the years. Unfortunately, without the corresponding widening of the road leading to the tollbooth, the street has become one of the most crowded places for motor vehicles, particularly during rush hour periods, and a hub for street hawkers.

The tollbooth typically has structures to slow down the speed of vehicles and narrow the exit points for cars to collect tolls. Even though the Ghanaian government announced the end of road tolls in 2021, the physical structure of the tollbooths and the intentional architectural design of the road to slow down traffic to collect tolls still remains. Thus, despite the seizure of tolls collection, there remain a number of hawkers who continue to work at the location.

Description of the Research Problem

Like many jobs in the informal sector, street hawking is characterized by harsh working conditions, uncertainty, and the risk of physical harm. Although some studies categorize street hawking into the mobile and immobile selling of wares on the streets, hawking near a tollbooth is mainly characterized by walking between cars to sell one's wares. This kind of activity poses various health risks to hawkers, including car accidents, personal injuries, long hours of exposure to the hot sun, and fumes from car exhaust pipes (Akuoko, Ofori-Dua & Forkuo, 2013; Dosu, 2015). Many hawkers work for long hours (Jumah et al., 2021) and are exposed to theft, sexual abuse, reproductive health problems, amongst others (Duh, 2004).

The challenges of street hawkers also vary according to location. In some areas, hawkers are not harassed by the authorities, and their activities appear to be sustainable (Dosu, 2015), yet in other areas, people engaging in the activity are constantly being arrested (Jumah et al., 2021). Studies show a variation in the average earnings of hawkers in different locations in Ghana. In 2015, street hawkers at Tabre and Offinso in Kumasi made an average daily salary of GH ₵9.00 (approximately \$2.00) (Dosu, 2015). However, in another research conducted in Kumasi, precisely Adum, Kejetia and Amakom, (Akuoko et al., 2013), the average daily earnings of hawkers were somewhere between GH ₵10.00 and GH ₵20.00 (approximately between \$5.00 and \$10.00 at the time). Also, at differing locations, the primary reasons people engage in the trade are not the same (Dosu, 2015; Sarpong, 2015). This shows that the characteristics and challenges of street hawking can be very context-specific, and contextual analysis of the problem is very relevant in finding solutions to it.

Although it can be agreed that low wages generally characterize the economic activity, street hawking keeps its participants from living in extreme poverty, and daily

earnings are often above minimum wage (Bezu and Holden, 2015; Dosu, 2015). In Jumah et al. (2021), the significance of the job as a form of life support is evident with the empirical reveal of hawkers who had been arrested before are very likely to return to hawking again. Street hawkers are primarily persons with poor educational backgrounds and low skills, thus with the ease of its market entry and low capital requirements, the job is a life support to many of its participants (Skinner, 2008). The benefits of street hawking to its participants have engaged many to explore the paradox of the economics of the job to individuals and the state.

The complexities between the pros and cons of street hawking result in varying responses from authorities and metropolitan assemblies. According to Skinner (2008, p.8), existing research shows a range of state responses from “large scale, sustained evictions of street traders to sporadic event-driven evictions”. At the lower level, there are also some cases of harassment whilst there also exists places where street hawkers are integrated into urban planning. All these responses have been carried out in different parts of Ghana (Akuoko et al., 2013; Davis, 2008; Dosu, 2015; Jumah et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the directive by the Ministry of Roads and Highways in November 2021, announcing the end to the collection of road tolls adds nuances to the challenges of persons who hawk at tollbooths during the period of this study (Yeboah, 2021). The directive followed indications in the country’s 2022 budget presented by the Finance Minister to parliament, in which he announced the intention of government to bring an end to the collection of road tolls when the budget is approved. Given that the budget was subsequently approved (Lartey, 2021), it would be interesting to explore how the closure of the tollbooth affects the livelihoods of street hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth.

Finally, although research on rural-urban migrants often discusses the benefit of financial savings to plan for future goals, hawkers' stories usually discuss a gap in

financial savings. For many poor people who work daily for survival, having long-term goals can quickly become a luxury and researchers such as Massey, Gebhardt, & Garnefski (2009) mention the need to distinguish between goals and "wishes" by only considering as goals, the things that people put an effort into achieving. Because of the ease of market entry, many street hawkers, even after arrest by authorities, return to hawking and Jumah et al. (2021) describe this behavior as an "addiction". In the end, coping strategies only appear to facilitate an adaptation to one's daily circumstances instead of transforming one's circumstances (Bezu & Holden, 2015).

To summarize, street hawking is characterized by harsh working conditions, and the challenges faced by hawkers such as those at the Kasoa tollbooth require context-specific solutions. Besides the challenging working situations that female street hawkers are known to face, there also exists a gap in financial savings. With a low level of education and skill, a female street hawker's opportunity for achieving life is very limiting. Amidst these challenges, it would be interesting to discover how female hawkers at the Kasoa toll believe they can be helped to achieve their long-term aspirations.

Research Questions

The questions that this research explored were:

- What socio-economic challenges are faced by females who migrated from rural towns to hawk on the streets close to the Kasoa Tollbooth?
- Why did these female hawkers migrate from their rural areas?
- Do the hawkers believe that the decision to migrate was the correct one, given their current situation and challenges?
- Do the hawkers believe that the decision to migrate was the correct one, given their long-term goals?

- How, according to these females, can the government help them achieve their long-term goals?

Research Objectives

This research sought to recommend solutions for sustainable, long-term positive impact in the lives of female migrant street hawkers near the Kasoa TollBooth. In order to achieve this, the paper took a look at socio-economic challenges coupled with the long-term goals of the female migrants. Consequently, the objectives for this research paper were:

- To examine how certain socio-economic challenges may be peculiar to females who migrated from rural towns to work as hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth.
- To examine why the migrant females continue to hawk on the streets of the Kasoa tollbooth amidst the challenges they face.
- To describe the kinds of long-term economic goals that migrant female street hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth have
- To recommend solutions on how best the government can help the female street hawkers out of their challenges based on the long-term economic goals of the females

Methodology

The research conducted for this paper was a qualitative study that employed in-depth interviews and focus groups to understand the motivations and challenges of female migrant hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth. A phenomenological approach was employed to capture narratives and draw meaning from the stories. Purposeful sampling was used to select participants for the study.

Significance of the study

This paper provides insight into the unique challenges of females who migrated from rural towns to work as hawkers at the Kasoa Tollbooth. With the growing urbanization of many Ghanaian settlements and places across Africa (Skinner 2008), street hawking is expected to rise in various locations in years to come. This paper provides strategies and recommendations for sustainable, long-term positive impact in the lives of female migrant street hawkers. Given the theoretical underpinning of this paper, the primary target of the recommendations provided within this paper is towards government policy. However, the analyses of this paper may also be useful to other non-government organizations interested in the well-being or goals of females in the informal sector. The paper also provides new information on south-south rural-urban migration dynamics amongst females, which is far less discussed in literature.

Organization of the study

This thesis is examined in five chapters.

Chapter 1, which has just been covered in the introduction, provides the background research problem, objectives and questions, and the significance of the study. Chapter 2 is the theoretical and literature review. It first discusses the Harris-Todaro theory of ruralurban migration and then reviews the literature on definitions of migration, female migration in Ghana, street hawking, and government intervention. In Chapter 3, the study area, methods and techniques for data collection is highlighted with the research design and strategy, sampling techniques, tests for reliability and validity, as well as the ethical considerations of the research. Chapter 4 presents the study results, highlighting the socio-economic challenges, rationale, and aspirations of the female migrant hawkers. Chapter 5 concludes the paper, adding the limitations of the research and recommendations for the government and other stakeholders.

CHAPTER 2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Overview

This chapter discusses the theory underpinning the research study and provides an analysis of the existing literature relating to the research questions. The chapter starts with an introduction on the informal economy and then moves on to discuss the Harris-Todaro theory of rural-urban migration and how it relates to this study. In the second part of the chapter, a literature review is performed on definitions of migration in order to reach a consensus of the definition that will be employed for this paper. The review then continues with a look at why Ghanaian females participate in internal migration; the cost-benefit analysis of female migration; the socio-economic challenges associated with street hawking in Ghana and finally the response of the Ghanaian government and authorities to migration and street hawking.

Introduction

The informal sector in Ghana is a thriving economy that provides job opportunities for many Ghanaians. The sector is enormous as it employs 88% of the Ghanaian workforce (GSS, 2013). The informal sector, also referred to as the informal economy, is made up of businesses hidden from monetary, regulatory, and institutional authorities even though their operations are not illegal. It employs poor, uneducated populations who otherwise have difficulty finding employment in the formal labor market (Debrah, 2007).

In Ghana's informal economy, employment can be categorized into the rural informal sector and the urban informal sector. The types of employment offered in both sectors can differ significantly. Whilst rural informal labor deals primarily in agricultural and agro-processing activities, the urban informal sector is highly

diversified, with operations mainly in services, construction, and manufacturing activities (Sethuraman, 1977).

Females and migrants from rural areas have high participation in the urban informal economy. In Ghana, women constitute 54.9% of the labour force in the informal economy (GSS, 2016). It is also most common for Ghanaian migrants moving from rural areas to urban centers to find employment in the informal sector (Hart, 1973). The high presence of both of these segments in the informal sector is due to the ease of entry and low capital and technological requirements, which are characteristic of the sector. Lower levels of educational attainment amongst women and rural populations also leave these groups with limited access to the formal labour market.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework under which this paper is developed is the Harris-Todaro theory of rural-urban migration. This theory, used in the field of development economics, explains the urban unemployment crisis in developing nations, caused by the influx of migrants to urban centers. The authors propose a two-sector model which provides economic reasoning for why people migrate from a rural (agricultural) sector to an urban (manufacturing) sector.

The crucial assumption of the Harris-Todaro model is that workers base their decision to migrate on their expected incomes in the urban areas. The theory asserts that as long as there is a politically determined minimum wage which is higher in urban areas than rural areas, people will migrate from the rural areas to the urban places, despite the high rate of unemployment in the urban area (Harris & Todaro, 1970).

In the model, the reason for migrating is analyzed based on the expected return of migration versus the costs borne from migrating. The expected return is measured by the difference in the real incomes between the rural and urban job opportunity

coupled with the probability that one lands an urban job after accounting for transportation costs. Due to the increasing supply of labor in the urban areas, the migration sadly results in either urban unemployment for migrants or a job in the urban informal sector. The risk from rural-urban migration is that one loses one's rural job in search of an urban job.

A policy implication of the Harris-Todaro model is that the solution to urban unemployment is not formal sector job creation. This is because creating jobs in the formal sector attracts more labor to the urban areas, thus raising unemployment there. Instead of such a policy, the model advocates rural development as a more suitable solution because it incentivizes employment in rural areas.

Based on the predictions of the Harris-Todaro theory, this paper looks at street hawking as an urban informal employment opportunity that has emerged from rural-urban migration. Uniquely, informal employment may offer better financial rents than remaining in rural areas, as many people Ghana' rural towns still live under severe poverty (Awuse & Tandoh-Offin, 2014). In fact, in Ghana, poverty is a rural phenomenon. The probability of urban informal employment is enough incentive for many to migrate from rural towns to urban centers. Furthermore, in place of the cost of losing one's rural job, this paper looks at costs in the form of the socio-economic challenges that female street hawkers have to bear as a result of their migration. These costs may be measurable or immeasurable.

In contrast to the Harris-Todaro model, this paper does not use an empirical approach but qualitative analysis to explore rural-urban migration. The uniqueness of this paper is found in its use of economic theory to make recommendations on the problem of street hawking, which is social in its nature and has been analyzed from a social and anthropological standpoint in much of the literature. For this paper, the

Harris-Todaro model is useful for the analysis of the policy implications of migration, in order to draw specific recommendations for government and municipal agencies. Nonetheless, recommendations are also given for non-government organizations that seek to help the interests of female migrants in the informal sectors.

Literature Review

Defining Migration

Throughout the literature, it is common to find many different definitions of migration. Some definitions, such as Shaw's (1975) explanation of migration as "the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance," have become the foundation under which further definitions have been drawn (Sinha, 2005). Unfortunately, by using the words 'relatively' and 'significant', Shaw's explanation, like some other definitions, is insufficient for standardization.

Kok (1995) defines migration as "the crossing of a spatial boundary by one or more persons involved in a change of residence" (p.19). He concludes with this definition as what he calls a 'compromise' after a review of conceptual challenges associated with different definitions of migration. Kok explains that this definition contains two key dimensions found within the majority of migration definitions; a 'spatial boundary' and a 'change of residence.' A spatial boundary refers to the borders of a "migration-defining area" which highlights areas surrounded by a definite political, administrative or geographic line. In the definition that Kok proposes, a 'change of residence' suggests that not all movements constitute migration (as in the case of commuting). Migration only constitutes the movements involving moving to a new house at the destination.

Unlike Shaw's definition, as well as that of others such as Goldscheider's (1971) and Ghosh's (1989), which include an additional 'time' dimension (often indicated by

the presence of some permanence in the nature of migration), Kok (1995) desists from this ideal. Kok references Morrison (1980) to explain why he omits a temporal dimension from his definition, stating that problems with the 'permanence' of spatial mobility are attributed to "the evidence that a range of impermanent moves, reflecting wide variations in the length of stay, is at play when people are classified as migrants or non-migrants. The problem is that some movements may be excluded unjustifiably" (as cited in Kok, 1999, p. 21).

Sinha (2005) also offers a cross-sectional analysis of scholarly definitions of migration, although more extensively. According to Sinha (2005), one must distinguish between 'mobility,' 'circulation,' and 'migration' when it comes to migrant and non-migrant classifications. Mobility is a more general term for movement, and circulation refers to a short-term, repetitive, cyclic movement that often lacks a clear intention of the mover to change residence in a long-lasting way. Thus, unlike Kok (1999), Sinha believes in excluding 'circulation' from the definition of migration.

For this study, the research largely employed Sinha (2005) 's definition of migration given by the movement of one or more persons from one spatial unit or place of residence (known as the origin place) to another (the destination place) defined by a geographic or administrative boundary in space and time. In addition to this, the research methodology employed the criteria employed used for the 2010 census by the Ghana Statistical Service in classifying migrants and internal migrants.

Why Ghanaian Females Participate in Internal Migration Streams

According to Pickbourn (2018), women migrate from the North to the South as a result of the need to meet financial obligations at home or to help their older female relatives in performing their duties. When it comes to deteriorating agricultural livelihoods, the growing inability of women who are responsible for household

provisioning to meet their obligations while at home, makes up an important cause of migration female migration out of the North. (Pickbourn, 2011; Yaro & Tsikata, 2013).

Unfortunately, like Pickbourn (2018), much of the literature that looks at female migration dynamics in Ghana has been in the context of North-South migration. This may be because of the rise in female migration coupled with the trend of migrating from the rural north to the urban south of the country discussed earlier. There is also the topic of the gender-construct occupation of "kayayei" (working as a female head load porter in marketplaces), which characterizes the employment of female North-South migration patterns. (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Pickbourn, 2018; Yeboah, 2008). This paper deviates from the trend in literature by exploring the phenomenon of South-South migration amongst females, particularly from the central, western and volta regions to Accra and Kasoa, as well as the participation of female migrants in the employment of street hawking.

Different from the primary studies that engage North-South female migration dynamics (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Pickbourn, 2018; Yeboah, 2008), Awumbila (2015) is an interesting study that looks at the gendered nature of internal migration movements in Ghana using mainly secondary data and a breadth of existing literature. According to Awumbila (2015), migration can provide new opportunities for women to improve their lives and the welfare of the families they leave behind. Awumbila (2015) highlights that through savings and remittances, female migration can positively impact migrants and their families and change oppressive gender relations. She analyses this as leading to changes in gendered roles and responsibilities to women's benefit. In fact, some northern women often report having to come to the

South to earn enough money to pay for their bride price in order to go back and marry in the north (Ungruhe, 2011).

A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Migration Amongst Females

There is a perception that female internal migrants are worse-off than they would have been if they had stayed at home because of the particular challenges they face as female migrants (Pickbourn, 2018). Female rural-urban migration is widely perceived to be an undesirable phenomenon, and Awumbila (2015) explains that existing studies have focused on the challenges faced by the migrant women at their destinations and on how they cope with these challenges (Kwakye et al., 2007; Yeboah, 2008), rather than on how their migration experiences can be made more beneficial.

Many studies, including Pickbourn (2018), assert the financial benefit of female rural-urban migration. Indeed, if migration did not provide better opportunities for female migrants in Ghana, we would not see an increase in female rural-urban migration over the years (Awuse & Tandoh Offin, 2014). Using a cost-benefit analysis technique of migration on labour migration economics, Awuse and Tandoh Offin (2014) conclude that the economic benefits of migration outweigh the economic cost to migrants. So, there are enough grounds to justify why people move to urban cities these days.

The Socio-Economic Challenges Associated with Street Hawking in Ghana

Street hawking is one of the informal employment opportunities popularly taken up by rural-urban migrants in Ghana, yet it is plagued with many socio-economic challenges. Akuoko et al. (2013) is a primary study that investigates why women venture into street hawking as well as the challenges faced by the women who hawked on the streets of Kumasi, a major Ghanaian city. In Akuoko et al. (2013), it was revealed

that there were major differences in the explanations for which differing age groups in urban Kumasi became hawkers. For the respondents between 13 and 16, the primary reason for hawking was because of a lack of higher education, which left few avenues for alternative employment. For the respondents who were older than 36 years, the primary reason for hawking was the absence of financial capital needed to start a more profitable business.

Akuoko et al. (2013) also revealed socio-economic challenges associated with street hawking. First, the incomes of hawkers were very low, and many hawkers worked just to get by. As a result of this, savings are almost non-existent in the lives of many hawkers. Furthermore, like many workers in the informal sector, street hawkers are exposed to poor working conditions and high levels of workplace insecurity. Finally, female street hawkers also lacked access to credit opportunities to expand their operations because they did not have permanent places to sell their wares.

The Response of the Ghanaian Government and Authorities to Migration and Street Hawking

In Ghana, attempts have been made to return female head porters operating in urban markets of Accra to their areas of origin in the north of Ghana (Awumbila & ArdayfioSchandorf, 2008), without success. More recently, in Ghana in June 2015, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly demolished the largest informal settlement in Accra, Old Fadama, evicting an estimated 50,000 people, mostly migrants from the northern regions of Ghana and other parts of West Africa.

Awumbila (2015) argues that forced evictions and other sweeping anti-migration measures taken by central and city governments, in general, do not provide long-term solutions to urban growth. Instead, they often worsen the risks of already poor and vulnerable people and create deeper exploitative conditions for migrants. The

stigma of rural migrants in urban areas also reflects an inability to view rural-urban migration as part of a potentially positive process. Therefore, there is the need for a more positive and nuanced perspective and response by the government and authorities to rural-urban.

In Accra, trading and hawking on the streets (except for street markets) is illegal according to the laws of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, and there are entrenched by-laws against the practice (Jorgensen, 2012). As a result of this, the fear of arrest and confiscation of goods is one of the daily struggles of many hawkers in the city. However, the work of Jumah et al. (2021) interestingly reveals that the hawkers who were less likely to stop engaging in the practice were those who had been arrested before. Many hawkers return to the trade even after arrest because the work is life support to them. This goes on to show that police arrest may not be a sustainable way of preventing people from hawking.

In 2007, a shopping mall was constructed by the government for pedestrians at Odawna in Accra. Although the mall contained sheds to house 4000 street traders (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008) a majority of the sellers the mall after just about a week, returning to the streets to sell their wares. The argument of the street traders was that selling in the shopping mall led to slower sales because it did not provide them with immediate access to their customers (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). This situation goes on to prove that when the opinions of a project's beneficiaries are not consulted before embarking on it, there is the likelihood of producing futile and unsustainable solutions that result in a huge waste of resource.

Conclusion

In spite of the many socio-economic challenges that female migrants face, migration offers many opportunities for females to improve their livelihoods. Thus,

there is the need for a positive and nuanced perspective and response by the government and authorities to rural-urban and street hawking in order to achieve sustainable solutions that can solve the challenges of female migrant street hawkers. Police arrest and forced evictions are not sustainable ways to end street hawking. It is also important for governments and authorities to acquire the opinions and contributions of female migrant street vendors in order to create long-lasting, worthwhile solutions for them.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

Chapter Overview

This chapter discusses the information on the research strategy and design, the scope of the study, the sampling strategy, sources of data, as well as the data collection tools, ethical considerations, and limitations of this research study.

Research Design

This research is a qualitative study involving interviews of female migrant street hawkers near the Kasoa TollBooth area. A qualitative study is a type of research involving inquiry meant to explore a human or social problem in a natural setting by drawing out the perspectives and views of informants (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative research gathers participants' experiences, perceptions, and behaviors to answer the questions 'how' and 'why' instead of 'how many and 'how much' (Tenny, Brannan, Brannan & Sharts-Hopko, 2017). Thus, one of the strengths of a qualitative research approach is that it is able to explain processes and patterns of human behavior, which may be difficult to quantify. A qualitative research approach will exclusively be used because this study aims to draw meaning out of the unique perspectives, experiences, and challenges of the street hawkers near the Kasoa tollbooth.

A phenomenological approach to qualitative research was employed for the study. Phenomenology investigates the 'lived experiences' of participants and aims to study, from the perspective of participants, how and why participants behave in a particular way (Tenny, G. Brannan, J. Brannan & Sharts-Hopko, 2017). Collingridge and Gantt (2008, p. 13) interestingly put that this particular research approach aims to "know an experience the way that the participants know it, to understand the meanings they attach to their experiences, and to capture the essence of a phenomenon as they

experience it". Phenomenological research is unique and advantageous in its way of identifying the foundational aspects of what is taking place in a particular setting, from the very perspective of participants. The approach was employed especially because of this paper's objectives of describing the long-term aspirations of the female migrants and examining why these women continue to hawk on the streets despite the challenges they face.

Research Scope

The overarching purpose of this study is to recommend solutions for sustainable, long-term positive impact in the lives of female migrant street hawkers near the Kasoa TollBooth. In order to limit the extent of the research, the scope of the study has been constrained to the specific Research Questions outlined in Chapter 1 of this paper.

The research for this paper was specifically conducted at the Kasoa tollbooth area. The study population for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion consisted of female street hawkers working close to the tollbooth. The total population of hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth can be difficult to ascertain because different hawkers work at different times of the day. Nonetheless, a total of 10 female migrants were interviewed for this research. In order to validate respondents' migrant status, a series of questions were asked at the beginning of the interview before proceeding with the rest of the interview. The criteria for determining migrant status drew inspiration from the 2010 Census by the Ghana Statistical Service as cited in Latoff et al:

- Person interviewed was born in Kasoa - *A NO answer is a migrant*
- Person interviewed was not born in Kasoa
 - Internal migrant (intra-regional) = Person born in the Central Region but outside Kasoa

- Internal migrant (inter-regional) = Person born outside the Central Region but in Ghana
- International migrant = Person born outside Ghana *-All respondents are migrants*
- Person interviewed who has not lived in Kasoa for his/her entire life
- Person who has lived in Kasoa for a period less than her/his age

Sampling Strategy

The research employed a sampling strategy of Purposeful Sampling, consisting of Homogenous Sampling. Purposeful sampling is a method of sampling where, according to the nature and type of research, participants with certain desired traits are intentionally chosen for the research. (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). Because this study draws meaning from the unique experiences of the females in order to tell a story, purposeful sampling strategy was used to synthesize the primary research performed to be achieved. Homogenous Sampling is the strategy of picking a small, homogenous sample, a purposeful technique with the aim of describing a particular sub-group in-depth (Patton, 2002, p. 235). The in-depth interviews and focus group for this research study were performed on a homogenous sample of female migrant street hawkers.

Data Collection Tools

When collecting primary data for this research, the interviews and focus group discussions were face-to-face and had a semi-structured format of questioning. An interview guide was prepared to provide some structure for conducting the interviews. Open-ended questions were employed during interviews in order to allow respondents to share more depth on their answers.

Data Analysis

The data for this research was collected and categorized into themes. Data from the interviews conducted were recorded and thematic analysis, which involves finding recurrent patterns, was employed to analyze responses (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes were drawn by transcribing words and phrases that recur from the interactions.

Testing for Reliability and Validity

Vanderstoep & Johnston (2009) define research reliability as the extent to which a measure would yield the same results across different time periods, researchers or versions of the research instrument. According to the authors, reliability essentially deals with consistency. Conversely, a measure shows validity if it truly measures what it says or intends to measure (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009).

To ensure the reliability of the information collected, the answers of participants were repeated to each participant after every question. This ensured that the researcher had correctly understood and recorded answers. Also, a pilot test was performed to test the reliability and effectiveness of the initial research questions in gaining the relevant responses. To aid the research validity, the researcher asked a series of questions that provided the criteria for whether an interviewee was considered a migrant or non-migrant before proceeding to ask further questions. All the respondents were migrants.

Ethical Considerations

For this study, participants were free to choose whether or not they would like to participate in the study. The identity of participants were also not disclosed. Finally, the study, interview procedures and instruments were submitted to the Ashesi University Human Subjects Review Committee (HSCR) for approval prior to performing the research.

CHAPTER 4 – ANALYSIS OF RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Chapter Overview

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part begins with a presentation of the research results divided into the demographic description of respondents, the nature of their work, the socio-economic issues faced, the reported reasons for migrating, and the long-term goals of the women. The next section of this chapter then discusses the results in a broader analysis based on a comparison with both theory and literature and then draws implications of the findings for policy. The specific objectives of the research are to:

- To examine how certain socio-economic challenges may be peculiar to females who migrated from rural towns to work as hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth.
- To examine why the migrant females continue to hawk on the streets of the Kasoa tollbooth amidst the challenges they face.
- To describe the kinds of long-term economic goals that migrant female street hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth have
- To recommend solutions on how best the government can help the female street hawkers out of their challenges based on the long-term economic goals of the females.

Presentation of Results

Demographic Description of Respondents

Out of the totality of hawkers present at the Kasoa tollbooth when the research was taken, ten female migrant street hawkers participated in the qualitative research study of in-depth interviews. These females ranged between the ages of 18 and 45 years.

Of the respondents, 60% were below 30 years of age, 20% were between 30 years and 39 years, and 20% were above 40 years old.

From the data, 9 out of 10 of the females were school dropouts, while 1 one of the respondents worked as a hawker while going to school. 80% of the respondents had achieved a level of education lower than the senior high school level. The low educational attainment of the female street hawkers is validated in researches such as Akuoko et al (2013). However, in addition to this knowledge, this research peculiarly revealed that females older than 30 years had lower levels of education (below junior high school) than the younger respondents of ages below 30 years. This perhaps reflect the increase in the educational attainment of Ghanaian females over the years (Azavedo & Nnadozie, 2019).

Out of the respondents, 40% were migrants from within the Central Region, and 60% from outside of the Central Region (10% migrated from the Volta Region, 20% from the Ashanti Region, and 10% from the Brong Ahafo Region and 20% from the Greater Accra Region). Despite this data, 30% of the respondents were of the Ewe ethnic group. 30% of the respondents were of Akan affiliation, whilst 40% were from the Fante ethnic group. All the respondents noted that they live in communities within Kasoa.

Finally, according to the interviews, 9 out the 10 of the respondents were unmarried, whilst only 1 respondent was married. In addition, 5 out of 10 of all the interviewees were mothers, out of which number 80% were single mothers. Regarding the migration network, 4 out of the 10 interviewees were mothers living only with their children, 4 were young girls living under the care of an older relative, 1 female lived with her husband and children, and 1 lived alone.

Pie-charts which visualise the demographics of the interviewees can be found in Appendix A. The responses of the interviewees are organized in themes and sub-themes in a bid to answer the research questions.

Nature of The Work

At the tollbooth, a distinction in the types of hawkers can easily be made; the hawkers who carry their items on their heads and walk between cars, as opposed to those who sit behind tables on the sidewalk and have their items laid out for sale. The females who sat behind the tables were much older than those walking between the cars as they were all aged above 30 years. The latter is more prominent and closer to the tollbooth; as cars slow down near the structure, drivers either shout the item they request to purchase or move/park closer to the sidewalk to purchase an item. All the persons selling with the aid of tables were female, although those who sold between cars consisted of males and females. There were also observed some hawkers who were at the tollbooth with miniature motor vehicles from which they sold items. Both male and female hawkers still walked between cars to sell their items, although they had a location to lay their items.

The nature of the work was heavily dependent on traffic, and according to respondents, this started around 4 pm, peaked at 6 pm, and started to subside after 8 pm. According to one respondent who owned a table: *"It is the traffic that makes us keep long here. As for us, it is the traffic that we use to work. When the traffic eases, we can also easily decide to go home"*. Visiting the tollbooth at 10 am on one occasion, the researcher observed 15 hawkers. This number is a stark contrast to 89 hawkers present at the toll at 7 pm on another day. Compared to the female hawkers who sold with tables, most of those who sold without tables were much younger and sold their wares whilst walking between cars.

Among the responses of the hawkers, all the hawkers complained about the way the closure of the tollbooth had negatively affected their business. The Government of Ghana closed the tollbooths in 2021 without removing the structures or all the intentional designs intended to slow traffic to a crawl. One respondent mentioned, "*At first it was good, but now it is not good at all,*" and another mentioned, "*At first, I used to come as early as 6:30 am because there would be traffic when people are on their way to work. Nowadays, when you come in the morning, you are basically wasting your time. You will not make sales.*" Many highlighted how they had been attracted to work at the tollbooth because of how profitable they had heard that hawking was before the tollbooth was closed. One respondent said: "*A friend's mother who was selling items here encouraged me to join her here because she said a work-and-pay employment will not help me.*" All respondents also attested to a reduction in the number of hawkers at the site, although few of the respondents could name specific individuals. "*At first, when you come here, you would see many people selling here, but it is not like that anymore*", said one respondent.

*The Socio-Economic Issues of Female Migrant Hawkers at The Kasoa TollBooth And
The Satisfaction With The Decision To Migrate*

Health

From the data, most of the respondents mentioned that they eat twice or thrice a day, where at least one of their meals was a heavy one, such as rice and stew, *fufu*, or *akple*. During an interview, one respondent, however, highlighted that she was hungry most of the time that she was at work. Three respondents also mentioned that hawking at night had led them to get malaria because the plasmodium-carrying female anopheles mosquito whose bites perpetuate malaria bites at night. Other common mentions by the respondents were body pains after work, tiredness, and headaches, particularly from

those who carried their goods on their heads. Despite the health issues, the respondents did not visit the pharmacy and clinic as often as they were unwell.

Compared to their health conditions before migration, majority of the respondents indicated a negative response regarding their health conditions at Kasoa whilst few respondents highlighted no/minimal difference in their health conditions in Kasoa compared to their migration origin. None of the respondents offered a positive response about their health. One respondent highlighted how she had lost weight from her move to Kasoa due to the nature of the work.

Income and Profits

The research found a wide range in the females' profits from their business regarding income. While some of the females could go an entire day without making any sales, other hawkers made as much as 100 cedis (approximately \$13) in a day. However, the income gained by hawkers was dependent on the nature of the items sold. For example, while apples and grapes were sold at standard prices of 8 cedis & 10 cedis (approximately \$1.05 & \$1.32), plantain chips were sold at 2 and 5 cedis (approximately \$0.26 & \$0.66). Some of the respondents highlighted that they did not calculate the profit they made from their sales. Others also highlighted that they did not calculate their profits per day but instead by the boxes of items sold.

All the respondents highlighted improved income earnings resulting from their migration to Kasoa. Some respondents pointed out how even though they acknowledged a higher cost of living in Kasoa than in their original location, living in Kasoa afforded them a better opportunity for achieving life than if they had not migrated.

Safety, Security, and Abuse

Regarding their migration experience, all the respondents highlighted that Kasoa had less safety than their origin location. However, more of the discussions of insecurity was related to the nature of the work as a hawker than with Kasoa as a migration location. Of the eight responses collected on safety, a vast majority indicated negative satisfaction with the safety of the work in comparison to the responses to satisfaction with the safety of the Kasoa. None of the responses for both categories were positive. Some of the issues relating to insecurity at work were theft, injuries, and harassment from district assembly agents popularly referred to as "abayeifuo," which in the local Ga language means "They are coming."

Reason for Migration

Out of the ten respondents, eight respondents of the interviewees highlighted that they moved to live closer to Kasoa in search of work, and two moved due to the decision of the family member with whom they lived. The increasing number of females migrating in search of economic opportunities for themselves and for their families is evidenced widely in Ghanaian female migration dynamics (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Pickbourn, 2018). In other parts of the world, the migration of females along with a husband or parent is also widely common (Boyd, 1997; Cerrutti & Massey, 2001).

Why The Females Continue Hawking At The Tollbooth

Based on the interviews, the reasons why the females engaged in hawking amidst the challenges they faced were first, for the livelihood of their children and secondly, to raise money for future goals. The former was more prominent among older females and those respondents who were mothers, whilst the latter was common amongst younger respondents. With this, the research showed that the older females

and mothers had thus spent more years working at the tollbooth whilst younger girls had spent two years or less.

A prominent response from the interviews with all the females was that they did not know anyone who was willing or in the capacity to help them achieve a better job. Finally, the older females highlighted how their low levels of education and skill left them with little opportunity to pursue a different job.

The Long-Term Goals of Female Migrant Hawkers At The Kasoa TollBooth And Their Satisfaction With The Decision To Migrate

Regarding the kind of long-term goals that the females had, 42% of the responses indicated a desire to get a store to sell wares. A respondent said: "*If I am taught how to sew, I cannot even learn it at this point. I have so many problems to think about [because I am old].*" 25% of the respondents hoped to pursue a career based on a skill they already had, and another 25% of the responses indicated a desire to further their education. Only 8% of the responses received expressed a desire to learn a new skill. Some females also had more than one economic goal.

Regarding the migration, 9 out of 10 of the females believed that the migration to Kasoa was more helpful for them in achieving their long-term goals than staying at their origin location. Only one respondent expressed indifference in her satisfaction with migration in this regard.

Out of the ten females interviewed, only two were making practical steps in achieving their economic goals, while one attested that she had previously been making steps in achieving her goals but was no longer in that position. Out of the females who were not taking steps to achieve their goals, 87.5% of the responses indicated that savings were far too little for them to achieve those goals. Out of these responses, in particular, 71.4% of the reason for low savings was attributed to their children's

influence in the situation, as they had to spend a chunk on the upkeep of their children. One respondent said: "*I became pregnant, so I could not finish learning the apprenticeship...Is it not because of the children that we are suffering?, All that we do is for our children*".

How The Females Believe That The Government Can Assist Them In Achieving Their Long-Term Goals

When asked for ways in which they would love to receive help, all the interviewees who expressed a desire to open a shop expressed the need for financial assistance. Three young respondents expressed the desire for financial assistance to further their education. An interesting line of responses also came from three respondent mothers who expressed the desire for the government to support them with the expenses they need to take care of their children.

Discussion of Findings

The Socio-Economic Challenges Peculiar To The Female Migrant Hawkers At the Kasoa Tollbooth

This research validates the challenges of street hawkers mentioned in Akuoko et al. (2013). That is to say, like the hawkers in Akuoko's study, hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth experience poor working conditions, high levels of workplace insecurity (in the form of irregular visits by "abayeifuo" and inconsistent earnings), health risks, theft, and little access to credit opportunities. Unlike in Duh (2004), however, none of the interviewees mentioned exposure to sexual abuse and reproductive problems caused by their occupation.

The Closure of The Kasoa Tollbooth

From the research, the closure of the Kasoa tollbooth had three main effects in the work dynamics of the female migrant hawkers:

1. A reduction in the sales and thus, income of the hawkers
2. An adjustment in the working hours of the hawkers
3. A reduction in the number of hawkers working at the tollbooth

These effects of the closing of the tollbooth on the hawker's work over a short period of time reveals the how strongly the policy to close the toll booths has indirectly influenced the hawking phenomenon at the Kasoa Tollbooth and the number of hawkers present at the location. The presence of the tollbooth can thus be considered a social structure that was particularly relevant to the nature of hawking at the tollbooth. Concerning street hawkers, Adaawen (2011) describes a social structure as the institutions and social networks that emerge through social interaction and upon which hawkers draw on in the process of their activities.

The effectiveness of the closure of the tollbooth in reducing the number of hawkers at the tollbooth for instance can be contrasted with the work of the "abayeifuo" in deterring the hawkers from selling in the manner they did. One respondent who sold her wares at the toll booth for more than 10 years said: *We are very stubborn. We will do whatever we can so that we get food to eat. Even if they [the "abayeifuo"] sack us from here ten times, we will be here again ten times.* Whereas the harassment by these district officials has done very little in deterring hawkers over the years, the policy to close tollbooths in the country, within a few months, had greatly reduced the number of hawkers at the site. This result towards the Kasoa tollbooth area asserts the recommendation of Awumbila (2015) in the need for more nuanced approaches to dealing with street hawking as opposed to harassment and arrest by authorities.

The Relation Between Government Policy and Female Migrant Hawkers' Desire for Socio-Economic Advancement

In line with the Harris-Todaro model of rural-urban migration, this research hypothesized that the migration of the hawkers at the Kasoa tollbooth was largely dependent on the economic gains expected from the location. A qualitative instead of a quantitative approach was adopted to enable respondents to provide in depth explanation of the decision to leave. From the responses collated, none of the interviewees expressed positive changes in health, safety, and security from the migration origin location, and most of the responses relating to these issues were negative. Given their decision to continue living at Kasoa despite these results, one conclusion that can be drawn is that the influence of income on migrant decisions may outweigh the importance of the other factors. The migrants appear prioritize the gains in income above all else. Alternatively, in line with the Harris-Todaro model, it can be assumed that, from the perceptions of the migrant hawkers, the benefit of income gained outweighs the socio-economic costs of migration in health, safety, and security.

The Saving/Spending Habits of Hawkers and How It Affects Achieving Goals

This study finds that the spending habits of the hawkers are an additional factor that influences the low level of savings among female hawkers expressed in literature such as Dosu (2015). One female highlighted that savings are essential for every human being because no one can predict an emergency such as a sickness. With this wisdom, she expressed how some hawkers, including herself, could save some money, no matter how small. However, through this study, 50% of the interviewed women expressed how their savings were affected by the money they spent on providing for their children. After this, they then expressed how the low savings impacted the ability to achieve

long-term goals. The issue regarding female migrant hawkers, their children and the influence on their finances is discussed more in the recommendations provided within this chapter.

Why Society Should Care About The Challenges Of Female Migrant Hawkers

As mentioned earlier, the socio-economic challenges faced by the female street hawkers include theft, illnesses and health risks, workplace injuries, harassment by officials, low earnings and little access to credit opportunities.

Engaging in street hawking allows females a better opportunity to provide for their children and family (Sassen, Galvaan, & Duncan, 2018). Migrant street traders provide many benefits to their families and themselves. Through the little earnings generated, females are able to pay for food, rent, school fees and also provide remittance to other family members (Pickbourn, 2018). Street hawking provides younger migrants with the opportunity to finance their education at the junior high and senior high school levels (Bromley & Mackie, 2009). Through daily wages, teenage female hawkers will be able to support themselves through school whilst hawking, without overburdening their parents. Upon completing their education, these females are in a better position to attain better economic prospects for themselves. By achieving better prospects, these females are more less likely to raising street children; a social problem often associated with many vices including theft, prostitution, drug use and an overall burden on the economy (Dada, 2013). Furthermore, the government ought to be concerned with the health conditions of the female street hawkers as they make up the productive capital of the country's economy. Finally, the Ghanaian government also ought to be concerned with the ongoing level of harassment experienced by a majority of street hawkers across urban spaces (Jumah et al., 2021). With hawkers across Ghana having the right to vote in the country's democracy, the opposition the opposition in power

have incentives to support the hawkers when the government tries to sack them. Hawkers can claim inhumane treatment which can get the government voted out of power.

*Recommendations Of The Research Based On The Long Term Goals Of The Female
Migrant Hawkers*

Problems Associated With Receiving Financial Assistance From The Government

All the respondents expressed the need for support from the government that was in some form of financial assistance (whether to further one's education, buy/hire a shop, or assist in the upkeep of their children). However, many issues can potentially be associated with disbursing financial support to the female migrant hawkers, including corruption and bureaucracy in the disbursing office (Easterly, 2002) and the measure of the effectiveness and sustainability of financial support in helping the socio-economic situation of the female migrants (Jumah et al., 2021). A nuanced analysis of an effective and sustainable strategy to support the female migrant street hawkers will be more beneficial.

**The Need For Scholarship Schemes Tailored To Target Female Street Hawkers
and Their Dependents**

The presence and influence of child dependents to hawkers is one dimension of the issues relating to female migrant hawkers that has little mention in the literature on migrants and hawkers. There is the chance that the issue may (or may not) be peculiar to the female migrant hawkers at the Kasoa toll booth. It has the opportunity to be greatly explored further as a means of assisting the finances of female migrant and street hawkers.

Scholarship schemes need not only be created for female migrants, street hawkers or informal sector workers but also the children of this group of individuals.

By enhancing access to education for young female hawkers, the ladies are at an advantage to receive better job prospects after school. Vocational training particularly, is also especially helpful in providing its students with the requisite skills for employment after school (Palmer 2009). Given the significant number of mothers in this study, a scholarship scheme will not only prove beneficial to the young female hawkers in getting off the streets, but also to older hawkers. The latter will benefit from this opportunity in the form of a reduction in the expenses covered by the mothers.

The Need for Non-Governmental Support

Factors such as bureaucracy and corruption described when discussing financial assistance earlier point out that government support can be a very challenging matter. At the same time, the Harris Todaro model makes us know that improving the livelihoods at migration destinations will only facilitate the migration of more people away from rural towns into urban places. Both the challenges associated with government support and the predictions of the Harris Todaro model draws us to recognize that at the end of the day, the best solutions for migrant hawkers must involve the support from profit and non-profit making organizations to increase the potential for migrants to improve their income earnings.

There is the need for government policy and infrastructure that will that encourage the investment of profit-making organizations in rural dwellings. This research study shows that majority of the hawkers mentioned that they experienced a negative or no change in their health, safety and security since they moved to Kasoa. Following the reasoning of the Harris-Todaro model, profit-making organizations are more poised to promote a sustainable and effective alleviation of the female migrants' socio-economic challenges through income levels which are higher at the migrant's origin places than what the migrants earn from street hawking at Kasoa.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

The main findings of this paper are summarized below:

Policy which indirectly affects social structures (such as traffic) in the work dynamics of street hawking was more effective in reducing the hawking activity and number of hawkers at a hawking site than harassment by authorities.

Female migrants at the Kasoa Tollbooth prioritize gains in income above the socio-economic costs they face from hawking. Alternatively, the benefit of income the migrants gain from hawking outweighs the socio-economic costs of health, safety, and security which they face.

Female migrants at the Kasoa Tollbooth are driven by the need to take care of their children. The expenses incurred in taking care of dependents largely affects the income savings of female migrant hawkers at the Kasoa Tollbooth.

Limitations of the study

Regarding the interview process, it was observed by the researcher that hawkers who worked during the day were different from those who worked at night. Unfortunately, the researcher could only interview hawkers during the daytime when they were less busy because there was little traffic. As the night drew and more hawkers arrived on the premises, less hawkers were willing to participate in the research. In spite of this, the researcher was able to conduct full interviews with hawkers in accordance with the sample size.

Recommendations For Further Research

Due to the scope of this research, the researcher did not interview government officials on their awareness of the challenges that the female migrant hawkers face and

the available measures and policies that aim to tackle rural-urban migration and hawking. Especially regarding government policies towards rural development, it will be interesting to explore, from the perspective of migrants, why their efforts toward migration have not been deterred despite current rural development policies and advancements in infrastructure. This recommendation is advised because there is little research on how the implementation of rural development policies has affected rural dwellers and influenced rural-urban migration dynamics at both urban and rural locations.

Although all the interviewed hawkers remained at their migration destination residence following the implementation of the policy, the researcher was unable to interview migrants who had moved to sell their items to surrounding towns further away from the tollbooth. Performing an interview on hawkers who had moved to work further away from the tollbooth following its closure will be helpful in providing a 360 look at how the policy had influenced their migration and work decisions.

Considering that many hawkers had lamented that they did not know people or organizations who were in the capacity to assist them out of hawking, a recommendation would be to explore the social structures of the migration networks for the females.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Charts to Aid An Understanding of Research Results

Age
10 responses

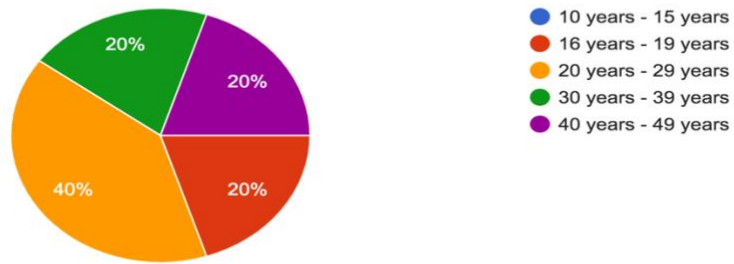


Figure A1: A pie chart showing the age distribution of respondents

Nature of hawking
10 responses

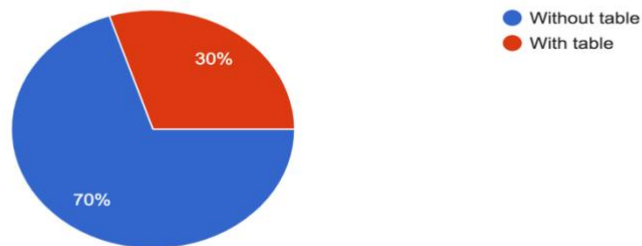


Figure A2: A pie chart showing the nature of hawking activities of respondents

Migrated from...
10 responses

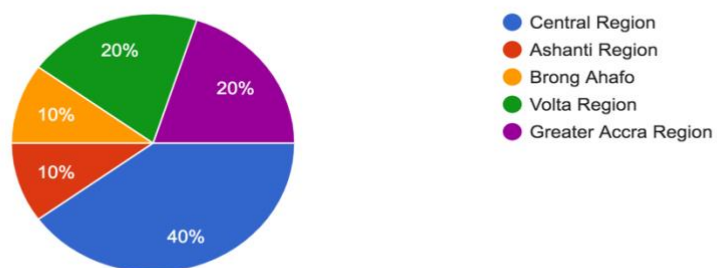


Figure A3: A pie chart showing the migration origin of the respondents

Lives with...
10 responses

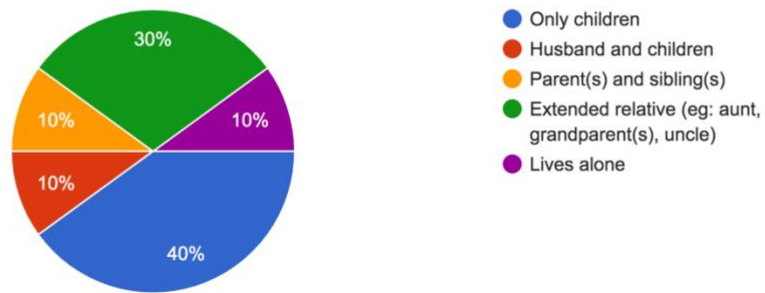


Figure A4: A pie chart showing who the respondents live with

Ethnic Affiliation
10 responses

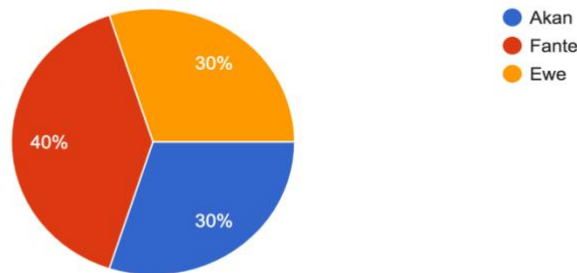


Figure A5: A pie chart showing the ethnic affiliation of respondents

Highest level of education
10 responses

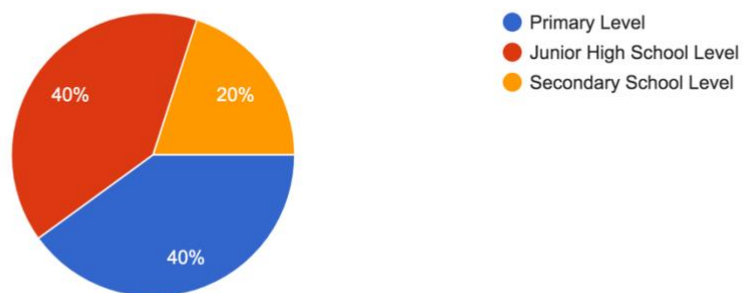


Figure A6: A pie chart showing the highest level of education of the respondents

Appendix B: Consent Form

My name is Edna Boa-Amponsem, and I am a student of Ashesi University. I would like to ask your permission to be part of a research I am performing on female migrants who hawk on the streets of the Kasoa tollbooth. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences, challenges, and aspirations of lives of female migrant street hawkers near the Kasoa Toll Booth in order to recommend solutions for sustainable, long-term positive impact in their lives.

You are free to be part of this activity and you are free to stop at any moment during the activity without negative consequences. This interview is going to be recorded, however the information you provide for this research will be confidential and your identity anonymous in the final report. Your participation in this activity will be to provide honest information on your experiences, opinions, challenges, and aspirations as a female migrant street hawker. This interview consists of some sensitive questions and some risks of being part of this interview are anxiety and distress from some questions and the inconvenience of time spent participating in this study. Through the result of this research, the government and organizations interested in the well-being of street hawkers can potentially gain first-hand knowledge on the challenges hawkers face and provide policies and other business or social solutions that directly improve the lives of street hawkers.

If you have any questions, you can ask the primary research collector, Edna Boa-Amponsem via a phone call or Whatsapp on 0201358408. If you agree to be part of this study, please say the words *“My name is [first name only] and I agree to take part in this study.”* into the microphone device provided or sign by providing the initials of your full name at the space provided at the bottom of the form.

For further information, you can contact my supervisor Dr Stephen Armah via email at searmah@ashesi.edu.gh.

This study and consent form have been reviewed and approved by the Ashesi University Human Subjects Review Committee. If you have questions about the approval process, please contact Chair, Ashesi University HSCR at irb@ashesi.edu.gh.

Evidence of consent received

.....
 Participant’s signature [initials] Date Place where consent is given

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Interview guide

This interview is for a study I am performing on female migrants who hawk on the streets of the Kasoa tollbooth with the aim of recommending solutions for sustainable, long-term positive impact in their lives. The interview process should take between 30 minutes and 1 hour. I believe you are a good fit for this research because as a street hawker, I believe that you can help me understand the experiences, challenges, and aspirations of the lives of female migrant hawkers near the Kasoa Toll Booth. Please make sure to read and sign the statement of confidentiality and informed consent before taking part in the interview.

Thank you.

Introduction

1. What is your first name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your gender?
4. What is your tribe?
5. What is your religion?
6. Where do you stay/ Is it close to Kasoa?
7. How long have you been living at this location?

For long distance migrants

- a. Where were you staying before you moved to Kasoa?
- b. How was it like at where you were staying before? (in terms of Family, work personal & personal satisfaction/happiness)
- c. Why did you move here?
- d. What is it like living here?

Background

8. Who do you live with?
9. Where is your family? What do they do?

About street hawking

10. How long have you been doing this work?
11. Tell me about how you entered into this business
12. How have you gotten used to it over the years/months
13. What is a normal day for you like?

Benefits of hawking

14. Please tell me about some of the things you like about this work.

Socio-Economic Challenges**Income and sales**

15. What do you sell?
16. How much does one cost
17. How many did you sell yesterday
18. Did you come to work at the normal time and close normal time yest
19. When you close, do you count how much you have make in the day
20. How much did you make yesterday
21. Is this the normal amount you make most of the time
22. If not, how much do you think you normally make?

What about where you were staying initially? (for each question)

23. Looking at your current income situation, do you think your decision to migrate was a good one?

Health

24. How many times do you eat in day? What about at where you were staying initially?
25. What kind of food do you eat in a day now? What about where you were staying initially?
26. What kind of gotten physical hurt because of this work? How many times?
27. When was the last time you went to the clinic or pharmacy? What about where you were staying initially?
28. How many times have you been to the clinic or pharmacy this year? What about where you were staying initially?

29. Looking at your current health situation, do you think your decision to migrate was a good one?

Education

30. Do you go to school? What about when you were at...?
 31. When did you stop?
 32. Looking at your current schooling situation, do you think your decision to migrate was a good one?

Relationship with authorities

33. Do you have to pay anything to the authorities (*ie.* taxes) to continue doing this work?
 34. Have you or any of your colleagues had any bad experience with the authorities because of your work? How was that like?
 35. Have the police ever attempted to or mentioned that they will arrest you or any of your colleagues because of this work? How did that happen?

Safety and Security

36. What kind of physical harm have you experienced because of this work? How many times?
 37. How did you deal with the issue?
 38. Have your goods ever been stolen before? What happened?
 39. How did you deal with the issue?
 40. Have you or your colleagues suffered any emotional, sexual, or physical abuse because of this work? Do you feel comfortable sharing that experience with me?
 41. Is where you stay safe? Are you afraid people will come and steal, rape, etc. *What about where you were staying initially?*
 42. Do you think this work is safe or dangerous? *What about the work you were doing at your initial home?*
 43. Looking at your current security situation, do you think your decision to migrate was a good one?

Why they continue to hawk

44. Have you attempted to stop this work before?
 45. If not, why? Is there something that motivates you to keep working here?

46. If yes, what was the breaking point(s) that finally influenced you decision to leave. Why was your decision to leave unsuccessful?
47. Do you have any colleague you were working with who has stopped this work? How was the person like? Do you know why the person stopped and what they are doing now?
48. If you look at the challenges you face with this work and the benefits, do you think that travelling to do this work is a good decision? Why?
49. Has anyone offered to support you out of the job? A family, friend, or organization

Long-term economic goals

50. What is your dream job? Why is job x your dream job? What do you like about it?
51. What steps have you taken in the past to getting this job? Training etc.
52. What were some of the things that held you back?
53. Has anyone offered to help you with the job? What was that experience like?
54. Do you think this work will help you achieve you dream for job x? Why or why not?
55. If you look at where you are staying now, do you think it is helping you to achieve those goals? How?

Receiving Support

56. How do you believe the government can help you
57. How do you believe organizations can help you?
58. Do you know of any organizations that can offer help to you?

Closure of toll booths

59. Since they stopped collecting tolls, how has your work changed?
60. Tell me how a normal day is like for you