AN ASSESSMENT OF THE MOTIVATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF FEMALE
TEENAGE HEAD PORTERS IN KASOA

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the award of M.A Degree in Development Studies and to the best of my knowledge; it contains no work earlier on published by another person or organization which have been accepted for the award of any degree, except where references have been made in the text.

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God for His protection throughout the start and finish of this dissertation and also to Mr. and Mrs. Opoku as well as Mr. and Mrs. Otieku for their prayerful support.
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ABBREVIATIONS

GSS   Ghana Statistical Service

ISSER  Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research

UNDP  United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA  United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF  United Nations Children Emergency Fund
ABSTRACT

While studies have found growing number of children surviving on the street, there is a dearth of empirical evidence on the motivations and livelihoods of female teenage head porters. This study therefore draws on the motivational theory and livelihood framework by the DFID to assess the motivations, income opportunities and vulnerabilities of female teenage head porters in Kasoa. The heuristic mix method approach including structured interviews, one case study and personal observations were employed to elicit both quantitative and qualitative data from two hundred non-randomly sampled female teenage head porters in Kasoa. Household poverty and unemployment were identified as major push factors while the quest for regular income and perceived readiness of employment in the head porting activity constituted the major pull factors. Age and years of experience in the occupation had significant effect on earnings of respondents. Exposure to frequent malaria, stress and physical pains were common risks faced by the female teenage head porters. Majority of the respondents were from the northern region of Ghana and less than twenty percent of them have formal education. The study proposed based on the findings that more investment be channeled to improve macroeconomic performance in the area of employment to provide equitable distribution of income opportunities. This will help minimize the tendency of young people going into such tedious and risky occupation.

Key Words: Motivations, Vulnerabilities, Income, Head Porters
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Reducing livelihood vulnerability among the world’s deprived population has over the past three decades remained the topmost policy agenda for governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the international community and has thus become the central theme of some development research and discussion across the globe. While some studies (Ashley & Carney, 1999 and DFID, 1999) found that sustainable livelihood initiative is a direct reflection of individual assets and capabilities, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) put forward an argument that livelihood hinges on two inextricable assumptions – one that may involve people’s capabilities and social context; and the other being a dysfunction of social institutions or a consequence of inadequate policies (UNDP, 2014a and 2014b). Thus, the consequence of policy failure can be tantamount to livelihood insecurities through limited opportunities for developing livelihood assets and creating the enabling environment for reduced vulnerabilities through better job opportunities for the growing vulnerable youth.

A report by Action Aid (2012, p. 6) attributed the livelihood insecurities and vulnerabilities among women and children living on the street to high level global youth unemployment. The report indicates further that global youth unemployment recorded 3% increase between 1998 and 2008 representing 74.1 million unemployed youth. The consequence of which many, especially young teenage girls resort to living on the street as head porters, hawkers and petty traders in support of their livelihoods. Similarly, United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) argued that as at 2002 about 100 million children lived on the street, however, although this
figure is believed to have increased could no longer be quantified due to the growing complexities of the world’s demographic change and data constraints (UNICEF, 2002).

In a related study, UNICEF (2015) reported that although children constitute one-third (1/3) of the global population about 47% of them still live below the world poverty line of 1.25 dollars per day and most of them are in their teenage years. Thus, most of these children are either left on their own to survive because their parents have no sustainable livelihoods or they live in broken homes where neither of their parents performs their parenting responsibilities. In view of this recognition and the fact that children contribute significantly to the world’s economy, the proposed measure of eradicating child vulnerability for a secured future and sustained livelihoods is spelt out in goal one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which seek to end poverty and vulnerability in all forms everywhere. In developing countries, it is common to find growing numbers of children out of school and living on the street engaging in informal activities with hope for better future. This has continually triggered debate among development researchers seeking to know whether indeed such optimism for secured better future could be realized and if it does, to what extent (Population Council & ICRW, 2000 and Benitez, 2011)?

Concerns for livelihood of women in general is further articulated by Todaro and Smith (2012, p. 237) that women and children are the most deprived, vulnerable and exposed to livelihood insecurities in developing countries where women have long been excluded in income jobs and other economic opportunities. Available research (Rizzini & Lusk, 1995, Roux, 1997, Benitez, 2011) indicates that many vulnerable children, especially girls in Asia, Latin America and Africa adapt to living on the street as hawkers, head porters and petty traders because it offers a means of livelihoods for the poor and vulnerable who could hardly secure formal jobs. According to Roux (1997), most street children draw their motivation from the desire to overcome the internal
and external pressures impacting negatively on their personal dignity and right for improved livelihoods. Thus, they see being on the street as the only way out of servitude and to come out from the poverty and vulnerability trap that threatens their livelihoods.

In Africa, studies have shown that most children are driven to the street as hawkers and head porters selling in traffic in search of livelihood income because they come from poor and vulnerable homes and could barely subsist without their personal engagement in daily income jobs (Giese & Thiel, 2015; Benitez, 2011; Adeyemi & Oluwaseun, 2012). For many of these children, failure to earn a living on the street could transmit into a cycle of shocks and stress which will render them susceptible to intergenerational exclusion from enjoying their personal dignity and accomplishments. In effect, the assets required to build and maintain a balance for sustained livelihood cannot be realized by these children who by no fault of theirs are deprived of the very assets required for their sustainable livelihoods.

Ghana continue to strive to improve livelihoods and vulnerability conditions of the poor and this has resulted in several poverty reduction strategies by successive governments evident in the 7.7% reduction in absolute poverty from 31.9% in 2005 to 24.2% in 2013 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 14). Although this progressive decline in poverty indicates somewhat improvement in the livelihoods of Ghanaians in general, about 2.2 million Ghanaians barely subsist above the national poverty line, especially due to limited employment opportunities for the youth with women and children being the most vulnerable. This may also contribute to the reasons why some teenage girls choose to engage in the head porting business Ghana.
1.2 Problem Statement

Ghana has a number of busy streets and markets where unaccountable number of people engages in several informal businesses for their livelihoods. Some studies reveal that more women and children than men sell on busy streets in Ghana including areas like Makola, Agbogbloshie, Kaneshie, Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Adum, Kejetia, Ashaiman, Madina, Ho, Tamale and Bolgatanga.

Kasoa in the Awutu Senya East Municipality is a known commercial business district where a lot of informal business activities provide diverse income generating opportunities for young people’s livelihood. It is a fast growing urban community where such informal business activities have sprung up and continue to grow each passing day and has thus become a centre of attraction for growing number of teenage girls. Most of these teenage girls live their lives virtually on the street therefore exposing themselves to the harsh tropical weather conditions probably because they are motivated by some gains, have nowhere else to go for help or may come from poor and broken homes where no one takes care of them.

In a visit to the Awutu Senya East Municipality as part of the development training workshop organised by the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), an officer at the Kasoa Urban Council reiterated that most of the teenage girls live their lives on commission sales. They are engaged by people to sell sachet water and other assorted items on the street as head porters and are given commission at the end of the day whiles others have managed to do their own business. Most of these teenage girls are always on the run chasing cars in moving traffic at the detriment of their personal health. It is believed that some could even stand on their
feet throughout the day and it goes beyond weeks and months hoping to subsist and remit their families.

Kasoa is also noted for daily robbery cases and these teenage girls are no exemption of the robbery victims. Although head porterage among teenage girls may seem glittering at first sight, such a livelihood activity as head porters leave many doubts for development research. For instance, the Population Council and ICRW (2000) stated that there is very limited information about the motivating factors drawing teenage girls onto the street and market places rather than being in school. The second issue that necessitates this research is drawn from the findings by UNFPA (2011) that deductively, the average gross weekly earnings by some head porters amount to GHs 60.00. However it is not clear whether this average gross weekly income is dependent on the number of work hours per day or how lucky one is in a particular day. The question therefore is whether the income prospects of being on the street as a head porter in Kasoa is enough to meet the savings and consumption needs and ensure financial security for sustainable livelihoods and if so, is it enough to take care of the basic livelihood necessities such as decent shelter, clothing and the right nutrition and so forth? The third concern is how does being a head porter help guarantee the physical quality of health of these female teenage head porters as part of safeguarding their human capital capabilities for sustainable livelihoods. In view of these critical concerns and the quest for finding appropriate policy measures to maintaining a balance for improving the livelihoods of all section of the Ghanaian population within the framework of the proposed Sustainable Development Goals, this study seek to provide answers to some critical livelihood questions. Nonetheless drawing from the concerns raised, it is imperative that the questions necessitating this research are put in a very simple but all-encompassing manner that looks at critical livelihood variables of concern such as income,
savings, consumption and investment opportunities and risk factors that are likely to be associated with; and faced by teenage female head porters and the motivating factors for their engagement as head porters.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the specific motivations or inducing factors drawing teenage girls on the street into head porting other than being in school or learning a vocation?

2. How does the head porting business contribute to the income prospects of teenage girls and how does their age affect their earnings as head porters?

3. To what extent does living and working on the street as a head porter exposes one to vulnerability and risks and how does it affect one’s decision to remain or exit the head porting occupation?

4. Is there any relationship between work experience gained by head porters and their expected years to remain in the occupation regardless of the risks involved?

1.4 Objectives of the study

Drawing from the specific research questions, the general aim of this study is thus to assess the motivation and livelihoods of female teenage head porters in Kasoa. Specifically the study aims to;
1. Ascertain the specific motivations or inducing push and pull factors drawing teenage girls into head porting in Kasoa.

2. Determine the income prospects of the respondents and identify the factors that affect their income/earnings.

3. Find out the specific livelihood vulnerabilities and risks factors faced by the research participants and how it affects their decision to remain or exit the head porting occupation.

4. Provide policy recommendations to address the critical challenges that may arise from the findings of this study in relation to promoting the livelihoods of the research participants.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

Based on the afore-stated research questions and objectives coupled with the various issues raised with regards to the increasing number of teenage girls as head porters on the streets of most urban landscape in Ghana, Africa, Asia and Latin America, the study is guided by the hypothesis that;

H₀: Income of female teenage head porters is not dependent on their age and educational status.

H₁: Income of female teenage head porters is dependent on their age and educational status.
1.6 Justification and Significance of the study

The study aims at filling literature gap with respect to how head porterage as a livelihood activity among teenage girls affects their livelihood outcomes and whether or not their gender exposes them to specific risks and vulnerabilities that compromises their quest for sustainable livelihood. It also seeks to provide reliable and statistical justification for the specific motivational factors drawing teenage girls into the head load business, which is lacking in literature. This information is necessary to help inform policy decisions by stakeholder institutions such as the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, the United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the National Youth Authority who are interested in the wellbeing of the girl child and the youth in general.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The spatial scope of the study was limited to Kasoa in the Awutu Senya East Municipality. Three main reasons necessitated this spatial selection. First, existing studies of this nature focused on marketplaces in the Greater Accra region such as Madina, Makola, Tudu, Kaneshie and Agbogbloshie as well as Adum in the Kumasi Metropolis without prior attention to how the phenomenon persist in Kasoa in the Central region. The second reason is because Kasoa form part of one out of the three municipalities chosen by ISSER for 2015/2016 academic year research. The third is because addressing the phenomenon of head porterage has become government priority and for that matter the Municipal Chief Executive of Awutu Senya East Municipality asked for it to be investigated in Kasoa. Thematically, the study focused on assessing the motivation and livelihood vulnerabilities of female teenage head porters. It also
covered the thematic variables of the specific objectives within the context of the general objective only.

### 1.8 Organization of the study

The study was organized into five chapters. The first chapter presents the background information of the study including the problem statement, research questions and objectives. The second chapter provides thorough review of related literature using secondary data obtained from published journal articles, textbooks and online library. The third chapter focused on the methodology of the study and it addresses issues related to the design of the study, sampling procedure, data collection, analysis and presentation as well as the ethical issues. The fourth chapter focuses on the results and discussion of the study concerning the objectives and hypotheses. The fifth chapter comprises of the summary, conclusion and recommendations based on the results and discussion of field data.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews scholarly literature on the motivation and livelihood of female teenage head porters with reference to how it persists and manifest in developing countries across the globe. It specifically looks at the evolving dynamics and motivation of head porting as an informal livelihood activity and how it contributes to the transformation of lives with specific focus on teenage girls. It also highlights on the economic and income opportunities associated with head porting and how it affects livelihood assets. More importantly, it presents an overview of livelihood support policies for youth development and how its defects or effectiveness impact on sustainable livelihoods of women, especially teenage girls living on urban streets as head porters. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework on sustainable livelihoods by the Department for International Development (DFID) and it analyzes the synergies between its various concepts and how it can be enhanced or achieved by teenage girls living on the street as head porters.

2.1 Street Children: Trends and Manifestations in Developing Countries

A growing number of children on the street have become a common occurrence in developing countries and is mostly induced by two fundamental problems; first is household (family) level poverty and neglect; second, ineffectiveness of institutional response to the protection and care for children (Malinda & Cekiso 2014; Kapoka 2000).
The dynamic trend in growth and nature of street children in developing countries is well researched (UNICEF 2009; Lugalla & Mbwambo 1996; Aptekar 1994). In Moscow for example, it is observed that there are about 30,000 children who virtually live and work on the street in unfavorable conditions and are exposed to various forms of vulnerabilities that is threatening to their sustainable livelihoods (Polak 2008 cited in UNICEF 2009, p.43). Such children, mostly girls are either school dropout or migrant settlers from remote areas in search of non-existing jobs in the capital.

The situation is not different in South Africa where an estimated 9,000 children live on the street due to various reasons such as alcohol abuse by members of household, poverty at home, inability to pay school fees, household rendered homeless and quest to find income jobs far away from home (Baker, 1999). This number might have grown rapidly over the last decade as a result of increasing levels of youth unemployment, unequal spatial development for equity in livelihood opportunities. Roux (1997) also identified three levels of causalities responsible for the phenomenon of street children in South Africa. This includes macro level causes (community context), meso level causes (family context), and micro level causes (individual context).

The profile of street children in Zimbabwe reveals similar trend. For instance, Wakatama (2007) found that the number of street children in Zimbabwe has more than doubled between 1980 and 2000 with girls between the ages of 13 and 19 years becoming more visible on the street. It is said that most of these street children come from female-headed households (Lalor, 1999 cited in Wakatama, 2007). This also raises further concerns for research to understand how engendered the problem of street children have become. Latin America and the Caribbean is no exception. Scanlon et al. (1998) argue that the phenomenon of street children in Latin America have
become very problematic and highly difficult to estimate in terms of numbers and majority of such children are between the ages 8 to 17 years. Sao Paolo for instance, had close to 4,520 real counts of street children as at 1997 – a figure believed to have equally risen over the past decade (Moran and Castro, 1997, p. 5).

A report on the situational analysis of children and women in Ghana by UNICEF and the Ministry of Gender, Women and Social Protection (MGWSP) estimated about 50,000 street children in Ghana as at 2004. Out of this figure, approximately 50 percent lived in Accra whilst 27 percent were in Kumasi. The report revealed that about 60 percent of these children are females and 71 percent are illiterate (UNICEF & MGWSP, 2011, p.56). It can thus be said based on this statistics that the problem of street children could be alarming not only in terms of their numbers but the problems they have to go through in order to make a living on the street. Most of these children, especially the boys are found pushing trucks, wheel barrows, carts and carrying loads on either their head or at their backs whilst the women sell foods, sachet water and other assorted products or carry heavy loads on their head for a fee. Some of the women and children have traveled from across the length and breadth of the country in search for better living conditions. Nonetheless there is dearth of information with regard to the exact motivating factors and how sustainable such street life could impact on their livelihoods.

2.2 Head Portage: Evolving Dynamics and Motivations

Head portage as a livelihood activity has evolved over time dating back to precolonial cities. Motivation and preference have also changed gradually with young women now gaining much interest. This section reviews literature on the evolving dynamics and historical antecedents and
motivation of head portage and how it has gradually become a livelihood support activity among teenage girls.

2.2.1 Evolving Dynamics of Head Portage

Opare (2003) explained the phenomenon of head portage to mean carrying goods on the head for a fee. Locally, it is used to describe those who carry goods in urban market places from one point to another in exchange of money. Drawing from a historical context, head porting has long existed as a characteristic feature of colonial cities. It dates back to the era of 600 and 200 B.C and was a common practice among men during the evolution of Greek and Roman cities. Men were generally considered stronger than women and thus aided in transporting goods mainly agriculture and building materials on their head over short distance either as slaves or in return for favours and protection of some sort (Aidan, 1998).

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) however noted a transformation in the practice of head portage in the 1970s with women gradually developing interest in carrying goods on their head at market places, and other commercial business districts in developing countries (UNFPA, 2011). This was done in exchange of token fees and was common among elderly women working to augment household income either as single mothers willing to do any kind of work to support themselves and their children or women migrant settlers at market and commercial urban centres with no other means of livelihoods other than to head port goods within market centres for sustenance.

In a discussion paper by UNAIDS (2012) on the impact of the global economic crisis on women, girls and gender equality, it is said that livelihood and poverty reduction strategies following the
world’s financial crisis affected men and women differently in ways that most women and girls became vulnerable and taken out of school and vocation and were left to fend for themselves. This made some women and girls migrate from economically deprived and poverty stricken communities in search of non-existing jobs in cities and organized market centres where some ended up as head porters. Awumbila and Ardayfio (2008) also argued that during the period of Africa’s lost decade in the 1980s, the practice of head portage became common among women migrant in most urban areas in Africa as a livelihood support activity in which income was raised for sustenance.

Recently however, more teenage girls than matured women have gained much interest in the head portage business as a means of sustainable livelihood (Zaami, 2010, UNFPA 2011 and Baah-Ennumh et al. 2012, Wilson 2012). Baah-Ennumh et al. (2012, p. 230) found that, of about the 40,000 porters in selected cities of Ghana including Accra and Kumasi majority of them are girls less than age 18 years. Similarly UNFPA (2012, p. 2) found about 61% of the estimated 7,787 head porters in Accra and elsewhere to be less than 19 years. The general deduction from these statistics and historical antecedent shows that the practice of head portage has evolved over time and has thus become common among teenage girls than men and matured women in recent times. These raises two concerns in some development research. First, what is the motivation for the increasing teenage girls’ participation in head portage for livelihood and second, can head portage be a lifelong livelihood support activity based on the income opportunities and likely health outcomes looking at its tedious nature?

The phenomenon is however also noted to be engendered (Akanle & Chioma 2013; Zaami, 2010; Awumbila 2007) with women carrying market goods on their head while the male
counterparts use carts, wheel barrows and trucks to convey the heavy loads to and fro market centers and across busy street and lorry parks. This probably will suit the assumption that men are likely to make more money in the business than women given the fact that fee charges vary proportionately with the weight of the load since women carry the less load. Such will have implication for unequal economic gains even within the head porting occupation and thus will further make teenage girls in the occupation economically less powerful and vulnerable than their male counterparts. However the profession continues to attract young teenage girls in a place like Kasoa due to certain motivations yet unknown.

2.2.2 Motivations and Inducing Factors of Head Portage

The decision to engage in an economic activity is motivated mainly by two critical factors - push and pull factors. Studies by Opare (2003) as well as the United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Ministry of Gender, Women and Social Protection (MGWSP) identify failing socio-economic structures as inducing push factors propelling women and teenage girls to engage in street activities such as head porting for livelihoods (UNICEF & MWCA, 2011). Opare (2003) opined that unequal spatial development in terms of socioeconomic endowment, lack of family support and affection required to provide life supporting needs exposes the vulnerable group mainly women and children to find available means of fending for themselves.

In a joint study by UNICEF and MGWSP (2011), it was found that girls are the most vulnerable and excluded with regard to economic participation. This has long been rooted in the tradition that their place is the kitchen. Indeed, Todaro and Smith (2012) also shared similar view and concluded that such circumstances account for the increasing number of migrant women and teenage girls who end up engaging in tedious and risky jobs to raise income in support of their
livelihoods. Volpi (2002) argue that certain conditions such as household poverty, homelessness, neglect, abuse, unemployment and loss of parents are push factors that exposes teenage girls to livelihood activities such as head porting rather than being in school or learning a vocation for secured future livelihood opportunities. On the other hand people are motivated by the beneficial outcomes associated with certain economic activity.

According to UNFPA (2011), the economic motivation behind teenage girls becoming head porters is partly due to macroeconomic failures and its associated unemployment implication on livelihood opportunities. This explain why the UNDP (2014a) argued that lack of institutional support and policy weakness makes it difficult to address critical issues affecting the poor and vulnerable which in this case may include teenage girls whose livelihood is threaten by the conditions they find themselves. Nonetheless, Akanle and Chioma (2013) found that, the main reason why head porting has become a lucrative business in Ibadan is because there is high demand for head porters in market places. According to them, most markets cannot flourish without the head porters aiding in transporting market goods for both sellers and buyers. In view of this demand, the profession has become economically viable because customers pay for their services at quite affordable rates.

Given the dynamics and multiplicity of motivation factors, it is unclear which of these factors might account for the situation of female teenage head porters in Kasoa. Thus, this study seeks to investigate whether such motivations are socially, economically or culturally induced; and if so does it fall within push or pull factors or both.
2.3 Economic Participation and Livelihood Options for Women: Lessons from Literature

To the poor and vulnerable, securing economic and income opportunity for livelihood is a desperate dream worth pursuit regardless of the consequences. Some studies (Lehrer, 2010 cited in Gelsdorf et al. 2012, p. 6) found that about 71 percent of women now take active involvement in labour market opportunities. The Asian Development Bank (2015, p. 2) however contend this view and argued that women participation in the labour market records a staggering 50 percent over the past 25 years whilst Verick (2014:5) observed 54.2 percent for Latin America and the Caribbean. According to Meng (1998) and Kabeer (2012), many countries in the developing world including Asia, Latin America and Africa have long pursued economic policies that have not favored economic empowerment of women. As a result, large minority of economically active women have persistently been excluded in some regular wage jobs while majority seek income opportunities in the informal sector mainly as self-employed, small scale and irregular wage workers. Most of these women include teenage girls striving to better their lots or secure income to improve their livelihoods.

Abuka et al. (2007) argue that women access to market infrastructure and engagement in commercial businesses open up economic and income opportunities through access to unskilled wage labour jobs such as trading, head porting and hawking. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) also recognizes the significance of markets as transforming structures that impact positively on the livelihoods of women in general (IFAD, 2003). According to the IFAD, markets now play a crucial role in spearheading trade, growth and development through its direct and indirect forward and backwash linkages to livelihood income and jobs among women. Thus while some may directly participate in the market process as sellers and buyers, others take advantage of market openings and other organized commercial
businesses to render auxiliary services such as head porting of goods in exchange for small fees – a practice commonly known in Ghana as Kayayei.

The Youth Employment Network and the International Youth Foundation (2009) argue that more young women dominate the informal sector in most economies partly because it requires less specialized academic skills which women have long been deprived of through restriction to formal education. This might account for reasons why some young women, especially teenage girls with no specialized skills are unable to secure jobs in the formal sector and have to engage in the head load business. In estimating the U-shape hypothesis for labour force participation in developing countries, Verick (2014) argue that women’s participation in wage labour occupation is both a positive reflection and a function of a county’s level of economic development. Drawing from the experience of Asia, Verick added further that unlike men, the economic opportunities for women working outside the home is driven not only by demand and supply for their services but also the gender gap in educational attainment, skill acquisition and experience. Thus, these factors are intricately related when determining the level of women’s economic opportunities for livelihood.

The Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) also argues that youth unemployment in Ghana is worrying as it was 13 percent in 2014 representing 74.5 million unemployed youth (ISSER, 2015, p. 5). This is worrying for both skilled and unskilled youths in Ghana coupled with freeze on public sector employment in line with directives by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Perhaps this partly worsens the plight of the poor and vulnerable and pushes some of them into living on the street as head porters. Although this phenomenon in Ghana is common among women and young teenage girls from the northern part
of Ghana, evidence suggest that some southerners are gradually gaining interest in the head porting business due to the income and job opportunities it offers (Awumbila, 2007). Similarly, the Ghana Statistical Service (2013) reports that although the labour force participation rate in Ghana stands at 75.7 percent, more women than men seek income and economic opportunities in the informal sector of which head porting is inclusive.

The livelihood assumption underpinning women economic participation in wage labour opportunities is premise on the notion that a working woman is more likely to have better livelihood outcome. Nonetheless not all work that women do is economically motivated. Available literature (Brown 2001; Population Council and ICRW 2000; Lim 2002) identifies non-economic factors such as social relations and family pressure as reasons why adolescent and teenage girls will work as head porters. Nonetheless, Brown (2001) assert that livelihood is principal among these factors because many young women such as teenage girls develop exceptional taste and preference for their personal independence and are more willing to fight for their economic liberation away from home.

2.3.1 Perspectives on the Causality between Income and Sustainable Livelihoods

Income is widely recognized as the most crucial livelihood indicator and plays a principal role in sustainable livelihood outcome across space (Ojong 2011; Albert 2007). Albert (2007) also argued that access to regular income is a means to individual livelihood and thus surpasses other livelihood assets. Its absence poses consequences for consumption, savings and investment opportunities of people and compromise individuals or groups effort to remain resilient against
livelihood vulnerability. Nobel (2001) cited in De Wet *et al.* (2008) classify income based on a study conducted in Johannesburg into one of five multiple deprivation index of livelihood and argue that lack of income exposes households and individuals to multiple risks and render them incapable of expanding their livelihood choices. This condition makes people take desperate measures and account for the various reasons why many women, especially teenage girls are gradually working outside the home to supplement livelihood income although their earnings may be below subsistence level (Ramachandran, 2006).

Livelihood in this context encompasses the survival strategies of people (Ojong, 2011; Farrington *et al.* 2002; Ashley & Carney, 1999). It thus connotes mechanisms and alternative approaches to which people resort to survive and or meet their daily life supporting needs. Chambers and Conway (1991) however define livelihood as having access to adequate stock and flow of food and cash to meet basic needs. The underlying concern here is adequacy of cash stock and flow for teenage girls living and working on the street as head porters. This is critical in addressing issues of savings and investment less consumption for financial security. The cyclical effect of positive net stock in cash inflow will thus impact positively on other livelihood assets of head porters including their human and physical capital.

Drawing from the survival strategies in African cities, Ojong (2011) argued that many city lives have been duly supported by the urban informal economy. Indeed, Hart (2010) made similar observation in the urban economy in Ghana and concluded that it offers a lot of income generating opportunities compared with the formal economy, especially for the poor majority including women and children. In southern Ghana, head porting is considered a livelihood support activity for teenage girls. Studies by UNFPA (2011) found that most women and teenage
girls who engage in the activity earn an average income of between Ghs10.00 to Ghs30.00 daily in 2011. This amount translates into an average of between Ghs300.00 and 900.00 monthly. To the average lay person on the street this amount could mean a lot for livelihood however it does have a lot of implications for financial security in response to any unexpected livelihood risks and shocks. For instance, some studies (Adeyemi & Oluwaseun, 2012; Boakye-Boateng, 2008; Awumbila, 2007) maintain that children living and working on the street are predisposed to various vulnerabilities, risks and shocks such as ill-health, sexually transmitted diseases, fire outbreak and theft. This vulnerability and risks may affect the little savings by these street children and could affect them negatively over longer period. Nonetheless Akanle and Chioma (2013) found that regardless of these predispositions, income earned by head porters living on the street have positive effect on their livelihood and are therefore most likely to get trapped in the business regardless of the insecurities and vulnerabilities.

Available literature (Ashley & Carney, 1999; DFID, 1999; Chambers & Conway, 1991) perceives sustainable livelihood to encompass one’s ability to cope with and recover from unexpected shocks and stress, having enhanced capability and assets to provide sustainable survival opportunities for inter-generations. In view of this conception, when one’s livelihood strategy exposes him/her to vulnerabilities then the quest for sustainable livelihood becomes questionable. However it is argued that some trade-offs in pursuit of livelihood is necessary at all levels (Ashley & Carney 1999). Overcoming this challenge require not only individual’s effort but deliberate state policy interventions such as national poverty reduction strategies (Farrington et al. 2002).
2.4 Contextualizing the Dimensions of Livelihood Security and Vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability has since the 1980s remained relevant in most livelihood studies and is widely researched. It has thus become a contextual issue in recent time due to its multidimensional nature and inverse relationship with positive livelihood outcomes (Albert et al. 2007; UNICEF 2006; Philip & Rayhan, 2004).

Although defies a single definition, vulnerability is conceive to mean susceptibility and likely exposure to shocks, stress and risks; it encompasses ones inability to respond to expected and unexpected risks that has the potential to compromise one’s livelihood outcome (Philip and Rayhan, 2004). Regardless of the complexity and dimension of vulnerability, the World Bank (2005) contextualized vulnerability in two ways: income vulnerability and vulnerability to wellbeing. The former explain the inadequacy of stock and cash flows or income to respond to basic necessities of life such as food, clothing and shelter whilst the latter captures one’s exposure to external shocks such as ill health, death, rape, disasters and so forth. In both cases vulnerability is induced by certain proximate factors including unemployment, lack of assets or resources, and a persons’ level of knowledge, skill and expertise to deal with livelihood threats.

Makoka and Kaplan (2005) also provide a simplistic explanation of vulnerability to mean a forward-looking phenomenon that measures ones’ inability to overcome certain socioeconomic obstacles to livelihood. This definition captures both wellbeing and income vulnerabilities into social and economic obstacles respectively and further indicate the criticality of these two variables in determining livelihood outcomes. One therefore needs to have in possession adequate means and capacity to respond to certain shocks and stress, hence, security of livelihood assets is crucial for sustainable livelihoods.
In the context of sustainable livelihood approach, Chambers and Conway (1991) perceive livelihood security as having secured ownership and access to resources or assets including income earning opportunities to offset risks, shocks and livelihood contingencies. This means that, to be secured, one need to own or have enough command and control over life supporting assets such that in the likely event of any untimely shocks and stress he/she will be able to respond accordingly. This could partly be the reason why most vulnerable teenage girls today have become a major concern for development partners, government and other stakeholders including researchers whose interest have been to concern themselves with how to prevent these teenage girls against any unforeseen shocks and stress. For instance, Akanle and Chioma (2013) indicated that more needs to be done in terms of research to confirm the socioeconomic security of women who live and work on streets and marketplaces in African cities.

2.5 Socioeconomic Right and Policy Practice for the Street Child in Ghana

The Directive Principle of State Policy in Chapter six of the 1992 constitution of Ghana seeks to ensure protection of individual socioeconomic right and freedom. This right includes the right to work and live a pleasant life. The right to work is therefore a constitutionally entrenched provision and thus guarantees the basis for every citizen of Ghana to work and live meaningfully and sustainably. However, in Ghana, work opportunities are not equally available while development projects and policies have tendered to be urban biased leaving rural areas, forest fringe and savanna regions economically underdeveloped (GSS, 2014). As a result, urban centers and district capitals have become a pull for absorbing excess labour with zero marginal
productivity. The rationale for this movement has been for migrant labour to exercise their socioeconomic right by pursuing opportunities for work and sustainable livelihoods.

Regardless of this, about 13 percent of Ghanaian youth still cannot find themselves any meaningful work. Although this may be less compared with the Sub-Sahara Africa average of 30 percent (ISSER, 2015) it is still highly problematic and an indication of macroeconomic weakness, especially for a lower middle income country whose priority is to create economic opportunities for the youth through infrastructure development to expand job opportunities.

The National Youth Policy of Ghana recognizes youth vulnerability and unemployment as critical issues confronting youth transition to adulthood and sustainable living. Specifically, section seven of the policy identify female youth as constituting one of the vulnerable groups exposed to various forms of abuse and discrimination. It stresses on their urgent protection through creating enabling environment to empower them economically (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). Five years after the implementation of the policy, youth unemployment still remains a challenge. This raises some concerns pertaining to tackling the issue of street children in Ghana who are most likely not to end up having any meaningful and sustainable means of livelihood in the future.

The United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child also provides specific guidelines within which each UN Member state including Ghana is to abide. Article six and eighteen of the convention specifically tasked child protection agencies and stakeholders including parents and governments to ensure that every child enjoys the right for sustainable living (Children’s Rights Alliance, 2010). This includes giving a child the needed protection, training and resources to
grow up into responsible adults. Such will mean that even teenage girls working and living on the street of Ghana as head porters have been denied this protection, training and resources and as a result they have to sustain their life by living on the street. This perhaps could also mean a violation of the child development right, which seeks, to safeguard children from all sort of abuse in their own attempt to survive.

The 2015 national budget statement for Ghana, also presented a gloomy picture concern with addressing livelihood issues confronting Ghana’s youth, especially vulnerable children including teenage girls by giving them vocational and technical training that will offer them livelihood options. This was partly meant to draw children out of the street alongside building their capacities to be responsible adults. A total of 3,000 youth were targeted in 2015 as against 2,989 youth in 2014 of which females dominated by 71.6 percent compared with 28.4 percent males (Government of Ghana, 2014). Regardless of this and other attempt to build capacities and empower the youth of Ghana for more secured livelihoods, the youth continue to face challenges in their quest to secure sustainable employment, have protected future and raise income to support their livelihoods.

2.6 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This study draw inferences from the motivational theory as perceived by Graham and Weiner (1996) and the DFID (1999) livelihood framework to guide and explain the conceptual underpinnings of the motivation and livelihoods of female teenage head porters in Kasoa.
2.6.1 Theory of Motivation: It’s Application to Teenage Head Porters

Pardee (1990) reviewed three motivation theories and found that satisfaction of one’s need does not necessarily determine the end to motivation behaviors. Thus, satisfaction derived from achieving a higher order needs supersedes the achievement of a low order need and since human needs are insatiable it is difficult to measure the exact point at which a person could become satisfied with a particular need. Understanding of motivation behaviors by people to engage in certain activities is thus important to know why they do so and what can cause them to stop or to continue pursuing that activity.

In the 1940s, Maslow’s theory of human motivation was similarly guided by a goal variable and it explains how human needs and desires serves as motivation to work in order to meet such expected needs. Maslow places ‘goal’ at the center of every motivation. Early motivational theorist (Herzberg 1966 cited in Pardee 1990) however, found eight factors that hinder the achievement of need satisfaction of people. These include how secured the job is, the salary or wage involved, working conditions and status.

Recent livelihood studies (Kwanky et al., 2009; Boakye-Boaten, 2008; Abuka et al. 2007) finds that people’s choice of livelihood is motivated by socioeconomic goals or needs and that, most people care less about the risk involve in their attempt to achieving these goals. Thus someone who is desperately in need of livelihood support will do whatever it takes to get it regardless of the consequences.

As conceived by Graham and Weiner (1996), the theory of motivation explains the rationality in peoples’ choice of or behavior towards a particular action or inaction as to whether or not to engage in some sort of activity. Within the work environment, peoples’ choice of work is motivated by some end benefit. Drawing from Lewin’s field theory and other motivational
thinkers, Graham and Weiner argue that, behavior and motivation are two bedfellows. According to them, people’s behaviour towards an action or inaction is a function of the person \((P)\) and the environment \((E)\) expressed as Behavior = \(f(P, E)\) while at the core of every motivation behavior is a force principle that drives people’s desires and expressed mathematically as.

\[
F = f(t, G)/e
\]

From the equation, the tension variable or push factor \((t)\) is what compels people to engage in a particular work. \(G\) is the goal, or expected end result (pull factor) of the work in question whilst \(e\) connotes the psychological gap of the person’s present socioeconomic status and the perceived goal. The push factors are usually negative in nature and could include hash socioeconomic conditions such as no income, societal pressures, unemployment and peer influence whilst the pull factors are normally the reverse such as regular income, employment opportunities and other enabling socioeconomic conditions. It is from these theoretical underpinnings that the first null hypothesis stresses on income as the key motivation factor drawing teenage girls into head porting.

### 2.6.2 DFID’s Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The DFID sustainable livelihood framework is well used in most livelihood study and it consists of cutting edge livelihood concepts that provide a comprehensive broad base theoretical and conceptual understanding of the interplay between various assets and its interconnectivity with sustainable livelihood outcomes. The framework suggests that livelihood strategies vary from person to person and it also explains how specific assets and activities facilitate the achievement of sustainable livelihood outcomes. According to the DFID (1999), livelihood outcome comprises of having access to more income, increased well-being and reduced vulnerability. In
effect, however, these outcomes also vary proportionately with access and utilization of livelihood assets.

Figure 2.1: DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework

In the context of transforming structures and processes, the framework indicates how the synergies between government and private sector participation through laws, policies and institutions work to enhance livelihood activity and protect the interest of the vulnerable. For instance, the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child encourages government and stakeholder institutions including parents to help protect vulnerable children and provide them with necessary resources for take-off into becoming responsible adults and live sustainable lives. Likewise, the operations of the transforming structures facilitate one’s access to and protection of livelihood assets through creating the enabling environment for the vulnerable and economically...
less powerful groups to acquire assets or participate in livelihood support activities. The assets upon which livelihood activity and outcome depend include human, social, financial, natural and physical assets or capital. In a comparative analysis of three livelihood approaches, Krantz (2001) argue that all these five livelihood assets determine by far how secured or vulnerable a person is. Nonetheless one does not need all these assets at a goal since one asset leads to the achievement of another. However failure to possess any of these assets at a particular time increases one’s vulnerability to shocks and stress.

Drawing from the framework, it can be said that sustainable livelihood (SL) of an individual is a function of the various assets expressed as \( SL = f(H + F + N + S + P) \)

In the equation, \( SL \) represents a dependent variable (Sustainable Livelihood); \( H \) – human capital; \( F \) – financial capital; \( N \) – natural capital; \( P \) – physical capital; and \( S \) – social capital.

This notwithstanding, evidence suggests that the livelihood of head porters is largely dependent on their human and financial capital (Akanle & Chioma, 2013). Thus most head porters consider their physical strength (human capital) as a necessary asset which guarantees their ability to carry loads on their head in return for a fee (income/financial capital) in support of their livelihood. Some studies however disagree with this assertion. Alberto et al. (2005) argued that street children need more than income to have sustainable livelihood. According to the researchers, destitute children who are forced into engaging in street livelihood activities such as head porting may require protection, care, education, good health, social relations and networking, decent shelter among other basic necessities of life to enable them develop capabilities and assets for sustainable livelihood. Based on this, the study hypothesized no significant difference between income and sustainable livelihood of teenage head porters in Kasoa.
CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA PROFILE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two main sections. The first section looks at the profile of the study area (Kasoa) with specific reference to demographic characteristics, evolving and existing socioeconomic activities and the general condition of living in the study area. This information is deemed relevant because it provide baseline insight into the study for adequate assessment of the motivation and livelihoods of female teenage head porters in Kasoa. Information contain in this section is mainly secondary material obtained from the Awutu-Senya East Municipal Assembly.

The second section presents detailed systematic approach and methods used for the study. It addresses critical issues such as the research design, sampling population and size determination, ethical considerations, operationalization of key concepts, methods of data collection, analysis and presentation.

3.1 Study Area Profile

Kasoa is the administrative and political capital of Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly established under Legislative Instrument (LI) 2025 in 2012. By geographic location, Kasoa is located at the eastern corridor of Central Region and it is 31 kilometers drive from the national capital of Accra. It forms the entrance and exit point to and fro the Central Region using the Accra-Cape Coast road through to the Western Region (see Figure 3.1).
Figure: 3.1: Map of Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly Showing Kasoa

Source: Awutu Senya East Municipal Profile, 2016
With regards to demographic characteristics, Kasoa has an average household size of 3.4 which is slightly above the Municipal average of 2.7. The reason is mainly because it is the commercial and administrative capital of the municipality and a lot of people including migrants prefer to settle in Kasoa due to accessibility and proximity to work. Currently it is estimated based on the Population and Housing Census Report of 2010 by the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) that 78 percent of residents in Kasoa are migrant settlers from all parts of the country and beyond and are classified into permanent, temporal or transient migrants.

Information obtained from the Municipal Planning Officer of Awutu-Senya East Municipal Assembly during the first semester field visit indicates that the population of Kasoa has a sex ratio of 92.8 representing approximately 93 males out of every 100 females. This makes the female population in Kasoa an important human resource. Out of an estimated 143,000 people in the Municipality in 2014, about 47 percent (47.3%) reside in Kasoa alone whilst the remaining 52.7 percent lived across other towns and villages in the municipality. Also, only 2.5 percent of the residents have attained tertiary level education with less than one percent currently pursuing various vocational and technical education and training. School dropout rate is exceedingly high in Kasoa due to get rich quick attitude among the youth.

Economically, the Municipal Planning Officer described the whole of Kasoa Township as a trade centre and best known as a higher-order-settlement where a lot of commercial, administrative, political and social services are concentrated and there is improved access to telecommunication networks. It is further indicated that 81.9% of the employed population in Kasoa work in the private informal sector mainly as a result of the vibrancy of the Kasoa market functioning as a higher-order settlement for its adjoining lower-order settlements within its catchment area and

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1 Group interview with the Municipal planning officer of Awutu Senya East Municipality 15th October 2015
beyond (Awutu-Senya East Municipal Profile, 2015). Existing economic activities include commerce, transport, services, industry and agriculture. Trading activities continue to be the most evolving livelihood support activity while new innovation and services have also taken center stage in the estate development and telecommunication industry. The use of mobile money transfers has thus become one of such innovations propelling growth of the various sectors in terms of cash transfers and safe keeping of money which almost every mobile subscriber including head porters utilizes.

Within the service sector and most especially in the market supply chain, head porters play significant role as facilitators of trade in Kasoa and they also contribute significantly to the municipal internally generated funds through payment of daily tolls. According to the Municipal Planning Officer, the service sector remains the most crucial development opportunity in the Municipality. He added that due to the increasing number of traders and the presence of the Kasoa market, the service sector has become very lucrative for investment and it continues to attract both local and foreign investors and at the same time with Kasoa functioning as a center of attraction for both skilled and unskilled individuals looking for jobs.

Based on the Municipal economic structure with reference to commerce and the viability of the Kasoa Market, it is no doubt that the activity of head porters has gradually taking center stage and continue to attract large number of unskilled youth both male and female seeking to find livelihood income to sustain themselves. The outlook of Kasoa as a market and a Municipal capital cast brighter picture for economic and income opportunities in the informal sector where livelihood of majority of the people thrives including that of the head porters.

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2Reason for the influx of head porters in Kasoa is basically due to the market and trade activities. They are considered facilitators of trade by both sellers and buyers and the municipal assembly also generate revenue from them through market tolls (Personal interview with Municipal Coordinator of Awutu Senya East, 5th November 2015).
3.2 Methodology of the Study

The approach to this study was mainly heuristic as it seeks to empirically assess the motivation and livelihoods of female teenage head porters. Akanle and Chioma (2013) described heuristic approach to a study of this kind as appropriate for understanding the nature, behavior, socio-cultural and economic processes underpinning the actions and inactions of particular group of interest.

3.2.1 Research Design

Deriving from the realist thinking, the mix method design was adopted for this study and thus included both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Ahiadeke (2008) indicate that a mix method study design is suitable for studies that seek to understand social reality, situational constraints, and thematic analysis of selective variables from moderate to high cases. Neuman (2010) shared similar view and argue that the mix method study design involving qualitative and quantitative approach to research allow for independent of context, statistical and interpretative analysis, limited biases and reliability amongst others. A combination of these two approaches is thus excellent for studying the motivations and livelihoods of teenage head porters, especially because it permitted for both objective and subjective analysis of the primary data bearing in mind the nature of the research questions, objectives and hypotheses.
3.2.2 Sample Population and Size Determination

The target population for this study is the total number of female teenage head porters operating within the confines of the Kasoa market only. The age cohort of the research participants is therefore between 13 and 19 years only. According to the Urban Council in Kasoa and the Assistant Municipal Planning Officer of the Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly, there is an estimated 346 female head porters operating within the Kasoa market daily out of which 62 percent (215) are within the age cohort of 13 and 19 years. This figure therefore constituted the study population up to the end of March, 2016 when all primary data had been gathered for the study.

Available literature on sample size determination indicate that choosing a sample for a study depends on the kind of analysis the researcher intend to do. However Neuman (2010, p. 222) proposes that for small population under 1,000, a representative sample of 30 percent is statistically justifiable and accurate for scientific research. Nonetheless, in order to reduce the error margin in the selection process, the sample size of the population was determined using the formula:

\[ n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} \]

Where \( n \) is the sample size, \( N \) is the population size (215) and \( e \) is the margin of error (0.05). Substituting the values into the formula yielded a sample of 139.8 which is approximately 140. Having derived the sample of 140, additional 60 respondents were added to increase the sample to 200 to make the sample more representative of the population.
3.2.3 Sampling Procedure

The sampling technique used for the selection of the target respondents is snowballing. According to Conaway and Powell (2010), a snowballing sampling is a non-probability sampling technique suitable and applicable for selecting samples that have existing network and connections and can only be reached widely through a chain referral. Thus having identified one person and the fact that they belong to organized groups, the few selected cases helped the researcher to identify other members of the profession who possess similar criteria specific to the definition of the target population. This therefore helped address homogeneity in the selection process based on the unique characteristics possessed by the target group of 200 respondents.

3.2.4 Ethical Considerations

For every successful data collection, ethical consideration plays a crucial role. For instance, Babbie (2007) state that research participants deserve to be served notices prior to the main data collection exercise such that they are better prepared to willingly participate in the study. In this regard, a week notice was served to the respondents through their group leaders and copied to the Municipal Coordinating Director of Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly. This was done with the assistance of the Kasoa urban council officer who willingly volunteered in facilitating the data collection process and identifying the specific target group. The notice indicated the intended purpose of the study and how their participation was to help inform decision making that will transform their lives and also add to literature for academic purposes. Other ethical issues considered include maintaining the confidentiality, privacy and anonymity of the research participants except for those who agreed for their pictures to be used in the main text. This was done to protect their identity for volunteering to provide vital information to facilitate the study.
3.2.5 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data sources were used for this study. The secondary data was obtained from authenticated sources including the University of Ghana Balme Library and the Regional Institute of Population Studies (RIPS) library. These two libraries are by far one of the most well resource libraries in the whole of Africa where variety of textbooks, published journal articles and periodicals as well as working papers and policy documents concerning the thematic scope of this study have been stocked and archived for easy access by researchers and students. Another reliable secondary data source was the internet. The researcher made adequate use of the University of Ghana Research Commons facility meant for graduate research and stocked with the state-of-the-art computers with improved access to the fastest internet service. This facility helped access published journal articles from the internet including google scholar, research gate, and eBooks online. The secondary data obtained from these sources was relied on mainly for writing the background information to the study and the literature review and conceptual framework. The primary data which defines the raw data were obtained directly from field respondents. The data covered the thematic scope and were used for the discussion of the results of the study.

3.2.6 Types of Data and Data Collection Tools

Based on the design of the study, the researcher used both two hundred structure questionnaires and one case study to elicit the primary data. The structured questionnaires consisted of 47 different but objective focused questions to elicit data on respondents’ socioeconomic characteristics of respondents, their motivation for engaging in head porting, income opportunities and their livelihood vulnerabilities and exposures (see Appendix 1). With regards
to the case study conducted, one respondent was selected based on her willingness to provide further information for the study with the help of an interpreter. The case study discussions centered on all three objectives of the study.

3.2.7 Pre-test

The data collection instrument was pre-tested using 10% of the total sample of 200. This was done on 10\textsuperscript{th} and 12\textsuperscript{th} March, 2016. To ensure data coherence and reliability the researcher used Cronbach’s reliability of alpha analysis test result to determine the appropriateness of the questions in validating the study objective. This enabled the researcher to modify few questions before commencing on the actual data collection. As part of the pre-testing, a transit walk was conducted by the researcher within the Kasoa old and new market areas to take notice of the daily routines of the study participants, establish few contacts and create a mental picture of the extent of geographic coverage of the market and where they usually congregate to take rest.

3.2.8 Field Work

The fieldwork took place between 18\textsuperscript{th} March and 21\textsuperscript{st} April 2016. As indicated earlier, the 200 respondents were selected through nonrandom chain referrals. Questionnaires were administered with a help of an interpreter who could speak the native dialect of the respondents who had difficulty in speaking English or the Akan language. Some of the respondents were selected at the spot where they were resting whilst others were found and selected whilst roaming and looking for clients or seated at various bus terminals. Approximately 30 questionnaires were administered each day for seven consecutive days.
3.2.9 Field Challenges

Amongst the challenges encountered on the field include difficulty in pursuing the respondents to provide answers to all the questions, especially for those who were found loitering and looking for clients. Some of them had to be given equivalent compensation of GHs 2.00 each after participating in the study at the expense of their work. Language barrier was another major challenge encountered by the researcher. Close to 75% of the respondents could neither understand nor speak English or any of the Akan languages, hence the need for an interpreter who also had to be compensated in cash and kind for volunteering to assist in the data collection. This notwithstanding, the researcher managed to overcome these challenges and ensure 100% completion for the data collection. The researcher anticipated doing a focus group discussion but could not do it because the respondents were not willing to trade-off their working hours.

3.2.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

The primary data obtained from the respondents was processed, inputted and stored using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 software for easy retrieval, analysis of the data and for future reference. The data was then analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistical tools employed include measures of central tendency comprising of mean and standard deviation distributions of income, age and years of experience in the occupation. Inferential statistics including chi-square distribution and multivariate regression analysis were used to test the variables of interest including the relationship between income as an independent variable and age, educational status of respondents, and the years of experience they have spent in the head porting occupation. Other variable tested based on the objective of the study was how age and income affected the livelihood perceptions of the
respondents. Thus whether the respondents considered their livelihood sustainable based on their income or not.

3.2.10.1 Model Specification

Specification of the model is crucial to provide basic understanding of the test of hypothesis outcome. In this study, income ($Y$) of the respondents is estimated as a function of age, years of experience in the occupation, and educational status of respondents and estimated via a multiple linear regression equation as:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Age + \beta_2 Edu + \beta_3 Exp + \mu$$

Where $Y_i$ is the dependent variable (income) per respondent, $\beta_s$ are the regression coefficient of the independent variables, $\beta_0$ is the constant coefficient value of the model and $\mu$ is the unobserved or stochastic variables that may influence the outcome of the model.

3.2.10.2 Expectations from the model

From the model it is expected that since the weight of the goods carried by the head porters may vary proportionately with the amount charged, then all things being equal, the older porters should be able to earn more income than the younger porters because they could carry heavier loads. Thus, an increase in income ($Y$) earned by the porters must proportionately vary with increase in their age.

The second expectation is that all things being equal, educational status of the respondents should have positive significant effect on the income earned by the head porters. This expectation is based on the notion that education may sharpen the skills and knowledge of those
educated and that must have positive effect on the income they generate from the head porting activity.

The last expectation from the model is that years of experience may have significant effect on income on income of head porters. This expectation is based on the findings by Mansour et al. (2014) in their study of how work experience relate with labor productivity and income. In their study, they found that the more work experience and employee has, the more productive they become and the higher their income.

3.2.11 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for the study was female teenage head porters in Kasoa only. Thus, no other person outside this category participated in providing primary data. The age group of the research participants was from thirteen to nineteen years only.

3.3 Operational Definitions

- Livelihood

Livelihood in this study is based on the definition by the DFID (1999);

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base”.
Livelihood Motivations

Livelihood motivations in this study refer to the push and pull factors responsible for drawing teenage girls into the head porting occupation in Kasoa. The push factors shall be those that forced the respondents to engage in head porting while the push factors shall be those that attract them into the occupation.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FIELD DATA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussion of field data obtained from 200 female teenage head porters in Kasoa between 18th March and 7th April 2016 in relation to their motivation and livelihoods. The chapter is organized in four sections and the first is a discussion of the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents including their age, ethnicity, region of birth, educational level and income status. The second section presents the motivational factors that drive teenage girls into head porting. It hinges on the push and pull factors responsible for their motivations. The third section discusses the income prospects of head porting as a livelihood activity of the respondents in relation to their average weekly income and savings and whether or not they consider their average income enough to guarantee them sustainable livelihoods. The final section highlights the livelihood vulnerabilities and risk factors associated with their profession and how they are able to navigate around them to improve their livelihoods.

4.1 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Female Teenage Head Porters

4.1.1 Age of Respondents

As indicated in Table 4.1, the average age of the 200 respondents sampled from Kasoa is 17 years. This supports the findings by Baah-Ennumh et al. (2012, p.230) that most head porters in selected market centers in Ghana including Accra and Kumasi are teenagers less than 18 years
old. This also implies that the profession is indeed attracting a lot of teenagers, and girls are no exception.

Table 4.1: Summary of Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.51707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of experience as head porter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.58241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected years of working as head porter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.00325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly earnings (GHs)</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>70.00</td>
<td>1.08248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal education (Yes = 1)</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity (Total = 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonja</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagomba</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frafra</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region of birth (Total = 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern region</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East region</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West region</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents place of dwelling (Total = 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open space</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted but roofed house</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented kiosk</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented container</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of dwelling is secure (Yes = 1)</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send remittances home (Yes = 1)</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood is sustainable (Yes = 1)</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Data, April 2016
4.1.2 Ethnic Origin of the Respondents

Ghana faces numerous economic and social challenges, of which a key challenge is that of massive unemployment. This problem is especially evident amongst the country’s youth and particularly those who reside in the northern parts of the country, who more often than not lack the education, skills and experience needed to access employment in the formal sectors. These young people are forced to create their own opportunities and to attempt to provide their own form of employment.

With regards to ethnicity, the study found that head porting in Kasoa is a preferred means of livelihood by people from the northern part of Ghana. The dominant ethnic group is the Dagombas from the Northern region of Ghana, representing about 29% of the respondents. They were followed by the Gonjas (20%) and Frafra (19%). This finding corroborates other studies conducted in Accra and Madina (Awumbila, 2007; Zaami, 2010) that show the dominance of northern tribes among head porters. Kwankye et al. (2009) also identify Dagombas as constituting majority of female porters in southern Ghana. This further implies that head porters from the north are not concentrated in only one location in the south.

4.1.3 Place of Dwelling by Respondents

In relation to respondents’ place of dwelling, the study found unraveled that 44 percent of the respondents sleeps in uncompleted but roofed buildings, 33 percent in rented kiosk, 14 percent in rented container and 9 percent in open spaces. Respondents were asked whether they felt their places of abode/dwelling were secured or not. Only those who sleep in rented containers and kiosk classified their dwelling as secured. Reasons were that, the uncompleted houses had no proper windows and doors hence they felt insecure due to the high robbery incidence in Kasoa.
Others added that they felt exposed to mosquitoes at night and were therefore planning to relocate. Same concerns were raised by those who sleep in open spaces. According to the UNDP (2014a) vulnerable children include those who sleep in open places and insecure shelters such as uncompleted but roofed houses exposed to other forms of preventable risks. By the UNDP classification, the dwellings of 42 percent of the respondents that includes open space and uncompleted but roofed buildings are insecure, especially when the dwelling is vulnerable to external shocks.

4.1.4 Years of Experience in the Head Porting Occupation

The mean number of years of experience by the respondents as head porters in Kasoa was found to be 2 years. However, 58 percent of the respondents from Gonja were found to have more years of experience (5 years) in the head porting occupation than those from the remaining ethnic groups. For instance, 95 percent of those from Dagomba and Frafra ethnic tribe had between one and two years of working experience in the head porting occupation in Kasoa.

4.1.5 Educational background

Education maximizes income and job opportunities of people to improve their chances for sustainable livelihood. However, in Ghana many young people of school going age are unable to go to school to acquire the needed skill and expertise for sustainable and well paid jobs. Such children are most often found wondering on the street in search for non-existing and low paid hard labour jobs. In view of the importance of education in improving the livelihoods of people, the study sought to find out the educational background of the teenage head porters.

The study found the proportion of the respondents with formal education to be 16 percent. Out of this, only three of them had Junior High School education while the remaining indicated that
they dropped out of school between primary one and six. According to them, their main reason for not continuing their education was because of poverty and lack of parental care. Those without any formal educational experience constituted the majority (84 percent). Drawing from their educational background, it can be said that the head porting occupation is mainly the reserve for the uneducated. The finding also raises questions with regards to the effectiveness of the free compulsory basic education and why these young people were not in school because of poverty.

4.2 Push and Pull Motivational Factors of Teenage Head Porting in Kasoa

Literature categorizes factors that draw young people into head porting as push and pull factors (Opare, 2003; Akanle & Chioma, 2013). In this study, respondents were asked to indicate which factors attracted them to their destination or compelled them to leave their place of origin to engage in head porting in Kasoa. Table 4.2 indicates that out of the 200 respondents, 48 percent said they were in Kasoa because they were compelled from their place of origin while the remaining 52 percent said they were attracted to migrate to Kasoa. Thus, those who indicated that they were attracted into the occupation for various reasons were categorised as those who were pulled while those who indicated that they were compelled to engage in the occupation for various reasons were categorised as pushed factors.

About 46 percent (45.8%) of the respondents indicated household poverty as their major reason for engaging in the head porting occupation. According to some of them, both their parents and relatives were poor and could not afford to support their education or provide for their needs to develop skills for other jobs, hence they were compelled to engage in head porting in order to fend for themselves. One of such respondents added that because of the poverty situation they
faced back at home in the Northern region, all her four siblings have moved down south to Accra and Kasoa and two of them including herself were into head porting for livelihood.

Table 4.2: Motivational Factors Drawing Teenage Girls into Head Porting in Kasoa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Push factors</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Household poverty</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unemployment</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Quest for personal independence and sustenance</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provide financial support for family</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>0.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pull Factors</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Regular income</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Employment</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Peer effect</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sustenance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Require no skill</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P-value is significant at 0.05
Source: Field data, April, 2016

The second push factor identified by the respondents was unemployment. This was indicated by 24 percent of the respondents who said it was difficult for them to get jobs in their home region and therefore had to migrate to Kasoa to engage in head porting.
One of such respondents who participated in the case study interview said;

“You know it yourself that Ghana’s economy is hard and people are complaining that there is no job. As for we those from the northern part of Ghana it is even worse. If I do not do this job for now what else will I do to survive?” (In-depth interview, April, 2016)

Other pushed motivational factors that were identified include quest for personal independence (12.5%) and desire to provide financial support to families, which accounted for 17.7% of the respondents. Among those pushed by personal desire for independence, some argued that they needed to raise income on their own to purchase their personal belongings without relying on support from their family and relatives. Others who shared similar views indicated that they could not bear to depend on their poor parents and therefore had to move away from home in search for jobs for which reason they found themselves doing head porting in Kasoa. One of such respondents who volunteered to participate in a case study interview narrated her personal life history as follows;

“My name is Mmabilla and I come from Bolgatanga in the Upper East region of Ghana. I am 17 years old and the third born of my parents among five siblings made of three females and two males. Three of us are currently in Kasoa doing head porting for livelihood except my elder brother who is a gardener in Tema. The first time I came to Kasoa was last two years at age fifteen after my mother told me to join my sisters in Kasoa to look for work and take care of myself and support them. When I got to Kasoa, my sisters introduced me to the head porting business and I had to start by first going round lorry parks and bus stops looking for people who needed my services as a head porter. I started by first carrying the loads directly on my head without a head pan and did so for more than one year before I finally bought my own head pan.
At the beginning it was very tiring so I thought of going back home but realized home was worse because there is no job there for me. I struggled to make GHs 5.00 a day because customers were not willing to pay more than GHs 0.50 for short distance and GHs 1.00 for long distance regardless of the weight of the load. Therefore I could barely save but now I am able to earn an average of GHs 40.00 per week, and GHs 10.00 on market days and save GHs 10.00 every week. I know this money is not enough but I am working to support myself and live on my own without depending on anyone and also get small money to send to my mother through mobile money. The last time I sent her money was February 2016. My challenge as a head porter has always been my inability to hear the Akan language so am unable to make friends and socialize as I used to back in the north. I also receive verbal abuse from people, especially those who hire my services and always want to pay less than I charge them. They tell us that we are dirty and we must learn to be in our hometown or bath and dress well. But the truth is that, I have no regret for my job because it is helping me make a living and I am proud of myself because I know I am better than someone who is a thief or not working at all. One request that I want to make is for government to develop the north like the south so that we will stop coming to work here and that way I can avoid the insults I get from people all the time” (Case study interview, April, 2016).

Some inferences drawn from the case study discussion is that, if there had been equal job opportunity for her in her home region she would have been with her family back at home where she will perhaps feel much happier with friends and relatives compared with her being in Kasoa. However, due to circumstances beyond control she has to work as a head porter which was the only job introduced to her since she first came to join her sisters. Like her, she added that it is the same job her other two sisters do for a living and therefore they seem happy working together with no regret for their job although they encounter difficulties such as verbal abuse. It also
suggest that head porting is not after all as bad as most people regard it to be since she regards it as economically viable compared with being unemployed and she is able to save each day and remit her parents occasionally. The finding validates the assertion by Volpi (2002) that push factors that drives vulnerable children into engaging in street occupation including head porting often include poverty and unemployment conditions. Thus, in order to address issues of the growing teenage girls on the street and engaged in head porting for livelihood, attention must be given to providing job opportunities and equal access to income to address poverty at the individual and household level.

The study also found that 52 percent of the respondents representing 104 of the total 200 female teenage head porters were pulled into the occupation. Out of this, 51% indicated they were attracted into the occupation because it offers regular income on daily basis. Thus, they get the opportunity to make sales and get money for their personal up keep. This supports the statement by Akanle & Chioma (2013) that regularity of income caused by constant demand for the services of head porters is a pull factor that motivates people to engage in the occupation.

However, about 37 percent of the respondents said they were pulled into head porting because the occupation offered ready employment. According to them, they needed no startup capital to engage in the occupation and they could start working once they were healthy to carry the goods on their head. This finding is an evolving factor and therefore needs to be investigated elsewhere to find out whether indeed head porters are motivated because the profession requires no startup capital. Some were also quick to add that unlike other occupation, head porting required no business setup like investment in infrastructure or payment of rent for business location and that all they needed to do is to walk around the Kasoa market and look for prospective customers who needed their services.
Other pulled factors indicated by the respondents as contributing to their decision to engage in head porting include peer effect (6.7 percent), desire of sustenance (2.0 percent) and no specialized skill required (3.8%). The results also indicate that poverty, income, employment, and quest for personal independence were found to be statistically significant motivational factors.

Respondents were also asked how long they have been in the occupation and the average number was 2 years whereas their expected average number of years to remain in the occupation was found to be 5 years. However, 46% of the respondents indicated that they expect to last for 6 years before exiting the profession. This supports the assertion by Awumbila (2007) and Kwankyie et al. (2011) that the occupation is usually considered temporal by participants. However, this decision is based on their expected achievable goals for which reason they are motivated to stay longer and it is also congruent to the assertion by Graham and Weiner (1996) that human motivation to remain in an occupation for some number of years is partly a function of an expectation variable. Drawing from the push and pull motivational factors indicated by the respondents, it can be said that the key motivational factors responsible for drawing teenage girls into the head porting occupation in Kasoa were desire for income, unemployment, poverty and individual quest for personal independence. Based on the findings both push and pull factors combine to influence respondents’ decision to engage in head porting although pull factors constitute 52%. It thus also provides evidence to contend the assertion by Kapoka (2000) that most street children including head porters living and working on the street are driven there by income alone.
4.3 Earnings of Female Teenage Head Porters in Kasoa

As indicated earlier in Table 4.1, the mean weekly income earned by the respondents was GHs 40.00. This amount translates into GHs 160.00 monthly per each teenage porter. It also reflects a daily amount of approximately GHs 6.00 and is lower than the average daily income of GHs 10.00 earned by some head porters in Accra as reported by UNFPA (2011). However it could also be that sales opportunities in Accra and Kasoa were not the same due to the location, scope, and vibrancy of the markets in Accra and Kasoa and also because the sample selected by UNFPA had more older porters (10 to 24 years) than the selected 13 to 19 years for this study. Regardless of these differences and relative to Ghana’s lower and upper poverty lines of GHs 792.05 and GHs 1314.00 per adult equivalent per year respectively (GSS, 2014), it is imperative to say that the average daily income earned by each of the respondents is above the upper poverty line of GHs 3.60 per adult per day (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Thus, supposed income equal consumption then most of the respondents who earned GHs 40.00 weekly may be considered above those classified as absolutely poor in Ghana. However, it can also be said that their average daily income of GHs 5.70 is lower than Ghana’s daily minimum wage of GHs 8.00 and hence may have implications on their livelihood outcome. Similarly, Opare (2003) found that an average head porter in Accra earn average daily income above Ghana’s daily minimum wage. This may probably account for reasons why the number of female teenage head porters in southern Ghana, especially in Kasoa is also increasing.

Figure 4.1 indicate that about 58 percent of the respondents earn above the average weekly income of GHs 40.00 while 10.5% of them earn less. According to 58 percent of the respondents, their earnings guaranteed them of income security for their sustainable livelihoods than their other colleagues in the profession. For instance while those who earn GHs 70.00 said they could
save GHs 50.00 every week other respondents whose average income was below GHs 40.00 could only save GHs 10.00 each week. This means that measuring their income security for their sustainable livelihood may also vary proportionately with their weekly earnings.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Weekly Earnings by Respondents

Source: Field data, April, 2016

Out of their average weekly earnings of GHs 40.00, 48 percent of the respondents said they were able to send some remittances home to support their families. According to some of them, part of their reason for engaging in head porting is because they needed to support their poor families back home.

Further analysis using robust multivariate linear regression was done to explain reasons for the variations in weekly earnings by the respondents in relation with their age, their years of experience in the occupation and their educational status.
As indicated earlier, it was expected that age of the respondents may have positive significant effect on the income of the respondents. This expectation was based on earlier work by UNFPA (2011) which found that older head porters in their study earned more income than the younger ones. Thus, the older the respondents were the more income they earned since the weights of the goods they carry vary proportionately with the fee they charge. Likewise educational status of the respondents and their years of experience in the occupation were expected to have positive significant effect on their income.

Table 4.3: Multivariate regression analysis of the determinants of income of the respondents

| Variable name                   | Coefficient | Robust Standard Error | P>|t| |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----|
| Age of respondents              | 0.192       | 0.060                 | 0.001** |
| Place of origin                 | 0.404       | 0.137                 | 0.091 |
| Educational status of respondents| -0.123      | 0.205                 | 0.549 |
| Years of work experience        | 0.441       | 0.069                 | 0.010** |
| Constant                        | 1.575       | 0.095                 | 0.000 |

**Significant at 0.01; Observation = 200; R^2 = 0.720; F (4, 195); Prob. F = 0.000

Source: Field data, April, 2016

The finding in Table 4.3 shows that age has a positive effect on income of the respondents and thus validate the findings by UNFPA (2011) that older porters earned higher income than the younger ones. For instance, the results indicate that a one unit change in age of the respondents is explains approximately 19 percent change their income. The results also indicate that the relationship between the ages of the respondents and their income is significant.
Work experience of the respondents also had a positive effect on the income of the respondents and it thus corroborate with the findings by Mansour et al. (2014) whose studies was based of estimating the relationship between work experience, labour productivity and income. In their studies they found that the more years of experience a person has in an occupation the more likely his/her income rises.

The expectation for educational status on the other hand could not be achieved. It was expected that since education could shape the skills and of the head porters, it will maximize their chances of earning more income. However, the finding indicates educational status of the respondents negatively relates with the income they earned. This perhaps could be explained by the fact that 84 percent of the sample had no formal education but were engaged in the head porting occupation.

The implication of the finding is that based on the positive relationship between income and age of the respondents, the occupation may be found attractive to older people as well because they will be more likely to earn more income and also serve as a motivation for the younger porters to be retained in the occupation. With regards to the positive relationship between years of work experience in the occupation and income, it is also likely that the occupation will continue to retain the young people like the respondents in the occupation. Thus, they will continue to find the head porting occupation attractive as their years of work experience in the occupation may have positive and significant effect on their income.
4.4 Respondent’s Livelihood, Vulnerabilities and Risk Factors in Kasoa

This section discusses the livelihood security, vulnerabilities and risk exposures encountered by the respondents in their attempt to survive by engaging in head porting. The study found that 53% of the respondents were often exposed to frequent acute malaria illness resulting from their sleeping environment whilst 20.5% said they have been victims of theft at varying time periods. About 60 percent (59.5%) said they anticipated facing these risks because they were told by their colleagues prior to starting the head porting occupation but because they had no choice for survival there was little they could do than to let go of all those concerns and focus on their business.

Figure 4.2: Respondents place of dwelling as risk factors

Source: Field data, April 2016

Related to the security of their place of dwelling, only 47 percent of the respondents agreed that where they spend their nights were safe and secured because they had not encountered any risk resulting from theft, illness and abuse of any kind. It was noted that respondents in this category
were those whose dwelling include rented containers and kiosk. According to them, they rented the place because they found it safe and they also contributed monies to fix the locks of their dwelling to prevent thieves and robbers from breaking in.

One of such respondent who sleeps in a rented kiosk reiterated that the only problem they encounter was that, five of them sleep in one kiosk and it poses inconvenience to her but she had no option because that was what she could afford to rent. In a case study interview with her, this was her narratives;

“For the past two years that I have been in Kasoa doing head porting, five of us have been sleeping in this kiosk and I have never had it easy getting sound sleep because we are more than the kiosk can accommodate. Also because the kiosk is in this zongo community there is so much noise at night which distracts our sleep because the people here hardly sleep at night and always playing music and making noise. My biggest fear is that the kiosk is even dilapidated and the roofs leak anytime it rains severely so we have decided not to renew the tenancy agreement with the owner next year because we have to relocate into a more secured place next year” (Case study interview, April, 2016).

Other explanations given were that although Kasoa is a congested town, rent charges for place of dwelling such as containers and kiosk were relatively cheaper, especially in the zongo community and other remote areas where uncompleted buildings have sprung up and they could sleep for free at night whilst maintaining the property. Nonetheless a personal observation of the security and serenity of some of the places of dwelling by the respondents, especially the kiosk being inhabited by some of them revealed it was nothing less than shacks and death trap. Some of the respondents interviewed were also too young to dwell in such places.
About 14 percent (13.5%) of the respondents said they considered the cost-benefit and risk factors in choosing where to live to carry out their business. Nonetheless, some said because they were in transit, they hardly spend monies to renovate their dwelling place except to buy few things like their cups, eating bowls, head pans and one or two working dresses which they wear all the time to work.³ For this reason they look for any convenient place to sleep irrespective of how secured it may be. The concerns raised by the respondents supports the findings of Baah-Ennumh et al. (2012) based on their study in the Kumasi Metropolis. In their study, they found that about 49% of head porters sleep in shacks made of plywood and uncompleted but roofed and abandoned houses and are exposed to floods and mosquitoes yet careless about the dangers it pose but rather happy for getting a place to lay their heads. In the case of this study however, other factors were found worthy of consideration by the head porters in their decision to choose a sleeping place. As indicated earlier these factors include affordability of rent charges and availability of dwelling place knowing Kasoa is a commercial business district with high demand for accommodation.

Aside the risks associated with their place of dwelling, data on their livelihood challenges and vulnerabilities was elicited to provide detailed understanding on the various challenges they face in their quest for livelihood. Four challenges were identified and they include physical challenges (51.5%), personal challenges (10.5%), social challenges (23%) and economic challenges (15%). Those who stated that prolong rain and bad weather conditions limit their chances of meeting their daily sales target were categorized as those who face physical challenges. According to them, severe rains do not only limit their chances of work but also induce mosquitoes which give

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²A 17 year old girl said; I have no reason to spend my money here when I have to work and save for my future marriage, children and my future business. I will rather suffer and save than spend and leave here with nothing. Then, what did I come all the way to Kasoa to do?
them frequent malaria while at the same time the rains causes floods which inundates their place of dwelling. One of such respondents said she and her friends had to always risk sleeping in a parked vehicle at the lorry station anytime it rains heavily and floods inundates their uncompleted but roofed house. Also 24% of them said severe sunny days make them contract respiratory infections due to dust emissions from the untarred parts of the Kasoa road since they are always exposed to walking by the roadside in search of those who need their services. Some relate to severe sunny days, especially during mid-days as compelling because they are usually forced to rest by securing open shelter. Thus, extreme weather conditions affect their work.

The personal challenges indicated by the respondents include difficulty in negotiating for higher fees due to language barriers as well as stress due to their feminine nature. Some said the loads they carry sometimes make them suffer severe body pains and they had to spend their savings on medical bills. For this reason they wished to have gotten another job that is less stressful.

Regarding social challenges, 23% indicated that there is tension among the various ethnic groups engaged in the occupation such that it sometimes affects their work.

Giving account on how this transpires, a 19 year old mother of one gave this narrative:

“So of our colleagues from other ethnic groups have warned us not to go close to the lorry park behind the traffic light in search of clients because is their reserved work place. They have threatened to beat any of us who get close to the lorry park and because of that I had to always work in and around the market but not close to that lorry park and it is affecting my daily sales” (In-depth interview, April 2016).
From her narration, it can be said that there is some level of rivalry among themselves with each group being protective of each other. It also implies that friendship beyond ethnic boundaries is limited or prohibitive hence limited chances of social networking or capital.

Economically, the major problem facing the respondents in their quest to make more sales daily was competition with their male counterparts. According to them, because the boys use trollies or wheel carts, they are often called by clients to carry the heavy loads which attract higher negotiable fees compared with the less heavy ones which they often carry. Some said the market women; especially those dealing with sacks of corn and cassava dough often prefer the guys to carry using the trollies even if they are available to do so. This they believe has been limiting their chances to make more sales than they currently make. As indicated earlier, some said they had problems carrying their monies with them all the time because their sleeping place were not secured and they also have no idea how to save or invest with banks or other financial institutions apart from saving with susu collectors and savings and loans companies who usually run away with their monies. Because of this they always carry their monies in their underwear which they have been told is not safe for their health but they have no option.

With regards to sustainable livelihood outcomes, DFID (1999) argued that capabilities and assets provide a means to ensuring better living conditions or livelihoods as well as overcome livelihood vulnerabilities and risks. DFID further adds that assets comprises more than financial capital to include social, physical, natural, and human capital. Thus more than income may be needed to guarantee sustainable livelihoods of the respondents. Based on this, respondents were asked if the income they get from their occupation guaranteed their sustainable livelihood outcomes.
Table 4.4 indicates that about 76 percent of the respondents said their livelihood outcomes were sustainable whereas 11 percent disagreed. To those who said their livelihoods were sustainable, majority of them earned weekly income above their overall average income of GHs 40.00. The distribution indicates further that although some respondents earned between GHs 50.00 to GHs 70.00 weekly they considered their livelihood outcome not sustainable of which some said they were not sure whether their income could guarantee their livelihoods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood outcome is sustainable based on income</th>
<th>Chi square</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GHs 20.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5(2.5)</td>
<td>1(0.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHs 30.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>11(5.5)</td>
<td>2(1.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHs 40.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47(23.5)</td>
<td>8(4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHs 50.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>56(28.0)</td>
<td>6(3.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHs 60.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>28(14.0)</td>
<td>4(2.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHs 70.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4(2.0)</td>
<td>1(0.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151(75.5)</td>
<td>22(11.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at 0.05; Values in parenthesis are corresponding percentage values
Source: Field data, April 2016

The disaggregated distribution of the responses indicate no statistical significance between their weekly income and sustainable livelihood outcomes $X^2(10, N = 200) = 9.796$, p-value = 0.138.

Thus based on the sample, it can be said that income earned by the female teenage head porters could not be considered enough guarantee of their sustainable livelihood outcomes. This perhaps
may explain why DFID argue that sustainable livelihood is a function of not only financial security (income) but also physical, social, natural, human capitals. Nonetheless, the finding is to some extent corroborated by De Wet et al (2008) based on the studies conducted in Johannesburg. In their study, they found that income has some level of influence as a determinant of livelihood outcome of street children including potters and street hawkers. This is evident in the fact that in this study, 76 percent of the respondents considered their livelihood outcome sustainable.

It was expected that since age had a significant influence on income, the older head porters may earned more income to guarantee their sustainable livelihood outcomes. In view of this, further analysis was done to know how livelihood outcomes varied with regards to the ages of respondents. The results show that 7.5 percent out of the 8 percent of the respondents whose ages were indicated as 13 and 14 years said their livelihoods outcomes were sustainable based on the income they earned. Their reasons were that they could afford two square meals daily, a place to sleep and still save some monies for their financial security while at the same time earn regular income. The disaggregated distribution of the data however indicate no significant difference $X^2(7.478, \text{ df } = 12, \text{ p-value 0.224})$. It also shows that within same age group there were some respondents who did not consider their livelihood outcome sustainable based on the income they earned (Table 4.5). For instance, 13.5 percent of the respondents said the occupation could barely guarantee their financial security because they could hardly save enough money. Thus, in the event that they faced severe risk or exposed to vulnerabilities they could not respond because their savings were too small.
Table 4.5: Age distribution and sustainable livelihood outcomes of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (in years)</th>
<th>Livelihood outcome is sustainable based on income</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Chi square</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (in parenthesis)</td>
<td>No (in parenthesis)</td>
<td>Not sure (in parenthesis)</td>
<td>Total (in parenthesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6 (3.0)</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
<td>6 (3.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9 (4.5)</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
<td>10 (5.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>9 (4.5)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
<td>11 (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17 (8.5)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
<td>4 (2.0)</td>
<td>22 (11.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>40 (20.0)</td>
<td>6 (3.0)</td>
<td>5 (2.5)</td>
<td>51 (25.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>44 (22.0)</td>
<td>9 (4.5)</td>
<td>9 (4.5)</td>
<td>62 (31.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>26 (13.0)</td>
<td>5 (2.5)</td>
<td>7 (3.5)</td>
<td>38 (19.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151 (75.5)</td>
<td>22 (11.0)</td>
<td>27 (13.5)</td>
<td>200 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at 0.05; Values in parenthesis are corresponding percentage values

Source: Field data, April 2016

The finding therefore shows that regardless of the regular income earned by the respondents, not all of them believed their income were enough to cater for their likely or untimely vulnerabilities that may require more financial security. It also means that although not all the head porters were confident that the occupation could remedy their poverty situation, they had to continue with it until perhaps they find a better option to opt out.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of; conclusion to; and recommendations from the study. The
summary hinge on the purpose of the study, methods applied, research questions, objectives and
findings. The recommendations were based on issues raised and discussed in the findings only.

5.2 Summary

The growing concerns for livelihood of vulnerable children living and working on the street and
marketplaces in urban communities form the underlying reason for this study. The study aimed
at assessing the motivations, income opportunities and vulnerabilities of female teenage head
porters in Kasoa. It sought to provide answers to the following research questions;

➢ What are the specific motivations or inducing factors drawing teenage girls on the street
   into head porting other than being in school or learning a vocation?
➢ How does the head porting business contribute to the income prospects of teenage girls
   and what factors affect their earnings as head porters?
➢ To what extent does living and working on the street as a head porter exposes one to
   vulnerability and risks and how does it affect one’s decision to remain or exit the head
   porting occupation?
➢ Is there any relationship between work experience gained by head porters and their
   expected years to remain in the occupation regardless of the risks involved?
To this end, 200 female teenage head porters were non-randomly selected from Kasoa in the Awutu Senya East Municipality using purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. Triangulation methods using structured interviews (closed ended questionnaires), one case study and personal observations were employed for the field data collection between March and April 2016. Data was analyzed using SPSS descriptive and inferential statistical tools.

With regards to the motivational factors, respondents who were pulled into the head porting occupation were 52 percent while 48 percent were pushed. Out of those who were pushed into the occupation, the major factors driving their pushed were household poverty and unemployment. Thus, poverty and unemployment conditions had significant effect on their decision to engage in head porting. With regards to the pulled motivational factors, 51 percent of the respondents were attracted into head porting because it offered regular income on daily basis while 36.5 percent of the respondents indicated they were pulled into the occupation because it was an employment opportunity for them (see Table 4.2).

Pertaining to the income of respondents and the factors responsible for the variation in their income, the study found that respondents earned an average weekly income of GHs 40.00 which is above Ghana’s upper poverty line of GHs 3.60 per adult per day. However, the daily equivalent of the amount was lower than Ghana’s minimum wage of GHs 8.00. It was also found that based on the sample, age and years of experience in the head porting occupation had significant effect on the variations in their income (see Table 4.4).

With regards to vulnerabilities and risk factors affecting their livelihoods, the study found that some respondents’ places of dwelling exposed them to mosquitoes and frequent malaria ill-health conditions. Those who slept in open places and uncompleted but roofed houses
complained about their exposure to mosquitoes. Stress and severe body pains were among the reported risk they faced on daily basis. The assessment of their livelihood outcome indicates no statistical significance between income and sustainable livelihoods outcomes, Likewise their age and livelihood outcome.

5.3 Conclusion

Drawing from the findings of the study with statistical evidence, it is imperative to conclude that the occupation is predominantly the reserve for female migrants from northern Ghana. Household poverty and unemployment stood out as the main pushed factors responsible for the respondents’ engagement in the head porting occupation. Among the pulled factors, desire for regular income, and the fact that the occupation offered ready employment were the major factors pulling the female teenagers into the occupation. This implies that in other for the government of the Republic of Ghana to drive these young children from the street and market places issues of macroeconomic challenges, especially unemployment must be addressed to help maximize income opportunities and reduce household poverty in all regions of Ghana. Although some vulnerabilities and risk were identified, respondents had no regret for their involvement in the occupation.

The findings also show that based on the sample, years of experience in the head porting occupation and age categories of respondents had significant influence on their income. Thus, the more years of experience they had and the older they were the more income they got. This may explained why the occupation kept attracting younger people in southern Ghana.
5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings and issues raised by the respondents, the following recommendations are deemed appropriate for policy consideration.

As indicated earlier, the best solution to help solve the increasing number of young porters who preferably should be in school learning to develop their human capital is for government and development partners to invest to improve macroeconomic performance, especially the issue of unemployment and income inequalities. When this is done, parents will have the opportunity to gain employment and also have the ability and be capable of paying taking responsibility of their wards through school and vocation other than finding themselves in occupations such as head porting. Non-Governmental Organisations who are complementing this effort of economic empowerment to poor women and men in deprived regions in Ghana, especially northern Ghana must be encouraged to continue providing such support. Also, recent government initiative to direct all employment agencies in southern Ghana to facilitate the search for descent jobs for head porters is a step in the right direction that must be encouraged to reduce the phenomenon of head porting in Ghana.

Alternatively, it is recommended that the head porting occupation be regularized by government as an informal economic activity and also to restrict the occupation to those aged eighteen years and above. Such deliberate attempt will help reduce the tendency of under aged children engaging in the occupation rather than being in school. For instance, the fourteen percent of the respondents who were below age fifteen years could have been deterred from engaging in the occupation if the implementation of the child labour laws of Ghana had been effective.
The Awutu Senya Municipal Assembly should also adopt measures to restrict children under age eighteen from engaging in the occupation. This can be done by deploying taskforce on the street of Kasoa to drive all under aged children out of the street and temporarily arrest the recalcitrant ones for weeks or months. Another alternative measure for the assembly could be to adopt verifiable approaches to identify those under aged children who genuinely need help and assigned them to charity organisations who offer child protection services and care. This can be done through the social welfare department of the assembly.

5.6 Recommendation for Further Research

Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that future research drawing on the same thematic scope of this study should assess the motivations and livelihoods of teenage boys engaged in the head porting occupation. This will be helpful in validating the extent to which the findings holds to inform policy on the way forward to promoting the livelihood conditions of vulnerable teenagers who find themselves doing head porting for livelihood instead of being in school to learn and acquire knowledge to increase their chances for better livelihood outcomes.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Adeyemi and Oluwaseun (2012). Cultural Factors Promoting Streetism among Urban Children in Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria, Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, 2 (9), 41-46


APPENDIX

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH (ISSER)

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

This questionnaire is being administered by a Master of Development Studies student of ISSER, University of Ghana, Legon with the ultimate aim of assessing the motivation and livelihoods of female teenage head porters in Kasoa. Any information you provide in support of this study shall be treated highly confidential and for academic purpose only. Your participation is therefore needed to facilitate the successful completion of this study, thank you.

Section A: Socio-demographic Information of Respondents

1. Age
   1) 13yrs [ ]   2) 14yrs [ ]   3) 15yrs [ ]   4) 16yrs [ ]   5) 17yrs [ ]   6) 18yrs [ ]
   7) 19yrs [ ]

2. Ethnicity
   1) Akan [ ]   2) Ga [ ]   3) Gonja [ ]   4) Guan [ ]   5) Dagomba [ ]   6) Frafra [ ]
   7) Ewe [ ]   8) Other, specify ………………………………

3. Region of birth ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Number of children/dependants
   1) None [ ]   2) One [ ]   3) Two [ ]   4) Three [ ]   5) Four [ ]   6) Above four [ ]

5. Your level of education.
   1) None [ ]   2) Basic/Primary [ ]   3) JHS [ ]   4) SHS/Vocational [ ]

6. Marital status
   1) Never married [ ]   2) Married [ ]   3) Divorce [ ]

Section B: Your motivation for engaging in the head porting business

7. How long have you been doing this head porting job/business?
   1) Less than a year [ ]
   2) 1-2yrs [ ]   3) 3-4yrs [ ]   4) 5-6yrs   5) 7-8yrs [ ]   6) Above 8yrs [ ]

8. How long do you want to last in the business?
   1) Less than a year [ ]   2) 1-2yrs [ ]
   3) 3-4yrs [ ]   4) 5-6yrs   5) 7-8yrs [ ]   6) Above 8yrs [ ]

9. Would you consider the head porting business as lucrative?
   1) Yes [ ]   2) No [ ]

10. Which of the following reason(s) best explain your answer in question 9?
   1) More income [ ]   2) Less income [ ]   3) Risky [ ]   4) No startup capital required [ ]

11. Do you agree that if there was other job available you would stop being a head porter?
1) Strongly agree [ ] 2) Agree [ ] 3) Disagree [ ] 4) Strongly disagree [ ]

12. How will you describe your income status before entering into this job?
   1) Bad [ ] 2) Better [ ] 3) Very good [ ] 4) Excellent [ ] 5) Don’t know [ ]

13. To what extent has your income status changed based on your engagement as a head porter?
   1) Worsened [ ] 2) Improved [ ] 3) No improvement [ ]

14. In the next five years, what do you hope to achieve by pursuing this profession?
   1) Shift to a new business [ ] 2) Go back to school [ ] 3) Get married and have children [ ]
   4) Undecided yet [ ] 5) other, specify .................................................................

15. Please indicate whether you were pushed or pull into this profession
   1) Push [ ] 2) Pull [ ]

Please tick the main push or pull factor(s) responsible for your engagement in head porting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pushed factors</th>
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<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Very disagree</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2. Unemployment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3. Quest for personal independence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>15.4. Provide financial support for family</td>
<td></td>
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<td>15.5. Other</td>
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<th>Disagree</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15.2. Employment</td>
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<td>15.3. Peer effect/influence</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4. Sustenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.5. No skill required</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.6. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Would you recommend this profession for other girls of your age? 1) Yes [ ] 2) No [ ]

17. If yes, on what grounds will you recommend this profession to them?
   1) Regular income [ ]
   2) Less skill required [ ] 3) Unemployment [ ] 4) Ready market [ ] 5) Less stressful [ ]
Section C: Income prospects associated with head porting as a livelihood activity

18. On the average how much sales do you make daily as a head porter? GHs…………………………

19. Do you save part of the sales you make daily  1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]

20. If yes, which of the following best explain why you save part of the money?  1) Financial security [ ]  2) Future investment [ ]  3) Livelihood security [ ]  4) No reason [ ]  5) other, specify ………………………………………..

21. Do you have any other source of income apart from what you get daily for being a head porter?  1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]

22. If yes, what other sources do you get income?  1) Family/friends [ ]  2) Remittance from relative abroad [ ]  3) Personal engagement in other jobs [ ]  4) Other, specify ……………………

23. How regular, if any do you get income from other sources apart from your main job?  1) Daily [ ]  2) Monthly [ ]  3) Yearly [ ]  4) Not on regular count [ ]  5) Rarely [ ]  6) Weekly [ ]

24. On the average how much of your daily sales/earnings do you save? GHs…………………………

25. How do you save your money?  1) Through a bank [ ]  2) Personal susu box [ ]  3) Susu collectors [ ]  4) Microfinance company [ ]  5) Not applicable [ ]

26. How regular is your saving pattern if any?  1) Daily [ ]  2) Weekly [ ]  3) Monthly [ ]  4) Not applicable [ ]

27. In your personal opinion, do you think your average daily sales/income derived from your profession is enough to guarantee you of sustainable livelihoods?  1) Strongly agree [ ]  2) Agree [ ]  3) Disagree [ ]  4) Strongly disagree [ ]  5) Don not know yet [ ]

Section D: Livelihood Vulnerabilities and Risk Factors Associated with Head Porting

28. Which of the following risks do you normally face as a teenage head porter in Kasoa?  1) Frequent illness [ ]  2) Exposure to theft [ ]  3) Exposure to rape [ ]  4) Other specify ……………………………………  5) None [ ]

29. How does this risk affect your livelihood?  1) Reduce my savings [ ]  2) Affect my consumption [ ]  3) Affect my ability to work [ ]  4) Other specify ………………………………………
30. Did you anticipate facing any risk before engaging in the head porting business?
   1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]

31. If yes, how has that helped you and if no, how do you deal with risk?
   ...........................................................................................................................................
   ...........................................................................................................................................

32. Do you have any insurance cover be it financial or health    1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]

33. Which of the following best explain your answer in question 31?
   1) Financial security [ ]  2) Health security [ ]  3) Future livelihood support [ ]  4) N/A [ ]

34. When was the last time you faced an occupational risk?  1) Last week [ ]   2) Last month [ ]
   3) This month [ ]   4) Cannot remember [ ]  5) Not applicable [ ]

35. What has been your most challenging moment as a teenage head porter?  1) Rape attempt [ ]
   2) Difficulty in securing sleeping place [ ]   3) Victim of robbery [ ]  4) Family neglect [ ]  5) Other specify ………………………………………

36. How did you deal with the challenge? ………………………………………………………..

37. Which of this livelihood capital do you consider most critical for your sustainable livelihood?
   1) Financial [ ]   2) Human [ ]   3) Physical [ ]   4) Natural [ ]   5) Social [ ]

38. After your hard day work as a head porter where do you finally spend the night/sleep?
   1) Family house [ ]  2) Friend’s house [ ]  3) Wooden structure owned by myself [ ]  4) Sleep with friends in open space [ ]  5) Rented/own container [ ]  6) Rented house [ ]

39. How secured is your sleeping place?   1) Very secure [ ]   2) Somehow secure [ ]   3) Very insecure [ ]   4) Cannot say for now [ ]

40. Have you ever been a victim of violence/abuse since you started this profession?
   1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]

41. What was the nature of this violence/abuse if any?  ………………………………………

42. Do you have any regret for doing this job regardless of all the cost and benefit associated with it?  1) Very much [ ]  2) Not much [ ]  3) Undecided [ ]

43. Indicate whether your human capital is contributing to your livelihood.  1) Yes [ ]  2) No [ ]
44. Indicate whether your access/utilization of social capital is contributing your sustainable livelihood 1) Yes [ ] 2) No [ ]

45. Indicate whether your access/utilization of financial capital is contributing to your livelihood 1) Yes [ ] 2) No [ ]

46. Do you consider your livelihood sustainable as a teenage head porter? 1) Yes [ ] 2) No [ ]