UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

LIVING CONDITIONS AND RETURN STRATEGIES OF HEAD PORTERS (KAYAYEI) IN MADINA, ACCRA.

BY

AISHA SALIFU MAKRONI
(10551700)

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DATE: July, 2017
DECLARATION

I declare that except for references to works which I have duly acknowledged, this dissertation is my original research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Leander Kandilige; and it has not in whole or partially been presented for another degree somewhere else.
CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this project work was supervised in accordance with procedures laid down by the University.

AISHA SALIFU MAKORNIAISHA SALIFU MAKORN
(STUDENT)(STUDENT)

DR. LEANDER KANDILIGE
(SUPERVISOR)

University of Ghana  http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Lord for His guidance and protection throughout my studies. To God be the glory, great things He has done.
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I am highly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Leander Kandilige, for his timeless dedication, guidance, tolerance and patience throughout the supervision of this work, by correcting mistakes and offering useful and constructive suggestions.
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ABSTRACT

The migration of young women from other parts of Ghana (especially from the three northern regions) to Accra to undertake head porterage business activities has been a matter of great concern to governments due to its associated social issues. In fact, recent flooding situations in Accra beside been attributed to poor drainage systems have also been attributed to the burgeoning number of slum dwellings created by some of the indigenous population as well as migrant head porters in certain areas in the country. In view of this, the current study sought to examine the living conditions, coping and return strategies, as well as the demographic characteristics of head porters in Madina (Accra).

To achieve these objectives, a survey on Seventy (70) conveniently sampled head porters within Madina was conducted using the cross-sectional, qualitative and quantitative research approaches. Availability and willingness of head porters to partake in this study was taking into account. Also necessary ethical considerations were observed, permission was obtained from respondents before audio recordings were made. The use of quantitative and qualitative research approach was to gain more insight from respondents in regards to the topic under study.

The findings of the study showed that these young girls, popularly referred to as “Kayayei”, live in very deplorable conditions in Accra. The issue of access to housing and housing facilities, education and health were the major social challenges these girls face. In spite of these challenges, the findings of the study showed that these girls have managed to cope with these conditions through their engagement in multiple economic activities to increase their incomes. It was also recorded that the majority of these girls intend to return home in future to actively participate in the social and economic transformation of their regions or towns. Finally, the study also captured that most of these head porters were from the northern parts of Ghana and were Muslims.

In recommending a possible solution to the head porter migration issue, the study advocates a holistic approach in which government should assist in providing basic social amenities at the destination to make living conditions better as well as assist in providing start up capital for head porters who are keen on starting a small business. The government should also see to it that minors under the age of 18 years are enrolled in the free compulsory universal basic education at their origin and also design and implement national development policies to ensure that the deprived areas from which these girls migrate are developed. Parents who are caught voluntarily sending their children to be involved in hard active employment must be prosecuted. Civil society groups must play an active role in addressing some of the issues that give rise to the migration of these young girls from the northern regions to big cities. This will aid in reversing the phenomenon, as well as reduce the yearly movement of young girls from rural areas to urban centres in search of better opportunities.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

Migration at the international level has now become high on regional and global policy agenda (Asare, 2012). Scholarly discourses on migration have looked at the phenomenon from both negative and positive perspectives. According to some scholars and development organizations, the emergence of slums with their sanitation and health challenges; social vices such as prostitution and drug abuse; population growth with its associated pressure on existing social amenities, et cetera, are the challenges migration pose to host countries or regions (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003; Owusu Amponsah & Adoma, 2012). Others have also indicated that migration (that is labour or workforce migration) contributes significantly to economic growth in countries or regions of origin and destination (Azam & Gubert, 2006; OECD, 2014).

According to Asare (2012) internal migration (which has the greatest volume) has become an issue that most developing states have to grapple with. Indeed, in developing countries, people move in large numbers from rural areas to urban centres to improve on their socio-cultural, economic and political conditions (UN Habitat, 2016). Studies conducted over the period have shown that because living conditions in these urban areas are not too different from those of the rural areas, migrants to these urban areas are sometimes faced with serious socio-economic challenges that lead them to engage in social vices such as armed robbery, prostitution, drug abuse, et cetera (UN Habitat, 2016; Opare, 2003; Owusu Amponsah & Adoma, 2012). Young women who move to these urban areas alone become victims of rape, teenage pregnancy, defilement, child labour, et cetera – thus, compounding the number of issues that governments
have to address. Annually Ghana is faced with a significant number of migrations from the north to south. The people who move towards the south are usually young females towards bigger cities with the intention of improving their livelihoods.

1.1 Problem statement

Rural-urban migration in Ghana is a common phenomenon due to poor socio-cultural, economic and political conditions in the rural areas. Annually, urban centres such as Accra and Kumasi witness the migration of a significant number of young men and women, usually from the three (3) northern regions (Upper West Region, Upper East Region and Northern Region (Opare, 2003) to these urban centres who seek to improve on their living conditions. This phenomenon as well as practices observed by some of the indigenous population has led to the (emergence) of slum dwellings with their associated sanitation, health and safety, and security issues in these urban centers. Due to the country’s housing and unemployment challenges (even in the urban areas), most of these young men and women who migrate to Accra and Kumasi find themselves living in unsafe structures as homes in the slums, which exposes them to very harsh weather conditions and some health-related issues. In order to fend for themselves, some of these individuals engage in activities such as armed robbery, prostitution, drug trafficking, pickpocketing, et cetera, which lead to conviction or loss of life due to mob justice activities.

On the other hand, there are some (mostly young women) among these migrants who engage in the provision of head porterage services at market centres in these urban areas. In Ghana, people who engage in this kind of activity are referred to as “Kayayei”. This word in the Ga parlance simply means “load girls” or “luggage girls”. Although, this is an activity predominantly undertaken by young women at market centres some young men are engaged in this activity too.
Notwithstanding this activity these young men and women engage in, studies conducted in Accra and Kumasi have shown that migrants are faced with serious socio-economic challenges (including the absence of affordable housing units, inadequate funds to pursue their education, and also to access better healthcare) (Owusu Amponsah & Adoma, 2012; Asare, 2012; Opare, 2003; Owusu-Ansah & Addai, 2013; Azam & Gubert, 2006). It is in this light that the government of Ghana in 2017 has abolished the 1 percent market tolls levied on head porters (Kayayei) in Ghana (source: http://starrfmonline.com/2017/03/02/2017-budget-govt-abolishes-kayayei-tax/). According to the Finance Minister, government implemented this policy to help reduce the economic and social hardships that “Kayayei” in the country (especially in the urban areas) have to endure (source: http://starrfmonline.com/2017/03/02/2017-budget-govt-abolishes-kayayei-tax/) due to the low level of income they receive from the “Kayayei” business.

In spite of the aforementioned challenges, the country is experiencing some reversed migration (i.e. from urban areas to rural areas) (GSS; 2014), however there is still an increase in the number of migrants, especially head porters, to urban centers. This situation might worsen considering government’s current decision to abolish the 1 percent market tolls on the activities of head porters in Ghana as this could serve as an incentive in the future for more young ladies to move down south for work.

It is against this backdrop that this study was conducted to examine and understand the living conditions (socio-cultural, economic, and political) of head porters in their destination (Madina, Accra). The study also sought to ascertain if these head porters (Kayayei) had any intention of returning home, and if so, what their return strategies are.
1.2 Research objectives

The general objective of the study was:

1. To assess the demographic characteristics of the migrant head porters in Madina (Accra)

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To describe the living conditions of the migrant head porters at their destination (Madina, Accra)

2. To examine the livelihood strategies adopted by the head porters for coping with living conditions at the destination

3. To examine the factors influencing return migration decisions of the head porters in Madina, Accra

1.3 Significance of the study

The outcome of this study is expected to provide a better understanding of the rural-urban migration phenomenon (among local, regional and national governments in the country). This is expected to aid governments in designing and implementing policies that will improve the living conditions of head porters in Ghana. Through the findings of this study, governments will become well-informed on how best to manage the migration of young men and women to urban areas in Ghana to work as head porters; and also introduce initiatives that will improve the socio-economic conditions of those who are already caught up in this head porterage business at the urban centres.
Secondly, alongside other empirical studies conducted in this area of research in the country, this study will add to the existing body of knowledge on this subject area; thus, provide a better appreciation among scholars (both locally and internationally). Its findings could also fuel discussions among scholars and international organizations on an appropriate approach that helps to balance the positive and negative aspects of rural-urban migration. Finally, students undertaking research activities in internal migration could refer this study as a reference document for both methodology and literature.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the study

1.4.1 Scope of the study

This study was conducted within a one-year time frame. Secondly, in identifying and adopting literature for the study, the researcher’s focus was on existing and contemporary theoretical literature bordering on migration globally, regionally and nationally. In order to meet the objectives of the study, empirical studies conducted within the Ghanaian context and in some neighbouring West African countries were considered for comparative and analytical purposes.

1.4.2 Limitations of the study

*Time Constraints.* The researcher acknowledges the fact that time is a very great asset to these head porters. This is due to the fact that their daily sales (income) depend largely on the number of loads they convey at each point in time, hence, the need for them to be within the reach of prospective and known customers at all times. In order not to deprive these individuals of their daily sales, the researcher conducted an initial survey of the Madina market area to identify seventy (70) individuals who were willing to participate in the survey and arranged a meeting
with them at a time they choose, this helped with not going back and forth at a time when they might not have been ready to answer questions and it saved time. These individuals were given a time frame which was within two (2) weeks and were asked to pick a day that was suitable for them to take part in the interviews and answering questions. This was done so that the respondents will choose a day that was suitable for them within the time frame that was given and also to ensure that they were comfortable and free to answer questions which will not compromise the quality of the data as well as not deprive them of their daily sales.

1.4.3 Definition of terms

Chain migration is a sequence of movement among people who share blood ties.

External migration refers to the movement of people from a particular place to another place across boundaries or borders.

Emigration refers to the departure of people from one country (origin) to another country (destination).

Immigration contrary to emigration, is the arrival of people into a new country (destination) from another country (origin).

Impelled migration is also known as unwilling or force migration. Regarding this form of movement, individuals are forced out of their country due to unfavorable conditions such as struggle, unstable politics, and religious persecution, shortage of water or natural disasters.

Internal migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another place within the same state or country.
Migration is the movement of people from one geographic location to another within space and Time for a period of between six (6) to twelve (12) months.

Population transfer is when state governments force a large group of their citizenry out of a region, usually based on ethnicity or religion. It is also known as involuntary or forced migration.

Step migration refers to a series of shorter, less extreme migrations from a person's place of origin to final destination.

1.5 Organization of the study

Chapter One (Introduction) forms the background of the study where discussions on the research problem, research objectives, research significance, research scope and limitations, amongst others were held.

Chapter Two (Literature Review) contains both theoretical and empirical literature available in this area of study. It considers both classical and contemporary literature with the aim of creating a much better understanding of how this area of study has evolved over the years, and also to establish why it still needs to be pursued today.

Chapter Three (Research Methodology) contains the research approach and design adopted for the collection and analysis of collected data. It touches on areas such as the research design(s), research population, research sample size and sampling technique, sources of data, and data analysis approach.

Chapter Four (Socio-Demographic characteristics of head porters) contains both pictorial and non-pictorial presentation of collected data, outcomes of statistical analyses on demographic
data, and also discuss findings from the analyses in line with both theoretical and empirical literature.

**Chapter Five** (Living conditions and coping strategies) this chapter contains the living conditions and coping strategies adopted by head porters.

**Chapter Six** (Return migration and its necessitating factors among head porters) this chapter discusses the intention to return, the role age plays in return strategies being put in place, access to basic amenities and the role of marital status in the return process. Furthermore, conclusions and recommendations were deduced from this chapter for the follow-up chapter **Chapter Seven**.

**Chapter Seven** (Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation) contains the research summary, drawn conclusions by the researcher based on the research findings, and recommendations to improve the identified social issues.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review section of the study focuses on both theoretical and empirical literature reviews. The theoretical literature review focuses on the theories underlying migration and the head porterage phenomenon in Ghana. The empirical literature review, on the other hand, focuses on both existing and contemporary studies conducted in this area of study globally, but specifically within the Ghanaian context.

2.1 Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one geographic location to another within space and time for a period of between six (6) to twelve (12) months (United Nation). According to Asare (2012), “human migration is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary” (p. 2). He added that people can either choose to relocate (i.e. voluntary migration) or be forced to relocate (i.e. involuntary migration).

Migration is a common phenomenon in human societies globally (OECD, 2014), beginning with the movements of the first human groups from their origins in East Africa to their current location in the world (Asare, 2012). Asare (2012) explains that, “migration occurs at a variety of scales: inter-continental (between continents), intra-continental (between countries on a given continent), and interregional (within countries of a specific region)” (p. 2).
Asare (2012) opines that internationally, migration can be grouped into the following types: internal and external migration; emigration and immigration; population transfer; impelled migration; step migration; chain migration; and labour migration.

**Internal migration and external migration:** Internal migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another place within the same state or country. The most significant migration pattern observed under this type of migration is rural-urban migration, that is, the movement of people from rural areas to urban centres usually to search for job opportunities (UN-Habitat, 2016; Asare, 2012). Contrary to internal migration, external migration is the movement of people from one state (country) or continent to another state (country) or continent within a period of about six (6) to twelve (12) months. Thus, under this type of migration, a large number of people are observed moving from one country to another country (on the same continent) and from one country to another country (on different continents) (OECD, 2014).

**Step migration.** This refers to a series of shorter, less extreme migrations from a person's place of origin to final destination, that is, moving from a farm, to a village, to a town, and finally to a city (Asare, 2012). Thus, migrants’ movement to the final destination is done in a step-by-step or gradual fashion – they usually settle in a temporary location en route to their final destination, usually to prepare for the remaining part of the journey.

**Chain migration.** A sequence of movement with people who are related by blood ties. It often starts with one member sending money for another member to join him or her at the new location (Asare, 2012). Chain migration results in migration fields – the gathering of people from a particular area to a specific neighborhood or town.
2.1.1 Theories of Migration

Over the years, many theories have emerged to explain migration and why it exists. Some of these theories include: Ravenstein’s laws of migration; Lee’s theory of migration; Harris-Todaro model of migration; migration and the dual sector model of economic development; and Sjaastad’s human investment theory. These theories are expanded below.

2.1.2.1 Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration

Ravenstein’s idea originated in the 1880s, his work was considered one of the first works in the field of migration. He came up with a set of laws for migration. These laws were made up of concepts (Rhoda, 1979) about the attributes of migrants, their purpose and the patterns of their movement (Hornby & Jones, 1993). According to him, majority of migrants travel short distances and mostly towards business centers and industries; migration occurs in a sequence, that is, migration will first be to nearby places and later to cities that are growing; every massive migration produces a replacement; People from rural areas turn to migrate more as compared to those in Urban centers; females are majority when it comes to short distance migration; When there is a growth in transport, industry and business; migration increases in capacity and the economic reasons that prevail are amid the push and pull factors of migration.

Universally, Ravenstein’s laws have since been organized and widened by many investigators and the significance of the economic motivation in the decision to migrate, how distance is influenced negatively and the process of systematic migration has been supported with factual evidence in some countries.
2.1.2.2 Lee’s Theory of Migration

Lee’s theory of migration is a revision of the basic push-pull theory. He adopted a common strategy in which a number of spatial movement can be placed (Lee, 1966). He came out with a resolution that has to do with elements in the act of migration, the volume of migration, the expansion of vacuum created by departure of migrants and vacuum filled by the arrival of other migrants and the attributes of migrants. In the act of migration, he divided the factors into “push” factors (factors that has to do with the origin), “pull” factors (factors to do with the destination) and difficulties that arise as well as personal factors (Lee, 1966). Lee also deduced that both origin and destination have favorable conditions that keeps people already in it or drag others to it as well as non-favorable conditions that pushes people away from the area and in the same vein does not attract people outside the area to it. He also deduced that conditions in an area are more significant than those with the destination. Lee however believes that conditions in an origin or destination are controlled by personal factors which will either exacerbate or reduce migration. (Lee, 1966). Lee’s final element in his theory is the idea of difficulties that arise between the origin and the destination. (Transport costs, migration controls etc.) and may reduce or retard migration, or even (in the case of a law) which may decrease, increase or even stop migration.

Lee’s conclusion on volume of migrants, the expansion of streams and attributes of migrants could be outlined as follows:

- The capacity of migration in a given geographical area differs with the level of variety of the places that are part of the geographical area.

- Both momentum and capacity of migration becomes high overtime.
The capacity of migration is conversely in relation to the difficulty in defeating issues that arises.

Migration happens broadly in a clear flow (from rural areas to towns and then to Urban centres).

A vacuum created by the departure of migrants is filled by the arrival of others.

The immensity of a gain in migration will be related directly to the force of “push” factors at the origin.

Migration is choosy. This means that migrants are not people who are just chosen from a population at an origin.

Migrants who move in line with “pull” factors at a destination are favorable picked (highly educated persons), and those who move with “push” factors at the origin are non-favorably selected and in the case where “push” factors are enormous to the whole population, they may not be picked at all.

Generally, the push - pull theory may be seen as an off-spring of the neoclassical economic theory and linked with the 19th century European Economic Development (Monstead & Walji, 1978). Most of the theories formulated have been applied to urban-urban migrations in advance countries of the world but it does not apply to rural-urban migrations in less advanced countries (Mabogunje, 1970). Even though the push-pull concept is very simple, it is a useful structure for classifying a scope of factors necessitating migration (Gmelch & Zenner 1996).
2.1.2.3 Harris-Todaro Model of Migration

Literature that has emerged in recent years around the topic that has to do with least developed countries. (LDCs). In this chapter, focus will be placed on the work of Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970). In the the early 1950s, economists focused on growing population and economic development in least developed countries and there were therefore certain thoughts that policies that focus on industrialization will raise national incomes but will also mitigate over population in small towns of the country However, during the 1960s this view became highly problematic when it became obvious that imbalance and poverty has become tenacious even though there was a sustainable growth in Gross National Product (GNP). This phenomenon has led to the idea that has made rural-urban migration in LDCs be seen as a trait that is adding to the underdevelopment. The new belief is because of Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) idea which has provided a theoretical framework for describing unemployment in urban centres in LCDs.

Assuming potential migrants treat and take employment in urban centres as an economic issue, Harris Todaro argues that when there is an increase in employment it may increase urban unemployment and may further even reduce national product (the Todaro Paradox). In the Harris-Todaro model migration is seen as a way workers cope and assign themselves when it comes to the labour market, which are found in certain urban and rural centres and this they do to increase their wages.

Generally, the model outline that migrants’ will take the step to migrate by putting into account the possibility of unemployment at the destination. A migrant can decide to migrate to an urban centre even when the salary at the origin is higher; this is because they foresee a better wage that
can make up for the loss in the long term. (Todaro & Smith, 2003). In 1977, Brown and Neuberger (as cited in Kasahun, 2000) formulated that some migrants are pushed out of places they reside because of certain negative conditions that made staying there impossible. Others are pulled to leave their residences because of certain things attracting them to other places. In the same vain Bekure (1984) mentioned that migration occurred when conditions in an origin became difficult to cope with and destination became striking.

2.1.2.4 Migration and the Dual Sector Model of Economic Development

The two part section representation by Lewis’ (1982) has dual major parts: an agricultural / rural sector signalized by zero minor efficiency of labor; and an urban / industrial sector which has a high demand for labor and offers wages that are higher than the rural areas. Lewis reckon the agricultural sector to be purely existence signalized by surplus labor, low productivity, low incomes, and considerable underemployment. Some parts of the rural labor force were presumed to be unnecessary or excess in nature, contributing nothing to output. The industrial sector was presumed to be technologically advanced with high levels of investment operating in an urban environment (McCatty, 2004).

This model primarily states that there is existing surplus labor in the rural agricultural sector; and this makes, people migrate to the industrial sector to obtain employment (McCatty, 2004). Besides, what the urban manufacturing sector request is labor transfer to increase productivity. In the current sectors the migrants are thought to have interest because of better wages. According to Todaro, high levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high and are known to potential migrants. A migrant will move even if that migrant ends up having no job or receives lower urban wages than the rural wages (Todaro, 1976).
Similarly, the possibility of getting an urban job is related in the opposite to the urban unemployment rate (Todaro, 1976).

2.1.2.5 Sjaastad’s human investment theory

Sjaastad (1962) theory of migration treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision where an individual weighs the cost involved and what he will get in return before taking the step. The returns the individual expects is monetary and non-monetary, the individual also considers emotional benefits depending on where he chooses to go to. Similarly, costs include both monetary (price of transport, discarding of belongings, money lost while in transit, and preparation for a new job) price comprise (moving from places they know, taking up new eating habits and societal norms and etc.) because these things are hard to estimate, factual examinations are restricted to earnings and other things that can be calculated. Sjaastad’s way presumes that an individual’s wish to increase their earnings during the time they are fruitful can calculate the flow of their earnings at where they currently are and also another place they may want to move to. Also particularly these ideas will raise questions because it is not every time they have “accurate data”.

2.1.2.6 Systems in Migration Theory

One other theory that has largely been adopted by most authors in explaining the migration phenomenon is Mabogunje’s migration systems theory (Bakewell, et al, 2012). According to Bakewell, et al (2011), prior to the introduction to Mabogunje’s theory, some authors such as Arrighi and Saul (1968) and Gutkind (1962) observed the migration phenomenon from a systems perspective.
The approach of migration systems theory by Mabogunje (1970), explains migration as the product of a complex interaction amongst components (jointly with the characteristics and connection) in a channel. Abstracting from the general systems theory (talked about beneath), Mabogunje emphasized the significance on the part of sending information back in framing migration channels. For example, data regarding how migrants are received and move forward at the new place of stay is reversed to the place they came from (Mabogunje 1970). Favorable data that motivates future migration and turns out in circumstances of arranged migration patterns from specific rural areas to urban areas. In another way, the fact of data in the channel motivates bigger divergence from the “most possible or unplanned state”. “The state of a system at any given time is not determined so much by its initial conditions as by the nature of the process, or the system parameters, since open systems are basically independent of their initial conditions” (Mabogunje 1970 as cited in Bakewell, et al, 2012, p.5). In Bakewell, et al (2012) submission, migration channels connect individuals, blood relatives and a society by distance in something known currently as transnational or trans local societies. They explained that this turns in a scenery design and arrangement of migration movements which is district from an unplanned state. Indeed, Mabogunje’s theory explains the fixed and unfixed smaller channels run to continue and strengthen the organized way of flows outside by motivating movement across definite roads and not motivating it across others. In the end, there is a set of comparatively static trade producing an imaginable geographical shape that continues over distance and time. (Mabogunje, 1970).

Mabogunje applies the systems approach to rural–urban migration within the African continent as a way of explaining why and how a rural migrant becomes a permanent urban dweller. Furthermore, Kritz, et al (1992) extended the migration systems theory notion to international
migration. International migration systems consist of countries or rather places within different
countries that exchange comparatively large numbers of migrants, and are also signalized by
information flow that connect the movement of people between particular countries, areas, and
even cities to the associated flows of goods, capital (remittances), ideas, and information
(Fawcett, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992). The end result, according to Massey, et al (1999) is a
“set of comparatively stable exchanges of people between certain nations producing an
identifiable geographic structure that persists across space and time” (p. 61). The implicit
assumption is that migration systems are signalized by a significant degree of assembly of
migration flows.

According to Bakewell, et al (2011), “although the term ‘migration system’ has been widely used
since, it is striking that very few attempts have been made to further define and theorize the
concept and unravel the underlying dynamics that lead to migration system formation” (p. 5-6).
In their opinion, the definitions adopted tend to be vague, lose or absent, while common analyses
of migration systems also tend to confound levels of analysis. They opined that “while
Mabogunje’s definition focused on the micro and meso levels, Kritz, et al (1992) have tended to
focus on the macro level, in which migration systems are perceived as linking countries rather
than regions or places”.

Scholars such as de Haas (2008) have argued that existing studies of migration systems tend to
be faced by three basic fragility which punches holes in the system approach to the survey of
migration. First, while systems theory tackles the question on how migration continues, it
however does not mention how it started. It also fails to explain how migration may not
necessarily lead to creating migration links and forming channels. In fact, most studies of
migration systems consist of subsequent identifications of current or past migration systems.
other words, in producing their conceptualization of migration systems they relied on successful examples of migration system formation and large flows of people between places and countries (de Haas, 2008).

Also, as stated by de Haas (2008), the migration literature focuses on migrant links rather than direct or ‘endogenous’ information flow at the cost of bigger secondary feedback dynamics. Migration systems is linked with the idea that when a significant number of people settle at a place, migration continues because it creates social and economic structures particularly links to make the process stable (Castles 2009; Massey et al. 1999). Even though this explanation covers a significant part of the idea, it does not give much value to the sensitive contact of the movement on the larger sending and receiving parties that makes the conditions before different when it comes to how migration occurs (de Haas 2008). For example, remittances, may not only make migration a success but it can also widen the inequality gap between people related by blood back at the origin and this might change people’s desire to migrate (Azam & Gubert 2006). “At the same time, the settlement of migrants at certain destinations may, beyond a certain threshold at which they start to form a critical mass, lead to community formation and the establishment of ‘ethnic’ businesses, which may for instance create ethnically specific labour demand and, hence, facilitate onward migration” (de Haas 2008 as cited in Bakewell, de Haas & Kubal, 2012, p. 6) Such businesses are an example of contextual feedback mechanisms that may perpetuate migration rather than societal links and blood ties that the literature suggests (Bakewell, de Haas & Kubal, 2012).

Finally, de Haas (2008) is of the view that there is very little understanding of the inside instruments that moves the migration system. As seen earlier, many studies assume the general idea that information sent back strengthens the system. There is very little that has been done
about explaining how information flow perpetuates migration and how migration in turn sends back information and what explains the significant reduction of already organized migration channels (de Haas, 2008). Even though you can make a case out of the fact that transnational ties loosen with time, it is not always the case and other migrant groups show different forms and levels when it comes to migration channels and how they become stable over time.

2.1.3 Factors necessitating migration

A review of recent literature shows that the factors which encourage people to move can be classified into five categories. They are economic factors, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, political factors and miscellaneous factors.

2.1.3.1 Economic Factors

A lot of research conducted shows that migration is fundamentally necessitated economic factors (Crow, 2010; Alonso, 1964; Bayoh, et al, 2006; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975). In less advanced countries, no earnings from farming activities, no jobs in agricultural sectors and less jobs are seen as the fundamental things pushing individuals towards advanced laces with bigger and better work offers (Crow, 2010; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975). Thus, most studies conducted proves that individuals have moved in quest to find better job offers. The fundamental economic factors which necessitates movement is out into two categories which are the “push” and the “pull” factors (Kainth, 2009). The push factors are the ones that forces an individual because of various reasons to leave a particular place to move to another. The normal things that compel people to move are low efficiency, no jobs and no industrialization, poor and unfavorable working conditions, less options to choose from form improvement, weariness of natural resources and natural calamities. Introduction of capital intensive methods of production
into agricultural sector, and automation of certain processes reduce labour requirement in rural areas. The unavailability of possible forms of finances in rural areas is also a significant thing in migration. The pull factors are ones that interest individuals to an area. Options for better job opportunities, better salaries gives way to better working conditions and interesting amenities are pull factors of an area.

Indeed, according to Asare (2012), the UN population Division came out with 214 million in 2010 to be the number of migrants in foreign countries and women made up of about 50 percent of economic migrants and their relatives. The ILO in 2010 also came out with 106 million as the number of economic migrant and putting together their families make up about 90 percent of migrants internationally (Asare, 2012).

2.1.3.2 Demographic Factor

The disparities in a growing population in divergent areas of a state is said to determine movement within the particular state (Crow, 2010; Alonso, 1964; Bayoh, et al, 2006; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975). Fruitfulness and a population growing naturally and normally on the rise in the country side is what moves people to the urban centres. Another significant demographic to consider when it comes to movement within a country is marriage, this is because, women usually accompany husbands to new locations.

According to the IOM movement patterns can be described by demographic disparities that reveals in work excess and shortage. In many countries, migration is the major thing that influences the increase of a population, however the future result of movement will differ base on the make- up of the number of people who have moved and if their movement is for a short time, a long time or between.
2.1.3.3 Socio-cultural Factors

Societal and ethnic elements have a significant part to play in migration. In some circumstances people wanting to be on their own, disputes, can be the root cause of migration, mainly in juvenile groups (Crow, 2010; Alonso, 1964; Bayoh, et al, 2006; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975). Better means of transmission, like transport, better transmission systems, contact with TV, cinemas, the advanced form of obtaining knowledge and the aftermath difference in behaviors and significance also advance movements (Crow, 2010; Alonso, 1964; Bayoh, et al, 2006; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975).

2.1.3.4 Political Factors

Political instability is one main causal factor of migration especially within many African states. According to the IOM 2014, the value of people who have left their homes forcefully has increased and the extradition worldwide is becoming difficult. The number of people who moved forcefully by barbarity and disputes currently is the biggest since the Second World War. The IDMC (2014) adds that persons dislodged by disputes and barbarity are about 33.3 million at the close of 2013, increasing from 26.4 million in the year 2011 (IDMC, 2014). Refugees were estimated at 16.7 million by the end of 2013, up from 15.2 million in 2011 (UNHCR, 2013). Around the year 2013, a number of about two-thirds of displaced persons globally were in expulsion for more than 5 years, and part of these people were minors (UNHCR, 2013).

According to the IOM (2014), Palestine’s made up the biggest number of displaced persons globally. Afghans, Syrians, Somalis, Sudanese, Congolese and people from Central African Republic were the major states where displaced persons originated from in 2013. Furthermore, according to the UNHCR (2013), not less than 1,067,500 persons applied for asylum in
Countries such as Germany, United States of America, South Africa, France and Sweden were the major countries who received asylum applications (UNHCR, 2013). The major country where the displaced persons came from to advanced countries were the Syrian Arab Republic, followed by Iraq, Eritrea and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2013). More than 86% of displaced persons globally were taking in by less advanced states at the close of 2013. Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan are the major states in complete terms (1.6 million and more than 850,000 asylum-seekers respectively), followed by Lebanon (more than 856,000), Jordan (more than 640,000) and Turkey (about 610,000) (UNCHR, 2013).

2.1.3.5 Miscellaneous Factors

Certain elements like the existence of blood ties and companionship in cities, the wish to have an advanced form of obtaining knowledge, which can be accessed mostly in the cities are elements perpetuating movement. (Crow, 2010; Alonso, 1964; Bayoh, et al 2006; Gans, 1968; Kainth, 2009; Lerman, 1975). Proximity of ethnic associations, ethnic mix, substantial liveliness, independent viewpoints correspond to migration.

2.1.5 Migration in Ghana

2.1.5.1 Emigration

Movement in Ghana has largely turn to movement within particular zones, since the decrease of Nigeria being the main target for people from Ghana who move around in the 1980s. Even though a large number of Ghanaian travelers (71%) are within West African States, an increasing portion is moving to a mix scale of States outside the area (DRC, 2007). In conformity with the approximation done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ghana in 2008, Ghanaian nationals
who have moved can be located in 33 Countries all over the world. The most significant Countries West African migrants move to after Africa is the United States of America which has (7.3%) and the United Kingdom having a percentage of (5.9%) (DRC, 2007). Approximation of Ghanaians who moved are between 1.5 million (Twum Baah, 2005 as cited in 2012) to 3 million (Black et al., 2003 as cited in Asare, 2012).

Since the 1990s, skilled migration from Ghana, especially to developed countries in the North, has been increasing. Ghana has the highest emigration rates for the highly skilled employees (46%) in Western Africa (OECD, 2005 as cited in Asare, 2012; Docquier & Marfouk, 2005 as cited in 2012). The medical professionals are particularly affected by emigration. It is estimated that more than 56 percent of doctors and 24 percent of nurses trained in Ghana are working abroad (Clemens & Pettersson, 2006). The overall skill level of Ghanaian emigrants is comparatively high. According to some estimates, 33.8 per cent of emigrants from Ghana living in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries possessed medium skills, while 27.6 per cent had high skills (EU, 2006). Only 3 per cent of Ghanaian emigrants had no skills. Many Ghanaians acquire their skills at foreign universities. The latest available figures suggest that almost 8 per cent of Ghanaian university students studied abroad in 2006. Although this marks a decrease from 2004, when 11.8 per cent of Ghanaian students studied abroad, the proportion of Ghanaians enrolled in foreign universities is still substantial (UNESCO, 2008 as cited in Asare, 2012). Public scholarship programs may unintentionally encourage this trend by providing support only to students and academic staff that study abroad.

While many Ghanaians leave for more far-reaching destinations, many of them also return either temporarily or permanently to Ghana. The proportion of Ghanaians among persons who arrived in Ghana from 2000 to 2007 steadily increased from 18.6 per cent to 34.6 per cent. Of the
1,090,972 Ghanaians who left Ghana from 2000 to 2007, only 153,632 did not return within that period. Departure statistics show that the majority of resident Ghanaians leave for commercial activities, and their spouses and children later accompany them (Quartey, 2006 as cited in Asare, 2012). An important result of growing emigration is the considerable increase in official remittance flows. The Bank of Ghana estimates that remittances to Ghana increased from USD 476 million in 1999 to USD 1.5 billion in 2005. This trend has been affected by the economic downturn in the developed world. The Bank of Ghana reports that remittance flow increased from (USD 2.1 billion) in 2010 to (USD 4.9 billion) in 2015 (Bank of Ghana, 2016).

In relation to economically motivated migration, forced migration from Ghana is unimportant and has been reducing over the past decade. The number of Ghanaian asylum seekers and recognized refugees under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) protection has decreased from 15,879 in 2003 to only 6,717 in 2007 (UNHCR, 2008 as cited in Asare, 2012).

Although emigration has been increasing at a faster rate than immigration since 1990, Ghana continues to be an important country of destination. According to recent census-based estimates, the migrant population, i.e. foreign-born population, still constitutes 7.6 per cent of Ghana’s total population in 2005. Net migration rate (per thousand persons) for 2000-2005 was positive at 0.1 compared to the -0.6 recorded in the previous five-year period (UNPD, 2008 as cited in Asare, 2012).

2.1.5.2 Immigration

The majority of immigrants to Ghana are Africans. In 2000, 58.9 per cent of non-Ghanaian residents were nationals from Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
countries, while 23 percent of immigrants came from African countries outside ECOWAS. According to border statistics from the Ghana Immigration Services, Europeans made up the largest group of non-African arrivals (15.3%), followed by North Americans (9.7%), from 2000 to 2007 (GIS, 2008 as cited in Asare, 2012). Students make up a significant proportion of the immigrants to Ghana. In 2007, 8.5 per cent of resident permits were granted to students. Students represented a particularly large proportion among permit holders from ECOWAS countries, almost 25 per cent. The foreign student population at the University of Ghana rose gradually from 1.5 percent in 2001 / 2002 to 3.8 per cent in 2006 / 2007.

While the overall immigrant population has remained relatively stable over the last two decades, the number of asylum seekers and refugees has considerably increased, from 11,721 in 2001 to 34,950 in 2007. In 2007, Ghana hosted the largest refugee population in the West African sub-region. In 2008, the figure reduced to about 18,206. Representing 77.3 per cent of the total refugee population in Ghana, Liberians accounted for much of the increase in the number of refugees in Ghana. According to UNHCR (2008 as cited in Asare, 2012), 40 per cent of the refugees from Liberia and Togo were minors (persons under 18 years old). In 2008, Ghana received fewer asylum seeker and refugees. During the 2011 crisis in Libya, Ghana saw almost 19,000 single, unemployed men return home (52% to the Brong Ahafo region) specifically Nkoranza.

Averagely, Ghana remains host to the fourth-largest population of asylum seekers and refugees in the sub-Region.
2.1.6 Internal migration and head porterage business activities in Ghana

Historically, commercial head porterage began during the trans-Saharan trade in West Africa as a supplement to riverboats; donkey and caravan transport (Ajayi & Crowder, 1985). Footpaths were the common routes through which head porterage of various kinds of goods were conveyed from one town to the other. Initially slaves and some individuals served as head porters. With time and the abolition of slavery, head porters were predominantly individuals and also migrants. Payments were mostly in kind and varied according to both the quantity and quality of the load (Adu Boahen, 2000). As production of cash crops, jewelry and the introduction of imported European goods expanded trade along the coastal areas of sub-Saharan Africa, the services of head porters became even more important as more people became involved in carrying goods between interior market and coastal centres.

From the 1860s, an intermediate means of transport such as drought animals (Camel and Donkeys), which had been introduced, were considered to be a more convenient means of conveying goods. Nonetheless, head porterage continued, especially in the forest and coastal areas where the presence of tsetse flies made it difficult to use draught animals (McPhee, 1971). After the 1890s, motorable roads and railways were constructed to facilitate the transportation of bulky goods from the interior of Ghana to the coast (Dickson & Benneh, 1988). Even after that, porters were still used to carry cash and food crops along bush paths to the main roads.

Until recently, foreigners (except Nigerians who were mostly engaged in trading) were involved in the head porterage business in towns and market centres. For instance, the 1960 Population Census of Ghana showed that about 12.0 per cent of the total population enumerated was of foreign origin. In 1969, the government of Ghana enforced a law, the Alien’s Compliance
Orders, which enjoined all foreigners in the country without valid residence permits to regularize their stay within two weeks or leave the country. With the Order a number of non-Ghanaians from the West African sub-region left the country because they could not regularize their stay (National Population Council, 1994). As the group that was noted for the head porterage sector, their departure created a vacuum and this was gradually filled by Ghanaian women from the three northern regions of Ghana.

With the involvement of women in the business the term kaya yo (plural kaya yei) was coined to differentiate them from the males who were involved in head porterage and their female counterparts. Etymologically, the term is derived from two words, “kaya” a Hausa word meaning wares or goods, and “yo” (“yei”), a Ga word meaning a woman (women) (Attah et al, 1997). Therefore, the term “Kayayei” refers to female commercial head porters (Abur-sufian, 1994; Attah et al., 1997). The shift from male dominated ‘enterprise’ to one dominated by women, represents one of the changes in the composition of the work force in the last two decades and provided avenues for independent female migrants from one of the impoverished parts of the savanna zone of Ghana.

Until the last two decades, migration from present northern parts of Ghana had been dominated by men who moved to cocoa farms in rural areas and mining as well as constructional sites and industrial points in urban areas (Nabila, 1987; Songsore & Denkabe, 1995). The men migrated mainly in the 6-month dry season leaving the women behind as heads of households. The men returned to farm during the 6-month rainy season. In the dry season when the men were away the women engaged in minor economic activities such as the sale of fuel wood and/or charcoal and other jobs such as weaving in order to earn income to meet some of their basic needs. With time the seasonal migration gave way to long-term migration for the men. Some women migrated
during that period but they were mainly associated migrants who accompanied their husbands or close relations to the points of destination in the forest and coastal regions of Ghana. Job opportunities in the formal sector mostly favoured men and women who got involved in the informal sector in the points of destination to earn income to supplement that of the men.

The pattern that emerged conformed to the situation in the area of origin where women, whether as wives or daughters, were obliged to assist men in their farming activities but had little or no say on how income from farm produce was used (Tanle & Awusabo-Asare, 2007). The men determined the quantity of farm produce to be kept for household consumption until the next harvest, and what should be sold for their personal interests. In some cases the farm produce might not have been adequate for household consumption up to the next harvest, yet some men still sold part of the output (Songsore & Denkabe, 1995; Bekye, 1998). Unlike their counterparts in southern Ghana, especially among the Akans, where women have access to and own farmlands on which they cultivate crops to improve upon their economic situation, in the Wa town women have no access to farmlands, the main means of production in rural areas.

In the present rural market, economic system, the women are unable to meet their basic economic needs with the existing arrangements. Therefore, migration has become one outlet through which they can mobilize resources to meet their basic needs. Starting initially in trickles, the migration of females in the northern savanna to the two main cities in Ghana (Accra and Kumasi), has become a visible phenomenon. The migration of women from rural areas in the Wa municipality mostly on their own, to urban areas in southern Ghana, particularly to Kumasi or Accra, therefore presents a challenge to issues of gender and development, especially to production and reproduction.
2.2 Return Migration

In the migration literature, one very important phenomenon under research by scholars is the issue of return migration. The question posed by these authors in examining this phenomenon is, “Why do migrants return home?” According to Haase and Honerath (2016), “migrants return for many different voluntary and involuntary reasons, after varying lengths of stay in their destination countries, and may or may not enjoy networks and bonds with actors in their countries of origin” (p. 6). Cassarino (2004) and de Haas (2016) adopted two very simple but decisive questions in classifying the types of returnees: Is the individual willing to return? And is the individual capable, ready, well-equipped, and well informed to return? Thus, in this regard, “willingness to return” and “readiness to return” were projected as the factors necessitating the return of migrants.

2.2.1 Return migration from a global perspective

2.2.1.1 Involuntary return migration:

This typology usually covers people with no legal rights to live in a country or people who could not become part of the society and people who were sent back home. Most of these people are not able to put finances together, grow links, associate with people when they go back home, where becoming part of the society is dependent on your individual situation, including no job, very little access to the job market and if qualifications abroad are not given much value. Also, the fact that the individual did not choose to return on his on her own accord can affect the psychosocial wellbeing on the individual as it works in hand with the individuals choices. Many migrants who go back to their origin have gone through limitations where they came from
because of the fact that they were not documented and they usually face discrimination in the countries where they are from after they go back.

2.2.1.2 Voluntary but unavoidable return migration

Under this form of return migration, migrants’ decision to return might look voluntary, but is usually the inevitable consequences of failed migration and integration experiences in the host countries. Usually, these migrants’ residence status will expire in the foreseeable future. Return may also be chosen on account of regulations which prevent family reunification in the country of destination (Haase & Honerath, 2016). These returnees can often tap into some form of resources such as return premiums from the host countries or, occasionally, personal savings. Otherwise, their reintegration prospects resemble those of involuntary returnees, and many suffer at least initially from personal and psychological problems and a lack of motivation to reintegrate.

2.2.1.3 Voluntary return migration

Migrants in this category have an explicit intention to return, especially once they have reached their savings goals, or acquired skills, higher education or business networks in their host countries which they can transfer and apply back home (Haase & Honerath, 2016). Their reintegration can stimulate business development or create jobs through investments. Nonetheless, an unfavorable business climate or government bureaucracy can pose reintegration challenges.
2.2.1.4 Second-generation “quasi-returnees”

Second (or third)-generation diaspora members who wish to invest in the home country of their parents or grandparents are allowed to invest with little or no interest. Some quasi-returnees lack skills such as knowledge of the local business culture or language, while others can achieve relative success in providing specific forms of support and guidance, such as business plan development.

2.3 The Ghanaian informal sector

Eighty percent of the Ghanaian workforce is employed in the informal sector. The sector is characterized by underemployment, bad working conditions, uncertain work relationships and low wages. The majority of people are living with high income insecurity. The trade unions are facing major challenges to organize workers in the informal sector to ensure that the employees are working in an environment which is not harmful to them and secures their basic human needs.

Since the discovery of the concept, ‘informal sector,’ in Hart’s (1970) seminar work on urban informal sector in Ghana, it has not lent itself to a comprehensive and a universally accepted definition. A number of attempts made by different researchers and national authorities (that is governments) to define the concept have resulted in diverse definitions. ‘Attempts to measure the shadow economy (that is, informal sector) first faced the problem of defining it’. There are varied definitions of the concept in the existing literature. Some definitions given in the literature are presented as follows:

(a) “All economic activities that contribute to the officially calculated gross national product but currently unregistered” (Feige, 1989).
(b) “Market-based production of goods and services, whether legal or illegal, that escapes
detection in the official estimates of the gross domestic product” (Smith, 1994).
(c) “Unregulated economic enterprises or activities” (Hart, 1973).

Farrell et al (2000) stated that “currently there are two approaches when it comes to defining
informal sector activity: which are the definitional and behavioural”. According to the
definitional approach, ‘Informal sector is economic activity unrecorded in the official statistics
such as the gross domestic product and /or the national income accounts’ (Farrell et al, 2000).
Behavioural approach, on the other hand, maintains that ‘informal sector is based on whether or
not activity complies with the established judicial, regulatory, and institutional framework
(Farrell et al, 2000). The origin of the informal sector in Ghana’s economy can be traced back to
the very beginnings of colonial capitalism in the then Gold Coast. Even at such an early stage an
essential feature of labour in the informal sector was its heterogeneous character that provided
for varieties of peasant proprietors and agricultural labourers, distribution agents, buyers,
transport owners and employees, porters, repairers, etc. (Ninsin, 1991; Adu-Amankwah, 1999).
Throughout the decades, instead of disappearing as the modern economy expanded, the informal
sector has actually grown in the rural and urban areas of Ghana. The size of Ghana’s informal
sector is placed at 80 per cent of the total labour force (Hormeku, 1998). The large scale
retrenchment of labour as overriding consequences of structural adjustment in Ghana in the mid-
1980s, coupled with the inability to provide employment for the emerging labour force has
created a large pool of unemployed persons who have naturally gravitated towards the informal
sector. According to Nyamekye (2009), the size of the informal sector employment in the 1980s
was twice that of the formal sector. However, by the 1990s, informal sector employment had
increased by five and half (5.1/2) times that of the formal sector (ibid). Growing informality is
partly explained by low educational attainment. About 31 percent of Ghanaians aged 15 years and above have never attended school. A total of 55.7 percent of Ghanaians have attained only basic education and 13.6 percent have attained secondary education or higher. Generally, Ghanaian men have higher educational attainment than women (GSS 2008). The inability of the formal private sector to generate jobs in their required quantities has also pushed many into the informal sector. As government continue to maintain a policy of net hiring freeze into the public sector and private sector firms close down or switch to importation due to unfair competition from foreign companies, the formal sector continues to lose grounds in terms of its share of total employment. In the absence of appropriate social protection mechanisms (e.g. unemployment benefit) informal activities have become survival strategies for many Ghanaians; old and young. A significant number of informal sector workers in Ghana are trapped in poverty as they do not earn enough to lift themselves and their families out of poverty. Linked to the high prevalence of poverty among informal economy operators is the lack of access to productive resources, especially capital. It is estimated that between 80-90 percent of the population in developing countries have limited or no access to credit facilities beyond what is provided by family members, friends or informal money lenders (M. Robinson, 1995). As a result of all the above challenges, the sector has received increasing attention in the labour and development discourse of Ghana. It has, in effect, been the target of some policy initiatives and activities by certain governmental and nongovernmental institutions and organizations, including the trade unions. Unfortunately however, not much progress has been made in transforming the sector by the government but also trade unions. Traditionally, trade unions have organized from formal sectors. Although some trade unions have in the last three decades been organizing informal workers, very little has been attained (GAWU, 1979).
2.3.1 Income/Wages in Ghana

Ghana has a National Daily Minimum Wage (NDMW) which applies to all forms of employment and is determined annually by the National Tripartite Committee (NTC). The 2011 National Daily Minimum Wage (NDMW) is GH¢ 3.73 [US$ 2.66]. Although quite low, majority of informal sector operators earn below the NDMW. Indeed, more than half of workers in the informal economy earn below the legislated national minimum wage (Baah, 2007). In 2006, the GLSS V data showed that 46 percent of food crop farmers and 17 percent of informal economy workers earn below the national daily minimum wage. Ironically, some public sector workers (8%) earn below the national minimum wage and 10 percent of private formal workers are earning below the national minimum wage. Majority of informal sector workers are self-employed and are in control of their income. Incomes in the informal sector are irregular and can be subjected to environmental (weather) and market factors (demand and supply). The incomes of cocoa farmers for instance are seasonal while street vendors depend on profits made on goods sold or services rendered. Section 20 of the Labour Act provides that every worker is entitled to not less than 15 days leave with full pay in any calendar year of continuous service. Female employees in addition to annual leave are entitled to at least 12 weeks maternity leave on confinement. Absence from work as a result of sickness or maternity shall not constitute part of annual leave entitlements. However, most wage employees in the informal sector do not enjoy these statutory benefits. Indeed most do not even know that they are entitled to these benefits. Domestic workers are likely to lose their jobs if they suffer prolong illness or become pregnant in the case of women (Osei-Boateng, 2010). Few employers provide basic medical care to cover illness such as common headache, malaria or fever.
2.3.2. Child Labour

According to the Children’s Act of 1998 (Act 560), children under the age of 15 years are expected to be in school and not engaging in any form of employment. However, children aged 13 to 14 years are permitted to engage in ‘light’ family work. Despite this legal provision, children in these age brackets can be found in various forms of work, some of which are difficult, hazardous and exploitative.

Child labour is generally a complex phenomenon caused by many factors most of which are equally very complex. Examples are poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, broken homes, high fertility rates, high unemployment rates, gender inequalities, outmoded cultural practices that border on human rights abuses, and porous national borders, among others. According to the 2003 Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS, 2003), child labour is present in many sectors of the Ghanaian economy, particularly agriculture which had the largest proportion of the observed level of child labour (62.5%) in the country as at 2014.

A significant feature of Ghana’s labour market is a relatively high proportion of economically active children. Child labour is prevalent in the informal sector in Ghana. The Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS) conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service in 2003 in Ghana showed that 2.47 million children aged 5–7 years (that is, about 39 percent of the estimated 6.36 million children in the age group) were engaged in economic activities. Half of rural children and one-fifth of urban children were economically active. Eighty-eight percent of the working children were unpaid family workers and apprentices, while 5.9 percent were self employed. As many as 1.59 million children were working while attending school. Nearly 20 percent of children (about 1.27 million) were engaged in activities classified as child labour. The phenomenon is prevalent in all regions of the country (GSS, 2003; MMYE, 2012).
Majority (89.3 percent) of these children are engaged in agriculture, which is also the main industrial sector in the rural areas. In the urban areas, however, the children are engaged in two main activities: two-thirds are engaged in agriculture and one-fifth in trade. Nearly three percent of the working children are also engaged in the fishing as well as the hotel and restaurant sectors. Children’s engagement in economic activity in most parts of Ghana is considered a socialisation process to prepare them for adulthood. Thus, in Ghana socio-economic practices have sometimes confused the difference between child work and child labour. For instance, most families in Ghana assume it is right to train children in their economic activity (be it farming or fishing) as a way to ensure they acquire the relevant skills. By so doing, some children are withdrawn from school and bonded in labour in disguise of apprenticeship in work that affects their development.

A common sight in urban centres is children hawking on the streets. While some of these children are engaged in these activities after school, a significant number do so at the detriment of their education, increasing their vulnerability in the labour market now and in the near future.

Since the programme on the elimination of child labour was instituted in Ghana in 2000, several steps have been taken to withdraw or prevent children from engaging in child labour. In line with these efforts, a legal framework and a National Plan of Action (NPA) were developed to guide the prevention or fight against child labour.

The action plan involved the establishment of systems and the development of various instruments and guidelines meant to help combat the phenomenon. These include:

- The Ghana Child Labour Monitoring System (GCLMS), which is an active process to regularly check workplaces in order to ensure that children are not working there, and that young workers are adequately protected;
The Hazardous Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sectors of Ghana (HAF) which provides guidelines for identifying hazards associated with the occupation and specifies economic activities that are hazardous and must not be done by children. It also provides the list of work that is permissible and those that are not permissible for children in each sector where child labour is found; and

The Standard Operating Procedures and Guidelines (SOPs) for Child Labour Elimination in Ghana, which provides procedures for dealing with the worst forms of child labour and specific guidelines for dealing with children engaged in child labour in each sector.

2.3.3 Summary of Theories

The theories reviewed above were to give detailed insight on how migrants come up with their decisions to migrate and the necessary factors that are put in place to make the migration a successful one as well as theories that give insight on return migration. Also as mentioned in the literature review, conditions at origin places may or may not perpetuate migration. Conditions at destination can be a factor that attracts people to the destination. Generally more insight should have been given to theories on return migration, however there is very little that has been done academically on return migration, therefore theories on the process of migration and return migration were incorporated to give a broad overview of how the process starts and take place until the is a point of return. Literature on the Ghanaian informal sector as well as on child labour is included to show the linkage between the methodology and the reviewed literature. For example the issue of child labour and informal wages can be compared using the findings and what previous works have already touched on.
Even though the study was focused on female porters and their return strategies at their destination, it is important to have theoretical information about factors that constitute migration. The theories used however are necessary in the methodological approach as this may be used as bases to compare with other similar academic works that has been done. This will either be in line with the results obtained for the study or contrary.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter captures the scientific approach adopted in the collection of research data, analyses of research data, and the presentation and discussion of the research findings. It also provides justification to the approach adopted as a confirmation of the research findings’ reliability, accuracy and validity.

3.1 Research Design or Approach

Research design, according to Atindanbila (2013), refers to the strategy or plan adopted by a researcher to help with the provision of answers to stated research questions. It thus focuses on the “how” of a conducting research (i.e. how to collect data and analyze the data). In response to the formulated research objectives of this study, the survey and descriptive approaches were adopted. Again, adopting the cross-sectional approach (Creswell, 2014), data for the study were collected at a particular point in time through one-on-one interviews and the distribution of questionnaires. Demographic data such as age, gender, place of origin, number of dependents, et cetera were quantitatively analyzed to provide a description of the constituents of the research’s respondents. Similarly, content analyses (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) under the qualitative approach to research data analyses was adopted in examining the views expressed by the respondents during the one-on-one interviews. Thus, a mix of the quantitative and qualitative approach was adopted for data analyses (Creswell, 2014).
3.2 Research Population

Research population, according to Atindanbila (2013), is the entire set of individuals who meet the sampling criteria. In view of this, the population for this study constitutes all head porters within the Madina La-Nkwantanang District Assembly (within which Madina is located). The study considered head porters of all ages.

3.3 Research sample size and sampling techniques

A sample of seventy (70) head porters was selected using the purposive and convenience sampling techniques (Atindanbila, 2013). According to Atindanbila (2013), the purposive and convenience sampling techniques refer to the subjective selection of respondents by researchers, and the selection of respondents based on their availability and willingness respectively. In this study, the researcher adopted criteria such as availability and willingness to respond to research questions. The researcher was well aware of the busy schedules ran by these individuals; and therefore, adopted this approach to ensure that the study does not impact their activities in a substantial way. The decision to select a date for the in-depth interviews was left to these individuals – of course within a reasonable timeframe so as to ensure the successful completion of the study before the stipulated submission date. Furthermore, respondents were divided into two (2) groups; one group to respond to the research questionnaires and the other to be engaged in the in-depth interviews.
3.4 Sources of data

The main source of data for the study was primary. Well-structured interview guides and research questionnaires were used to collect data from the respondents. Items such as notepads and tape recorders were used to collect data during interviews.

3.5 Data Collection Instrument

The data collected for the study was via the use of questionnaires and interview guides. The questionnaires used contained both closed and open-ended questions on demographic, living conditions, coping strategies, and return migration decisions among the head porters. The interview guide, on the other hand, was used to provide an in-depth understanding of what the living conditions, coping strategies and return migration decisions are among these head porters through one-on-one interviews. The questionnaire and interview guide used for the study can be seen in Appendix 1 of this document.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure / Ethical Considerations.

Data collection is the approach adopted by a researcher in gathering and organizing information relevant to a study from the research sample. This study depended to a large extent on primary data. Data for the study was collected in two weeks. Week one (1) focused on the collection of data through the research questionnaires. The researcher employed research assistants to aid in the collection of the data in week one, due to the fact that most of the head porters were uneducated. The task of these research assistants was to guide the uneducated head porters in completing the questionnaires. They explained each question and multiple choice answers to the head porters in the local language, so that the right data are collected for analysis. Week two (2)
of the data collection period was used for the in-depth interviews. From a pre-analysis of the data collected in week one (1), the researcher drew out a sample of ten (10) for an in-depth interview. The interviews were conducted in five (5) working days. Two head porters were interviewed each day of that week. The interviews were held either very early in the morning or late in the evening based on each interviewee’s preference. During each interview session, the researcher carried along a notepad and tape recorder for documentation purposes. The respondents were assured of confidentiality (the information they were giving will only be used for academic purpose) and anonymity (Their names were not going to be used in the research.)

The data collected were captured into Microsoft Office Excel and SPSS for categorization, organization and analyses.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The raw data obtained from a research are useless unless they are transformed into information for the purpose of decision making (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). According to Bryman and Bell (2003), data analysis refers to a technique used to make inferences from data collected by means of a systematic and objective identification of specific characteristics. The study adopted the descriptive statistical and content analysis approaches in analyzing the collected data. The former was used in analyzing quantitative data (mostly closed ended questions, whiles the latter was used in analyzing the qualitative data collected (Atindanbila, 2013). In the case of providing information on the demographic characteristics of the sampled head porters, the descriptive statistical approach was used. On the other hand, data on the living conditions, coping strategies and return migration decisions were analyzed using the content analysis approach.
3.8 Brief overview of study area (Madina)

Madina is a suburb of Accra and in the La-Nkwantanang-Madina Municipal Assembly, a district in the Greater Accra Region of south-eastern Ghana. Madina is next to the University of Ghana and houses the Institute of Local Government. The La Nkwantanang Madina municipal is the twelfth most populous settlement in Ghana, in terms of population, with a population of 111,926 people (GSS, 2010). Madina is contained in the Abokobi-Madina electoral constituency of the republic of Ghana. Source: Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madina,_Ghana). Madina is one of the fastest growing slum areas in Accra with increasing number of informal settlements as well as little or no access to basic social facilities. The Madina market is also one of the biggest trading places with a significant number of female migrants working as head porters and as some return back home others come to fill the gap they leave. Research conducted on head porters are usually in areas with big markets in Accra central. Madina was chosen to give a new perspective of the head porterage phenomenon from a different area in Accra. It is on this background that Madina was chosen as the study area.
CHAPTER FOUR
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEAD PORTERS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a presentation of the collected data, the outcome of the data analyses, as well as a discussion of the findings culled out from the analyses in relation to existing literature. The chapter addresses the objectives highlighted in chapter one (1) above. Its content is as follows: assessment of the demographic characteristics of the selected head porters; measurement of the living conditions of the selected head porters in the destination; an examination of the livelihood strategies adopted by the selected head porters in response to prevailing living conditions at the destination; and factors necessitating return migration decisions among these head porters.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of selected head porters

The section responds to objective one of the study. It focuses on the age, marital status, religion, educational background, ethnicity, number of children, and region of origin of these head porters.

4.1.1 Age

As shown in (table 4.1) below, most of the head porters (representing 42.86%) were below 18 years; 42.84 percent of them were between the ages of 18 and 29 years; whiles the remaining 14.30 percent were between 30 and 40 years. None of the respondents was above 40 years. From the statistics below, it shows that a significant number of these head porters are minors below the age of 18 years) and therefore constitutes an issue of child labour (Article 3(1), ILO Minimum
Age Convention, 1973). Ghana’s labour environment and rights of child workers recognizes the issue of child labour and has a framework used in tackling this issue. Ghana was one of the first countries to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN-CRC), which was adopted at the 1990 World Summit on Children. Children’s Rights are protected under the Constitution of Ghana. Promulgated by PNDC Law 282, the Ghanaian Constitution came into force on January 7, 1993. Chapter five of the Constitution covers fundamental human rights and freedoms that should be accorded all Ghanaians including children. However, due to the special attention and care needed by children to develop, Article 28 is wholly devoted to them. This article calls on parliament to enact laws to ensure that every child has the right to the same measure of special care, assistance and maintenance as is necessary for its development; that every child, whether or not born in wedlock, shall be entitled to reasonable provision out of the estate of its parents. The Article further recognizes that every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health, education or development. Even though these frameworks are in place, some children below the age of 18 (Kayayei) still work in Hazardous conditions which affects their development.

Table 4.1 Age Distribution of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 18 years</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 29 years</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 40 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)
4.1.2 Marital status

Forty-seven point one (47.1) percent of the respondents confirmed that they were never married, this confirms the studies that many of these head porters migrate independently and not just as dependents of family (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Also it is easier for those who are never married to migrate as they do live a spouse or husband behind, however those who are married and leave their children back home tend to send remittances home regularly in other for their children to be catered for fifty-five (45.7) percent of them were married, 2.9 percent were widowed and in a consensual union respectively, whiles the remaining 1.4 percent were separated (as shown in table 4.2 below).

Table 4.2 Marital Status of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensual Union</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

4.1.3 Religion

Majority of the respondents (representing 87.1%) were Muslims, 4.2 percent were Catholics, 2.9 percent were Pentecostal / Charismatic, other Christians, and non-religious respectively (table 4.3). This figures are however not surprising because majority of these head porters originate from the three northern regions which is predominantly Muslim and host majority of Muslims in Ghana.
Table 4.3 Religion of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal /</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

4.1.4 Level of Education

The data in (table 4.4) below shows that most of the head porters, comprising 65.7 percent, had no education; 15.7 percent had primary school education; 12.9 percent had junior high school education; whiles the remaining 5.7 percent had senior high school education. The lack of education of these head porters is seen to be the main reason behind their poverty, because most of them have never been to school or dropped out of school, they see the head portage business which requires no or little skills as the best way to acquire minimum assets for future marriage or better economic stability (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Table 4.4 Level of Education of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHS / JSS Level</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHS /SSS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)
4.1.5 Ethnicity

Majority of the respondents (representing 82.9%) as shown in (table 4.5) below are Mole-Dagabanes, whilst the remaining 17.1 percent are made up of Ga-Adangbes, Guans, Akans, Ewes, Gurune, Sissala, etc. This is in line with observations in existing literature that majority of these head porters originate from the three northern regions of Ghana (Awumbila et al, 2008; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005; Mensah-Bonsu, 2003.

Table 4.5 Ethnicity of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga Adangbe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mole-Dagbane</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurune</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sissala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

4.1.6 Number of Children

Thirty (30) of the respondents (comprising 42.9%) had no children, thirty-nine (39) had between 1 to 5 children (table 4.6). One of the respondents disclosed that she had more than five children. Some of these head porters confirmed that the reason they were into the head portage business is to raise income to cater for their children, however the majority who had no children was due to the fact that a significant number of them were themselves children (below age 18 years).
Table 4.6 Number of Children of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above five</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

4.1.7 Region of Origin

Sixty-one (61) out of the seventy (70) (comprising 87.1%) migrated from the three (3) northern regions of Ghana, namely; Northern region, Upper West region, and Upper East region. The remaining nine migrated from the other regions, except the Ashanti, Western, and Brong-Ahafo regions (table 4.7). This is in line with findings made by others that most of these head porters migrate from the three northern regions (Awumbila, et al 2008; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005; Mensah-Bonsu, 2003).

Table 4.7 Region of Origin of head porters (respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)
CHAPTER FIVE

LIVING CONDITIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES

5.1 Measurement of the living conditions of the selected head porters in Madina, Accra

In measuring the living conditions of the selected head porters in Madina (Accra), the study focused on both social and economic living conditions. Under the social living conditions, three (3) factors were considered, namely; easy access to housing and housing facilities, health care, and education. The economic living conditions also considered factors such as employment and income (average daily income).

5.1.1 Social Living Conditions

5.1.1.1 Housing

5.1.1.1.1 Type of Accommodation

Analyses of collected data showed that 80 percent of the respondents dwell in kiosks in Madina’s slums, 18.6 percent dwell in rented apartments in other parts of Madina, whiles 1.4 percent of the respondents stated that she sleeps in an open space, usually in front of shops at night (see Table 5.1 below).

5.1.1.1.2 Owner of Accommodation

Ninety-four percent of the respondents indicated that their place of abode (as per the above) are rented, 2.9 percent stated that their spaces are owned by relatives whiles the remaining 2.9 percent reside in their own accommodation. This implies that majority of the head porters for this research live in rented accommodation which they have to pay for either weekly or monthly,
other head porters who live in accommodation that belongs to relatives do not pay for accommodation which means they have the chance to save the monies for accommodation for something else, also head porters who live in more expensive accommodation spend more and may also save less as compared to other head porters (see Table 5.1 below).

5.1.1.1.3 Cost of Accommodation

Averagely, the cost of accommodation to these head porters in Madina fall between Ghs 10.00 to Ghs 20.00 per month which comprises 91.4 percent of the respondents. However, a few of the respondents who reside in rented accommodation indicated Ghs 30.00 to Ghs 50.00 monthly which comprises 2.9 percent. Comparing the amount of money they make in a month to the amount they pay for accommodation, it is clear that these head porters might only be able to save very little at the end of the month and might remit little or nothing back home to take care of their families (see Table 5.1 below).

5.1.1.1.4 Number of Occupants

All the respondents indicated that they share their accommodation with other head porters. 50 percent stated that they share an accommodation of 30 square meters with between 11 to 20 persons, whilst the remaining 50 percent indicated between 1 to 10 persons. This implies that these head porters have no privacy as they are always with other head porters, they have a specific time set for bed and they are also at risk of contracting diseases from each other. A respondent mentioned that when one person catches a cold, they all end up contracting it in turns (see Table 5.1 below).
Table 5.1 Access to housing and Accommodation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Accomodation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented Apartment</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiosk</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Owner of Accomodation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Space</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Owned</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost of Accomodation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 (Ghana cedis)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 (Ghana Cedis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-50 (Ghana Cedis)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Occupants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-10 persons</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 persons</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 20 persons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

5.1.1.1.5 Access to basic housing facilities

Respondents were asked to indicate the availability and access to basic housing facilities such as water, bathroom, toilet, electricity, and waste collection. From the statistics, averagely, majority of the respondents have access to water, bathroom, toilet and electricity at a cost within their immediate environment, whereas the remaining respondents do not have access to these facilities within their immediate environment, and therefore have access to these at other places at exorbitant prices (see Table 5.2 below).
Table 5.2 Availability of housing facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities in residence</th>
<th>Available</th>
<th></th>
<th>Unavailable</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste Collection</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

5.1.1.2 Healthcare

5.1.1.2.1 Access to healthcare

Sixty percent of the respondents indicated “With access” to healthcare; the remaining 40 percent responded “Without access” (table 5.3). This statistic implies that health care for majority of these head porters is easy to access and therefore during periods when they do not feel well, they can go to medical facilities to be examined and treated. Even though most of these head porters are prone to certain disease because of their living conditions, the can on the other hand get quick medical attention when need be.

5.1.1.2.2 Healthcare provider

28.6 percent of the respondents visit the Pharmacy when ill, 18.6 percent patronize the clinics / hospitals, whereas 5.7 and 7.1 percent receive healthcare from herbalist and chemical shops respectively (table 5.3). The statistics here indicated that most of these head porters access health care often and are therefore not vulnerable like other people presume they are. Other categories of workers in Ghana also resort to the same forms of treatment mentioned above like these head porters do and therefore there is no difference when it comes to the provision of healthcare for these two different groups.
5.1.1.2.3 Selection of healthcare service provider

27.1 percent of the respondents mentioned “cost” being the reason for patronizing the facility mentioned above. 8.6 percent of them stated “efficiency” being their reason, 11.4 percent mentioned “proximity” and the remaining 12.9 percent stated “convenience” as their reason (table 5.3). It was established that these head porters resort to their selected service providers due to the “cost”, because they feel they have limited finances and will therefore choose something they can afford and also those who had reasons like “proximity” considered their busy schedules and did not want to waste time at health facilities because they could carry some load and make some money during the time they will spend at these facilities.

5.1.1.2.4 Access to health insurance (NHIS)

All the 60 percent of respondents who answered “With access” to healthcare, confirmed subscription to the national health insurance scheme (NHIS) (table 5.3) The NHIS scheme is easy to subscribe onto with a fee of about Ghs 5 to 10, however, currently it covers only partial of the health costs. Some of the head porters mentioned that even though they are subscribed to the NHIS scheme, they have to pay for their medications especially when it comes to the expensive ones. They are usually told that the NHIS does not cover those medications and they therefore have to pay for them and this is the reason why some of them would rather resort to the traditional health care way or even self-medication.
### Table 5.3 Access to healthcare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to healthcare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With access healthcare</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without access healthcare</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare service provider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if answer to access is ‘with’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic/Hospital</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbalist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Shop</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence on choice of service provider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(if answer to access is ‘with’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to health insurance (NHIS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With access to health insurance</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without access to health insurance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

### 5.1.1.3 Education

#### 5.1.1.3.1 Access to Education

On the question of access to education, 78.6 percent of the respondents answered “No”. 21.4 percent responded “Yes” to access to education (table 5.4). In furtherance to this question, the study sought to find out from the respondents who answered “Yes” if they were enrolled in school. 15.7 percent out of the 21.4 percent answered “No”, although some had access to free education under the free compulsory universal basic education (FCUBE) program implemented
by the government. Others also stated “cost of education”, “working to further education”, and “working to make money for a living” as their reasons for not enrolling in school.

Table 5.4 Access to Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to Education</td>
<td>Yes 21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 78.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you currently in school?</td>
<td>Yes 1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(If answer to access is ‘Yes’)</td>
<td>No 15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No response 2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason for not schooling</td>
<td>Working to further</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(If answer to ‘Are you currently in school’ is No’)</td>
<td>education 1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working to earn money 2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cost of Education 11.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

5.1.2 Economic Living Conditions

5.1.2.1 Other economic activities engaged in by the “Kayayei”

It is general knowledge that the economic activity these ladies engage in is the head porterage business. However, through the study, it was established that most of these ladies engage in other business ventures such as providing laundry and cleaning services, as well as petty trading (sale of cosmetic products, clothing, etc.). According to them, the head porterage business is lucrative on weekdays and especially on Saturdays which is a weekend due to economic activities at the various market centers in Madina. Sunday, which should serve as a day of rest for these ladies, turns out to be the day for other economic activities as mentioned above. A respondent in an interview stated that:

*I came to Madina to look for money to send to my parents to take care of my kids at home. I work from Monday to Saturday every week. On Sunday mornings, I go to my*
customer’s house to wash clothes for her. When I come back around 12 noon, I carry my
 cosmetics and go and sell. I have no time to rest but it is ok for me because I will rest
 when I get enough money and go back home. Asana 30 years

5.1.2.2 Income (Daily Earnings)

From the statistics below (as shown in table 5.5), majority of the respondents 57.1 percent earn
between Ghs 5.00 to Ghs 20.00 daily; 24.3 percent of them earn between Ghs 21.00 to Ghs 50.00
daily; whereas 4.3 percent earn above Ghs 50.00 daily. The remaining ten 14.2 percent could not
disclose how much they earn daily because they do not keep track of their daily earnings. It is
important to note that these earnings represent daily revenue from the head porterage business.
Indeed, they stated that they make additional income from the other economic activities they
engage in. The statistics above indicates that majority of these head porters earn below the
minimum wage in Ghana (that is GH¢ 3.73 [USD $ 2.66]) whereas some earn more than the
minimum wage. Although quite low, majority of informal sector operators earn below the
National Daily Minimum Wage. Indeed, more than half of workers in the informal economy earn
below the legislated national minimum wage (Baah, 2007). This implies that head porters who
earn more will be able to afford certain basic amenities whereas those who earn below the
minimum age may live under the living wage in Ghana ( see Table 5.5 below). It is clear that
those who earn less than average send less or no remittances back home whereas those who earn
above average send home more remittances to support their children and families.
Table 5.5 Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount in Ghana Cedis</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.00-20.00</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.00-50.00</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 50.00</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

5.2 Livelihood / coping strategies adopted

Like the approach adopted in assessing the living conditions of these head porters, the study examined the livelihood / coping strategies at the social and economic levels (see Abrefa-Gyan, 2002). At the social level, it was observed that the coping strategies adopted by these head porters focused largely on satisfying their basic social needs (such as housing, health, and education). On the other hand, their economic coping strategy also focused more on generating additional income through various economic activities and investment.

5.2.1 Coping strategies to enhance social living conditions

5.2.1.1 Communal Living

For these head porters, the strategy to surviving the city’s (Accra) high cost of living is through communal living (Kwankye, et al, 2007). Living in groups of five, ten, twenty, etc., the cost of accommodation and access to other basic housing facilities (e.g. electricity, waste collection, etc.) are shared to reduce the burden on the individual should they decide to secure these facilities singularly. As shown by the statistics above, most of these respondents share
accommodation (mostly kiosk) with other head porters and access public facilities such as bathrooms, toilets, etc. One respondent in an interview stated that,

“I am not happy that I live here with eleven other people; I wish it was just two of us because when one person suffers a catarrh, we end up getting it one after the other. But anyway, living together saves us some money because one person does not have to pay the whole cost”. Amina 23 years.

Another also mentioned that,

“Because I am always busy with the kayayoo and washing work, I don’t have time for cleaning of toilet and bathroom, and so paying just Ghs 0.70 pesewas to go to public toilet is okay for me because I don’t have to clean”. Akos 21 years

5.2.1.2 Subscription to NHIS and self-medication

Per some of the respondents, the introduction of the national health insurance scheme by the government was a life-saving policy, as it afforded them access to good healthcare through the clinics and hospitals. They added that, although the scheme in recent times has not really been efficient, it saves them consultation cost and some laboratory examinations. Two respondents affirmed these in the following words:

“The NHIS is good. I see the doctor; I get drugs like Paracetamol and Vitamin C when I go to the Kekele park (Clinic). I do some blood and urine tests. Sometimes too, when you go there, they say the NHIS does not cover big medicines; so, I have to pay with my money. Adiza 18 years
About 10 percent of the respondents stated that they would rather resort to self-medication than visiting a qualified medical practitioner due to cost and the questions asked by these professionals. Thus, they depend on advice from their fellow head porters (usually the elderly ones) and members of their family (back home) on their health concerns.

“When I am sick, I call my father in the village and he advises me on some herbs to cook and drink. I go to the market to the herb and cook it. When I drink it, in two or three days I feel fine. For me, the herb is good than the medicine they give at Kekele park (Clinic)”.

5.2.1.3 Education

Although majority of these head porters are not so keen on educating themselves, they believe that education is the way forward in securing a brighter future; and therefore, believe in the need to educate their children and younger siblings. In view of this, some of them save adequately to enroll their wards in school; others have also taken advantage of the free compulsory basic universal education (FCUBE) and school feeding program to educate their wards. A respondent in an interview cited a situation where due to the unavailability of funds, she and her fifteen (15) siblings could not be educated by their parents, and therefore, had to migrate to Accra (Madina) to engage in the head porterage business to cater for two of her siblings’ education. Another also mentioned that, despite the financial burden of catering for four children singularly, she is not perturbed as she believes educating her children will improve their living condition in future.

On the other hand, some of the head porters who were engaged indicated that they were undertaking the business to save enough money to further their own education back home. A sixteen (16) year old head porter disclosed that she engages in the business during school vacations to mobilize sufficient funds for each academic year or term.
5.2.2 Coping strategies to enhance economic living conditions

5.2.2.1 Indulging in multiple economic activities

As already mentioned, these head porters indulge in multiple business activities to increase their monthly earnings to be able to cater for their needs (Abrefa-Gyan, 2002). They engage in other activities such as providing laundry and cleaning services from house to house, as well as petty trade in mostly cosmetics, religious clothing, and some food items which brings them in a day about 10 percent of the income they obtain from the head porterage business. They stated that the head porterage business (although lucrative) does not fully provide the needed capital to meet their consumption and saving needs; and therefore, must engage in other activities. Some disclosed that through these other economic activities, they widen their head porterage customer base, since they get to know more people.

Aside engaging in multiple economic activities, some of these head porters work for long hours, usually between ten (10) to twelve (12) hours, and on Sundays too.

5.2.2.2 Savings / Welfare schemes / Investment

In coping with economic conditions in Accra (Madina), most of the head porters have subscribed to one or more saving schemes, locally referred to as “Susu”. They operate some of these saving schemes amongst themselves in groups, as well as procure the services of savings collectors (Susu collectors) for a period. They largely fall on funds accrued from these saving systems to support future or unforeseen expenses.

In addition to savings, the head porters have a welfare scheme in place that provides credit facilities to other head porters in need at no cost. The policy instituted for the servicing of such
credits allows for flexibility in payment, usually as and when the borrower has saved enough to pay. Investing in other businesses is also another means adopted by these head porters to create wealth.
CHAPTER SIX
RETURN MIGRATION AND ITS NECESSITATING FACTORS AMONG HEAD PORTERS

6.1 Factors influencing return migration among the head porters

Further to the question on head porters’ intention to return, the study sought to understand the factors that would necessitate this intention among these head porters. In the responses gathered, it was found that education, starting a business, living with family and getting married were the main factors influencing return migration decisions among the ladies. From table 4.7 below, 38.6 percent of the porters mentioned returning to start up a business as their reason; 20 percent mentioned furthering their education; 11.4 percent stated to care for children and to be with family as their reasons; 8.6 percent were returning for marriage; whiles the remaining 10 percent would return for no reason.

Table 6.1 Factors necessitating return migration among the head porters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the reasons motivating your return?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For further education</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To start up a business</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To care for children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get married</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be with family</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)
6.1.2 Return strategies adopted by these head porters

According to Cassarino (2004), the tendency for migrants to become actors of change and development at home depends on the extent to which they have provided for the preparation of their return. There are various levels of return preparation that are different in terms of resource mobilization and preparedness.

**Resource mobilization** pulls on wisdom of social network theories that concerns tangible (financial capital) and intangible (contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances) assets that have been mobilized during the migration experience at the destination.

**Preparedness** concerns not only the free will for migrants to return home, but also to their readiness to return. The returnee’s preparedness refers to a voluntary act and that must be supported by putting together sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home.

For 61.4 percent of the respondents in this study who intend to return home, the strategies they have put in place to ensure their sustainability home is to save adequately from their current activities and for 1.4 percent of the respondent learning a trade is a useful strategy when back home, this falls in line with (Cassarino 2004) framework on return preparedness and resources mobilization. Through the acquisition of farmlands and cattle, these head porters believe that they would have enough to sustain themselves and families back home. Some of the ladies indicated that back home women are not allowed to own farmlands, but rather to work on farmlands owned by their fathers and husbands (see Tanle & Awusabo-Asare, 2007; Songsore & Denkabe, 1995; Bekye, 1998). On the other hand, 24.3 percent of the respondents have no return strategy in place and 12.9 percent do not plan on returning home (Figure 6.1).
6.1 Return strategies

6.1.3 Intention to return

On the question of intention to return home, majority of the respondents representing 87 percent answered “Yes”, whiles the remaining 13 percent responded “No” (as shown in table 6.2 below). From those who responded “Yes”, majority 54 percent were returning home temporarily; whiles the remaining 46 percent were returning permanently. Most of head porters who were returning home temporarily had saved up enough money to start a business at home which a family member back at home will take care of whiles they come back to Madina to make for money. For them working as head porters is more of a business than a survival, this means that for these head porters returning home permanently is not an option even though they complain about the conditions under which they live. For those who want to return permanently, they have children back home who they want to cater for and spend time with and they therefore set a ceiling (amount of money they want to make) and when they reach that ceiling they will return home.
permanently and hopefully start a business. The above indication shows that the head portage business is likely to continue over a long period of time.

Table 6.2 Intention to return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intention to return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work (2017)

6.1.4 Age and Intention to return

It was imperative to find out how age distribution of respondents relates with their intention to return to their home country or region. The analysis in Table 6.3 shows that overall, the proportion of respondents from all age categories who had the intention return to their home region were more compared with their counterparts who said they had no intention to return. Among those who intend to return home, the majority were less than age 18 years. The disaggregated data however shows no statistically significant difference $\chi^2 (3.934; \text{df} = 5; p = 0.559)$. This implies that age of respondents did not relate significantly with their intention to return home.
Table 6.3 Test of significance difference between age and intention to return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>X² (p-value)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 18yrs</td>
<td>36 (59.0%)</td>
<td>6 (66.6%)</td>
<td>42 (60.0%)</td>
<td>3.934 (0.559%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 29yrs</td>
<td>16 (26.2%)</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>18 (25.7%)</td>
<td>3.934 (0.559%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40yrs</td>
<td>9 (14.8%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>10 (14.3%)</td>
<td>3.934 (0.559%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 61 9 70
Percent 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.1.5 Savings and Intention to Return

Further analysis of how respondents’ savings relate with their intention to return indicates a statistically significant difference $X^2 (13.7; df = 6; p = 0.033)$. The difference was as a result of the fact that the proportion of the respondents who have saved and had intention to return home were more compared with their counterparts who had no intention to return home (see Table 6.4 below).
Table 6.4 Test of significance difference between savings and intention to return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Savings</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>X² (p-value)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; GH¢ 500</td>
<td>23 (45.1%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>24 (40.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH¢ 500 - 1000</td>
<td>7 (13.7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 (11.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH¢ 1001 - 2000</td>
<td>2 (3.9%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>3 (5.0%)</td>
<td>13.7 (0.033%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH¢ 2001 - 2500</td>
<td>3 (5.9%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (5.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH¢ 2501 - 3000</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (1.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH¢ 3001 - 5000</td>
<td>4 (7.8%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>11 (21.6%)</td>
<td>7 (77.8%)</td>
<td>18 (30.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.6 Access to facilities and Intention to return

The study further examined how access to facilities or services including water, electricity, toilet, bathroom and waste collection informed respondents’ intention to return to their home region. This analysis was done using a bivariate cross-tabulation. The finding as indicated in Table 6.5 shows that the proportion of respondents with access to facilities and services who intend to return home were 96.8 percentage points more than those without access to facilities who intend to return home. What this implies is that regardless of access to facilities the majority of respondents were likely to return home or that access to facilities is not a significant predictor of whether migrants will be willing to return to their home communities or not.

Table 6.5 Test of significance difference between access to facilities and intention to return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to facilities</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td>Number/Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60 (98.4%)</td>
<td>9 (100.0%)</td>
<td>69 (98.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1 (1.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>69 (1.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work, 2017
6.1.7 Marital status and Return strategy

Further analysis of the data to find out how marital status of respondents informed their return strategies found some significant results. For example, the proportion of respondents who were never married and saved to returned home was 46.2 percent compared with 1.9 percent of those in consensual union, and 48.1 percent of those who were married. More importantly, the distribution indicates that there were more married respondents who had saved to return home compared with those who had learnt a trade as a return strategy. A critical analysis of the data indicates further that those who indicated they had saved in order to return home were more compared with those who said they had learnt a trade as their return strategy. Thus, savings was the most preferred strategy for returned, based on the sample (see Table 6.6 below).
### Table 6.6 Marital status and return strategy by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Return strategy</th>
<th>Number/Percentage</th>
<th></th>
<th>Number/Percentage</th>
<th>Number/Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>Learning a trade</td>
<td>No Strategy</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>24 (46.2%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>9 (52.9%)</td>
<td>33 (47.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensual union</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td>2 (2.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (1.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td>2 (2.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>25 (48.1%)</td>
<td>1 (100.0%)</td>
<td>6 (35.3%)</td>
<td>32 (45.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>70 (100.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%

Source: Field Work, 2017
CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a summary of the findings made in chapter six (6); draws conclusions from these findings; and finally, provides recommendations to help curb this social canker.

7.2 Summary of findings

The summary of findings section is grouped into four (4) in line with the research objectives. It therefore focuses on the demographic characteristics of the head porters; the current living conditions of these head porters; the coping or livelihood strategies adopted by these head porters; and the factors influencing return migration among the head porters.

7.2.1 Demographic characteristics of the head porters

From the analyses conducted, it was observed that most of the selected head porters from the Madina area were from the three northern regions, unmarried, Muslims, illiterates, minors (i.e. below 18 years), and Mole-Dagbanes.

7.2.2 Living conditions of the head porters at their destination

The study examined the living conditions of the head porters from two (2) perspectives, namely; social and economic. The social perspective focused on access to health care and education. The economic perspective, on the other hand, focused on income and the economic activities undertaken by these ladies.
7.2.2.1 Social Perspective

All the respondents confirm access to health care services, either through orthodox or unorthodox means. However, majority of them indicated their preference for the orthodox healthcare system (i.e. hospitals, clinics, pharmaceuticals, etc.). A significant number indicated their preference for healthcare through alternative means (i.e. herbalists).

In the selection of a healthcare service provider, most of these head porters mentioned factors such as cost, efficiency, proximity and convenience as determinants of choice. Access to the national health insurance scheme was also mentioned as crucial.

Majority of the respondents have access to education. However, only a few out of this have seized the opportunity to enroll in school. They indicated that cost of education and the need to work for money to sustain there are the main issues preventing them from schooling.

7.2.2.2 Economic Perspective

From the data collected and the analyses conducted, it can be said that majority of these ladies earn quite a substantial amount of money daily through their head porterage business. However, a large chunk of this earned income go to the acquisition of services to satisfy their basic social needs such as food, water, accommodation, waste collection, etc.

Aside the head porterage business, it was found that most of these ladies had other side businesses to support them. These other economic activities were engaged in by the ladies on Sundays due to the heavy demand for the “kaya” business on weekdays and Saturdays at various market centers. Some of the other economic activities they engage in include; selling of cosmetics, clothes, and foodstuff.
7.2.3 Livelihood / coping strategies adopted by these head porters

The coping strategies adopted by the head porters were categorized into two (2), namely; coping strategies to enhance social living conditions and coping strategies to enhance economic living conditions. Under the first coping strategy, it was found that the head porters adopted strategies such as living and sharing common accommodation and facilities; subscription to NHIS and self-medication; and investing in the education of children and younger siblings to survive the present and to secure the future.

Under economic coping strategies, the head porters indicated that engagement in multiple economic activities (aside their main head porterage business) provides them with the needed funds to provide for the needs of their nuclear and extended families in Accra and home respectively. They also added that through savings, investment in other businesses and welfare schemes, they are able to access the needed capital to invest in the future. According to them, accessing credit facilities through the banks and savings and loans companies is very difficult for them. They stated that most of these institutions are not comfortable dealing with them; hence, through their own internal savings and welfare arrangement, they are able to somehow meet the needs of their constituent.

7.2.4 Return migration and its necessitating factors among the head porters

On the question of intention to return home, almost all the respondents 87.1 percent indicated that they have the intention to return home temporarily or permanently. About 37.9 percent head porters indicated that they intend to return temporarily, whiles 49.2 percent indicated that they intend to return permanently. Factors such as furthering of education, starting up a business,
reuniting with loved ones, and marriage were found to be the reasons for their intention to return home.

In line with this decision to return home, most of these head porters have adopted the strategy of saving to fund their trips back home and to sustain themselves and families. 1.4 percent of the respondent indicated that she is currently learning a trade so that upon her return home she can start up a business. The data collected and analyzed also showed that a significant number of the respondents 24.3 percent have no return strategy in place, although they intend going home.

7.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that the “kayayoo” phenomenon is one that requires government’s attention at all levels. Indeed, as indicated by most researches in the area as well as related literature that helped in coming up with the methodological approach and were used for the study. Also based on findings for the study, it is realized that the phenomenon emerges because of unequal development, whereby social and economic opportunities in some regions of the country (especially in the three northern regions) do not match those of other regions (e.g. Greater Accra and Ashanti regions). Thus, requiring that government (at all levels – national, regional and local assembly) pays critical attention to the formulation and implementation of policies that benefits all societies. From the findings of the study, it can be realized that most of these head porters in Madina (Accra) harbor the intention of returning home when a significant improvement in their social and economic circumstances occur in Accra through the head porterage business. Thus, these young girls perceive the capital city (Accra) as a place that offers better opportunities than their places of origin. This finding is in line with Lee’s migration theory which is based on the push-pull theory where migrants are pushed from their places of origin to
destinations that attract them. This clearly indicates that cities such as Accra and Kumasi will continue to witness significant year-on-year growth in the number of head porter migrants, together with its associated pressure on social services (electricity, transportation, healthcare, etc.) and increase in criminal activities (e.g. prostitution, child labour, etc.) due to the lack of jobs.

Theories used for the research gave a broad overview of the migration phenomenon in Ghana; it however influenced the choice of methodological approach that is the qualitative and the quantitative, some of the quantitative figures were derived from already existing works as well as this research and the qualitative gave more meaning to the figures derived. Some of the findings realized from the study were in line with other research findings published earlier whereas others were completely new. The return migrations aspect was a part that had very little research done on and will be useful when more research is carried on that. Theories incorporated are useful for further academic research as this helps broaden the general knowledge on migration.

It is important to note that the burgeoning number of head porter migrants in Accra, not only affects development in Accra but also hampers development in the regions of origin. For example, in recent times, Accra has had to deal with issues of serious flooding caused by the emergence of slum communities created by not only migrants but also indigenous populations and improper drainage systems. On the other hand, economic activities in the regions of origin (especially in the three northern regions) may suffer significant decline in the human resource size needed to organize the other factors of production (land and capital).
7.4 Recommendations

In line with the above findings, the study recommends the following actions:

As a first step approach to correct this national imbalance in development, the central government must quickly come up with policies targeted at improving the socio-economic conditions of deprived regions (especially the three northern regions) by introducing social welfare policies such as free education, free maternal healthcare, agricultural subsidies, et cetera. This will go a long way to bring other regions to the levels Accra and Kumasi have attained in terms of development; and also, lead to a significant decline in the population of migrant head porters in Accra and Kumasi. It is therefore prudent that governments design, formulate and implement policies that will engender the needed balance in development, nationally, to reduce the pressure on social services in the capital towns and the idling of resources in the rural areas.

Also the government should see to it that parents at origins where these female porters come from are educated on the need for females to be in school instead of involved in the head porterage business. Necessary actions should be taken against parents who voluntarily allow minors below the age of 18 years to embark on journeys to bigger cities to engage in the head porterage business. The government should see to it that the ILO minimum age convention is adhered to and any parents caught voluntarily sending their children to partake in hard work which constitutes child labour must be prosecuted.

The government should also come on board in improving the livelihoods of head porters in Madina (Accra) by providing them with basic social amenities and some vocational skills and start-up capital for business. As shown by the study, most of these ladies have the desire to pursue other economic activities other than the head porterage business; and thus, will embrace
such opportunities if brought their way. Also, those head porters who are interested in going back to school should be offered the opportunity to do so through scholarship schemes instituted jointly by government.

7.4.3 Education by civil society groups

Civil society groups must play an active role in addressing some of the issues that give rise to the migration of these young girls from the northern regions to Accra and Kumasi. In most of these regions where these ladies come from, certain bad cultural practices and belief systems inhibit the proper growth of young females. The popular notion held by majority of the people in these regions is that girl child education is needless must be corrected through proper education at all levels. Again, civil society groups must also speak to the issues of child marriage, which also inhibits the growth of the girl child. Through this intervention, societies in these deprived areas will gradually drop some of these negative practices and beliefs and therefore provide the girl child with equal opportunity to grow and develop.
REFERENCES


Ghana Statistical Service (2010). Population and housing census final results (PHC), Accra: GSS.


APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Research Questionnaire

FIELD QUESTIONNAIRE

Research Topic: Living Conditions and Return Strategies of Head Porters (kayayei) in Madina (Accra)
I am a Postgraduate student from the University of Ghana (Centre for Migration Studies), undertaking a research on “Living conditions and return strategies of head porters (kayayeis) in Madina (Accra)”.

This field research is in partial fulfillment of my Masters of Arts Degree. Data from this study is confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. I would be grateful if you could respond to the questions genuinely.

Thank you.
SECTION A: Socio-Demographic Information

1. Sex 1) Male □ 2) Female □

2. Age (COMPLETED YEARS/ AGE ON LAST BIRTHDAY) ......................

3. Marital status:
1) Never Married □ 2) Consensual Union □ 3) Separated □ 4) Divorced □
5) Widowed □ 6) Married □

4. Religion:
1) No Religion □ 2) Catholic □ 3) Protestant □ 4) Pentecostal/Charismatic □
5) Other Christians □ 6) Islam □ 7) Traditionalist □ 8) Other □
(Specify) ....................

5. Education
1) No education □ 2) Primary □ 3) JHS/JSS level □ 4) Middle □
5) SHS/SSS □ 6) Vocational/Commercial □ 7) Tertiary □ 8) Other Professionals (ACCA/CA/ICT) □
6. How many children do you have?........................................

7. Ethnicity?

1) Ga Adangbe 2) Mole- Dagbane 3) Guan 4) Akan 5) Ewe 6) Gurune
7) Sissala 8) Other, Specify..........................

8. Name of Town/Village of Origin........................................ Region........................

SECTION B: Living conditions of Respondents

9. Where do you currently sleep in Madina?

1) Rented room 2) Kiosk 3) Open space 4) House/apartment in residential area
5) House/Apartment in slum 6) In front of Shops

10. Who owns the Space?

1) Own space 2) Relative 3) Rented 4) Partner 5) Other, Specify..............

11. If rented, how much do you pay monthly? In GHC

1) 5-9 Cedis 2) 10-15 cedis 3) 16-20 cedis 4) 21-25 cedis 5) 26-30 cedis
6) 31-35 cedis 7) 36-40 cedis 8) 41-45 cedis 9) 46-50 cedis 10) more than
50 cedis

12. How many people do you live in the room with?

1) 1-5 persons 2) 6-10 persons 3) 11-15 persons 4) 16-20 persons 5) More
than 20 persons
13. Using the table below, state whether the following facilities/services are available for use where you reside and the amount paid per month.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility / Service</th>
<th>Available within res.</th>
<th>Not available in res.</th>
<th>Amount GHC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste Collection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Do you have easy access to healthcare?

1) Yes  2) No  If no, skip to Q.20

15. If yes where do you normally go for treatment when you are sick?

1) Hospital/Clinic  2) Pharmacy  3) Herbalist  4) Chemical Shop

16. What influences the choice of facility mentioned in (Q.15)?

1) Cost  2) Efficiency  3) Proximity  4) Convenience

17. Do you have a National Health Insurance card?

1) Yes  2) No
18. If NO to (Q.24), how much do you spend per visit? In GHC..............

1) 20-50 cedis □ 2) More than 50 cedis □ 3) Less than 100 cedis □ 4) 100 cedis □ 5) More than 100 cedis □ 6) Less than 200 cedis □ 7) 200 cedis □ 8) Less than 200 cedis □

19. Who pays the bill for your treatment?

1) Myself □ 2) Friends □ 3) Relatives □ 4) Partner □ 5) Other, Specify..............

20. Do you have easy access to education?

1) Yes □ 2) No □ If no, skip to Q.22

21. If yes to (Q.20) Are you currently in School?

1) Yes □ 2) No □

21a. If No, why?

1) Working to further Education □ 2) Working to make money □ 3) Cost □

SECTION C: Livelihood/Coping Strategies

22. How long have you been working as a head porter?

1) Less than 6 months □ 2) 6 months -1 year □ 3) 1-2 years □ 4) 2-3 years □ 5) 4-5 years □ 6) 5 years and above □ 7) Other, (Specify)..............

23. What category of head porter do you fall under?

1) Street □ 2) Master □ 3) Store Assistant □ 4) Other, (Specify)..........................
24. What is your average earning per day?

1) 5-10 cedis  2) 11-15 cedis  3) 16-20 cedis  4) 21-25 cedis  5) 26-30 cedis  6) 31-40 cedis  7) 41-45 cedis  8) 46-50 cedis  9) More than 50 cedis

25. How many hours do you work in a day?

1) 1-2 hours  2) 3-4 hours  3) 5-6 hours  4) 7-8 hours  5) 9-10 hours  6) 10-12 hours  7) More than 12 hours

26. Do you have any savings?

1) Yes  2) No  3) If no, skip to Q. 30

27. If yes to (Q.36) how much is your monthly savings?

1) 20-50 cedis  2) Less than 100 cedis  3) 100-150 cedis  4) Less than 200 cedis  5) 200 cedis  6) 200-250 cedis  7) Less than 300 cedis  8) 300-500 cedis  9) More than 500 cedis

28. Why are you saving?

1) Build capital to start up business  2) Support family members  3) Prepare towards marriage  4) Educate children  5) To meet ends needs  6) To further education

29. Where do you save?

1) Bank  2) Union collector  3) Keep by self  4) A friend/Relative keeps it  5) I use it to buy assets  6) Other, (Specify)
30. How are you able to afford the cost of the facilities you have access to?

1) Money from carrying goods  2) Money from friends and family  3) Money from partner  4) Other, (Specify) ...................

31. Do you sometimes get assistance from organizations/Individuals?

1) Yes  2) No  If no, skip to Q.40

32. If yes to (Q.31) what kind of assistance do you get?

1) Financial  2) In kind  3) Both Cash and Kind  

33. Do you send money to your family back home?

1) Yes  2) No  If no, skip to Q.44

34. If yes to (Q.33) how much do you send in a month? GHC ..................

1)20-50 cedis  2)51-99 cedis  3)100-150 cedis  4)151-199 cedis  5)200-250 cedis  6)251-299 cedis  7)300-500 cedis  8) above 500 cedis

35. What channels do you use in sending money?

1) Mobile Money  2) Through transport services  3) Through family and friends  4) Other, (Specify) ..................

36. For what purposes do you send the money?

1) To support family  2) To educate/cater for children  3) To start a business  4) For marriage  5) Other, Specify ............
SECTION D: Return Migration

37. Do you plan on returning to your origin?
1) Yes □ 2) No □ If No why? ..........................

38. If yes to (Q.37) What are the reasons motivating your return?
1) To further my education □ 2) To start a business □ 3) To cater for children □ 4) To get married □ 5) To be with family □ 6) Other, Specify ..........................

39. How long would you want to return for?
1) 6 months-1 year □ 2) 2-4 years □ 3) 5-10 years □ 4) Permanently □

40. What steps have you put in place towards your return?
1) Savings □ 2) Buying assets □ 3) Learning a trade □ 4) Other, Specify ..................

41. Are you saving or have you saved up money for your return?
1) Yes □ 2) No □

42. If yes to (Q.41) how do you put your monies/savings together?
1) Bank □ 2) Susu collector □ 3) Friend/relative keeps it □ 4) I keep it myself □
5) Other, Specify ..................

43. What do you plan on using this savings for at the origin?
1) To further my education □ 2) To start a business □ 3) To cater for children □ 4) For marriage □ 5) To support Family □ 6) Other, specify ..................
44. By what means of transportation do intend to return on?

1) Airplane □  2) Passenger bus □  3) Private Vehicle □  4) Other, (Specify) ..................

45. How do you intend funding the trip?

1) Personal savings □  2) Loan from family of friends □  3) Loan from partner □  4) Other, (Specify) ..................

46. Do you have any savings to fall back on at home?

1) Yes □  2) No □  

47. If yes, how much is it in GHC, If no, Skip to the next question ..................

1) 100-499 cedis □  2) 500-1000 cedis □  3) 1000 -1199 cedis □  4) 2000-2500 cedis □  
5) 2600-2900 cedis □  6) 3000-5000 cedis □  7) More than 5000 cedis □  

48. Do you have family back at home?

1) Yes □  2) No □  

49. Do you have any skills that can be useful back home?

1) Yes □  2) No □  

50. If yes to (Q.49) what type of skill?

1) Education □  2) Vocational □  3) Personal □  4) Other, specify .......................... 

51. Do you have any relationship with the local Community at home?

1) Yes □  2) No □  

10
52. If yes to (Q.51) what is the nature of the relationship?

1) To exchange pleasantries  2) To ask for financial/social assistance  3) Other, specify............

53. Will you keep your links with the people in Madina when you return home?

1) Yes  2) No

54. What kind of links will you keep with the people in Madina?

1) To exchange pleasantries  2) To ask for financial/social assistance  3) Other, specify............

55. Do you want to start any projects at home?

1) Yes  2) No

56. If yes to (Q.53) what kind of project do you want to start?

1) Trade  2) Hairdressing  3) Dressmaking  4) Education  5) Other, specify............

THANK YOU

11
Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Research Topic: Living Conditions and Return Strategies of Head Porters (kayayei) in Madina (Accra)
I am a Postgraduate student from the University of Ghana (Centre for Migration Studies), undertaking a research on "Living conditions and return strategies of head porters (kayayei) in Madina (Accra)".

This field research is in partial fulfillment of my Masters of Arts Degree. Data from this study is confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. I would be grateful if you could respond to the questions genuinely.

Thank you.
1. Can you please tell me about yourself?
   
   Probe for age, level of education, years spent in Madina, Employment status, religion, ethnic group

2. Why did you migrate to Madina?

3. Who assisted you in coming to Madina?

4. Can you please tell me about your current living conditions?
   
   Probe for access to electricity, water, toilet etc.

5. Has your migration to Madina improve your living conditions?
   
   Probe for standard of living at destination, assets acquired etc.

6. How far have you achieved what you came here for?
7. What are some of the challenges you have encountered in achieving your aspirations?

8. What strategies do you put in place to deal with some of these challenges?

9. Who are those who assist you in times of challenges and who do you assist in turn?

10. What kind of support do you give to each other in times of need?

11. Can you describe the place you sleep/live in?

12. What challenges does the sleeping environment pose to you?
   Probe for rape, health challenge

13. Can you tell me about the nature of your work?
   Probe for Typical day at work
14. Have you ever been cheated or robbed by your client or someone else?

15. Can you describe the nature of goods you often carry?
Probe for weight and size of goods carried, distance and payments received for different types of goods carried, dangerous goods

16. Are there any hazards associated with head portage “Kayaye” business?
Probe for accidents

17. What health problems are associated with your work?

18. What are the main sources of treatment when you are ill?

19. Do you plan on returning to your origin? Why?
20. How long would you want to return for?

Probe for temporary, permanent

21. Do you have savings to fall back on at the origin?

22. Do you have family back at home?

23. Do you have any skills that can be useful back at home?

24. Do you have any relationship/link with the local community at home?

25. Are there any projects you want to start at home?

26. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

THANK YOU
Appendix 3: Pictures from the field

Image captured by: Aisha Salifu Makorni, Location: Madina, informed consent to publish pictures were obtained from respondents and data collection assistants.

Image captured by: Aisha Salifu Makorni, Location: Madina, informed consent to publish pictures were obtained from respondents and data collection assistants.