

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**



POLITICS OF *KAYAYIE-GATEKEEPER* PHENOMENON: CASE STUDIES FROM

ACCRA'S TEMA STATION

BY

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF MPhil POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE**

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

DECEMBER, 2021

DECLARATION

I, Dalila Sumani, declare that apart from works referenced and sources quoted, which have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation is the result of my research study carried out under the supervision of the undersigned towards the award of a Master of Philosophy in Political Science. Any inaccuracy or shortcoming detected in this study is solely my responsibility.



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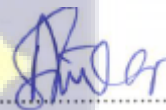
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ABSTRACT

In urban cities in Ghana, the prevalence of *gatekeepers* in the space of female migrants has become an emerging phenomenon. Female migrants who migrate to Ghana's cities, especially Accra, in a bid to make a living only realise they are in a territory where such expectations are not easily met. As a result, they are constantly forced to improvise by adopting strategies and opting for certain spatial relationships necessary for their survival and stability in unfamiliar territories. This work focuses on identifying these livelihood strategies among specific female migrants known as *kayayei*. One of such strategies the *kayayei* have adopted to reduce their vulnerability and improve stability in these unfamiliar terrains has been by getting into relationships with male *gatekeepers* refined to emulate their household structures and socially constructed roles from their places of origin.

This dissertation focuses on identifying these *gatekeepers*, their interests, and the exact role they play in the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomenon. This dissertation also adopts two theories (Social Dominance and Intersectionality) to understand the power relations, social domination, gender-based power inequalities, exploitation, and the multiple identities the *kayayei* hold and how it impacts their relationship with the *gatekeepers*.

Using a qualitative case study methodology, the study applied convenient, purposive and snowball sampling to generate novel insights about an understudied phenomenon. The data demonstrate that age, ethnicity, and religious affiliation reflect the *gatekeeper* reality. Findings reveal that *gatekeepers* perform various unpaid services for the *kayayei*, including conflict resolution, burial rites, serving as liaison officers for NGO initiatives, funds mobilisation, assisting the *kayayei* to achieve financial inclusion and accelerating the shift to digital payments.

Further, findings show that while these services offered by these *gatekeepers* are a good step in the right direction, they are not merely altruistic leaders but rather leaders with diverse political, economic, financial, status, sexual and kinship interests. Overall, this dissertation is a study of power and power relations. It offers a pioneering report on the *gatekeepers* phenomenon in the *kaya industry* and provides policymakers with the focus and direction to ending underage *kayayei* using gatekeepers as focal points.



DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to Allah (SWT) for his guidance throughout my life and during the research period. Also, I dedicate this study to my mother, Leila Ibrahim and my father, Mr Mustapha Sanah, as well as my late father, Alhaji Sumani Zakari. Without their unwavering support and encouragement, I would not have been able to complete my graduate studies.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I convey my heartfelt thanks to my supervisors, Dr Kumi Ansah-Koi and Dr Seidu Alidu, for offering suggestions with kindness as well as taking the time to discuss other essential aspects of this research. My profound gratitude goes to my lead supervisor, Dr Ansah-Koi, who not only listened but read my work critically and jolted me into awareness about the critical questions I needed to address in the study. He also inspired, offered constructive feedback with kindness, and challenged me to achieve greater clarity and exactness in my thinking. Also, I extend my gratitude to my second supervisor, whose guidance helped bring this study to a successful conclusion.

Also, I owe Miss Naa Ansa a special acknowledgement for being a fantastic mentor and a great listener. I appreciate that she took time out of her demanding schedule to carefully review my dissertation and provide me with resources that expanded my understanding of global market similarities. Particularly fascinating was my discovery of how market women in Southern America are not that different from Ghana. Big shoutouts to Naa Ansa once again for being the best support system ever. I do not know what I would do without her presence in my life. May God bless her and grant all of her prayers.

I wish to thank the Head of Department, Dr Maame Gyekye Jandoh, Auntie Doreen, and all the Senior Faculty Members of the Department of Political Science, whose active involvement have successfully seen me throughout my study. Big shoutouts to my close friends, Seth Adjei and Edward Neequaye, for their constant encouragement and motivation throughout my study period. I am also thankful to the NGOs, the women and men of Tema Station, whose valuable insight helped craft this dissertation. For everyone who assisted whose names have not been mentioned here, I am grateful.

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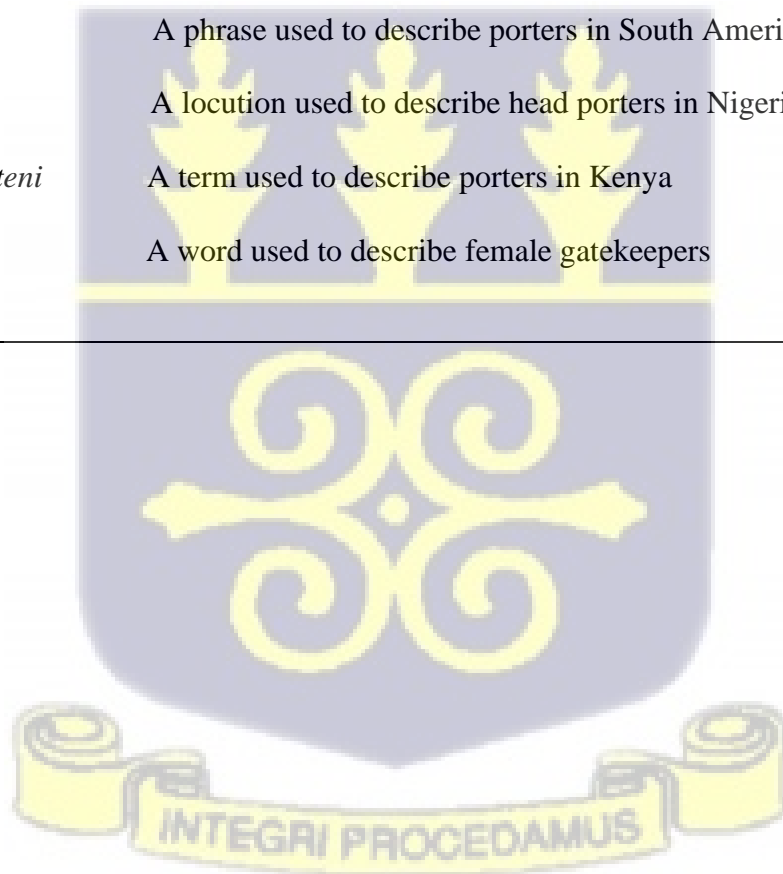
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GSS	Ghana Statistical Services
GLSS 6	Ghana Living Standards Survey 6
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNPD	United Nations Population Division
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CMB	Cocoa Marketing Board
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
FWHRD	Foundation for Women's Health, Research and Development
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NDC	National Democratic Congress



GLOSSARY

Term	Definition
<i>Kayayei/ Paa oh Paa</i>	Used to describe female head porters who transport customers market purchases in large pans on their heads for a fee in Ghana
<i>Kaya</i>	Means load, luggage, suit bag or goods
<i>Kaya Industry/ Business</i>	The practice of carrying loads on the head for a fee by the women who are engaged in this activity
<i>Okada</i>	Motor riders in Accra
<i>Sahayaks</i>	Means helpers. It is a term used to describe porters in India
<i>Kuli Panggul</i>	Name for head porters in Indonesia
<i>Cargador</i>	A phrase used to describe porters in South America
<i>Alaburu</i>	A locution used to describe head porters in Nigeria
<i>Mtu wa nkokoteni</i>	A term used to describe porters in Kenya
<i>Magajia</i>	A word used to describe female gatekeepers



CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

One remarkable social phenomenon that has quickly evolved into one of the major struggles of our day is the rise in population movements. Pretty much every statistical evidence and modern prediction provides a firm basis that every country on the planet today is, and will continue, to be affected by it, as long as people continually relocate from one place to another either for a brief time frame or a long haul, to a close destination or far away destinations (Abu, 2020; Koser, 2007). Like other regions of the world, Migration in Ghana is generally a reaction to development disparities between the source and destination areas. It is also a crucial survival plan and a means of escaping poverty, with substantial beneficial effects on the sustenance and well-being of people (Agyei et al., 2015; Awumbila, 2015; Koser, 2007; Kwankye et al., 2007).

There are two principal types of migration studied by demographers: Internal (Domestic) and External (International). Internal Migration is an essential part of many countries' development processes and structural transformation, although it has been overlooked in the literature. The bulk of research on migration has often focused on international migration and male migrants specifically. However, data available show that internal migrants significantly outnumber international migrants, and female migrants are nearly equal in number to male migrants (Lla'cer et al., 2007). In 2009 alone, there were roughly 740 million internal migrants globally and 232 million international migrants, implying that many people migrated within countries than across borders (IOM, 2015; UNDESA, 2013; UNDP, 2009). In Sub-Saharan Africa, specifically Ghana, available statistics show that Internal Migration accounts for 90% of all Migration (FWHRD et al., 2018; GSS, 2013).

Furthermore, figures from the United Nations Population Division (UNPD) for the years 1965–2005 further reveal that women migrants grew marginally over 40 years, from 47% in 1960 to 50% in 2005 (Lla'cer et al., 2007). Today, females are more likely to be the primary migrant or move independently of men as labour migrants rather than joining spouses or seeking family reunification. This pattern is significantly higher among very talented and skilled migrant women than among less-skilled women. Also, very talented women are far more likely to migrate than highly skilled men (Chant, 2010; O'Neil et al., 2016). This dynamic has increasingly unveiled the biases and ignorance of earlier literature on migration that overlooked female migration and typically viewed females as just tagging behind the 'primary' male migrant (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011; Lattof* et al., 2018). Despite this discovery, very little is known about female migration patterns, although there has been greater identification and reporting of the feminisation of internal movement in recent times (Hofmann & Buckley, 2012).

Similarly, the growing participation of girls and women in historically male-dominated migratory streams has been one of the most significant shifts in Ghana's internal population movement. An essential factor adding to this rapid increase in the number of young women in Ghana's migration streams has been the surge in autonomous female and youthful migrants in the north-south labour migration streams (Awumbila, 2015). This type of Migration stretches back to the colonial era, with about 70% of these groups of people moving from rustic (rural) to metropolitan zones (urban) mainly for economic purposes (FWHRD et al., 2018).

Figures from the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS 6) also suggest that migrants form 48.6% of urban areas, out of which Accra has the highest migrant population of 60.3%. The data further shows that migrant females are proportionally more than males in urban areas, with

females accounting for half of the total female population (50.1%) and males accounting for 46.5%. This incident is even higher among young females aged 10-19 years (GSS, 2012). This occurrence has given rise to the inference that Ghana is experiencing a “feminisation of migration,” or an upsurge in the number of women participating in migration streams (Awumbila, 2015; Kwankye et al., 2007). Overall, globalisation processes worldwide are widely acknowledged to have accelerated this rising pattern of female Migration, particularly in pursuit of livelihood, satisfaction, and a better standard of living for themselves and their children (Sundari, 2005).

Numerous studies have also shown that education, poverty, limited job opportunities, and socio-cultural and family issues have been linked to the migration of women from North to South in Ghana. Most of the time, young ladies are allured or enticed by the freedom and monetary advantage they hear about from other ladies who have gone before them (Bermudez et al., 2018). In fact, many of these North-to-South female migrants who relocate to urban centres are primarily youngsters who lack the necessary qualifications and skills to work in the formal sector (Abu, 2020; Ntewusu, 2012). Thus, they accept menial, low-paying, and unskilled jobs such as head load porters in the marketplaces (commonly known as “*kayayei*”) without any regulations or social protection, making them vulnerable and powerless against abuse or exploitation (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). It is worth emphasising that *kayayei* is a general term used to describe female head porters who transport customers’ market purchases in large pans on their heads for remuneration (Bowles, 2011).

The word *kayayei* comprises two words; the Hausa and Songhay word ‘*kaya*’, which means load, luggage, suit bag, goods or burden, and the Ga word ‘*yeyi*’ (plural) or ‘*yoo*’ (singular), which means women or females (Abu, 2020; Bowles, 2011; Opare, 2003). This research will

limit the use of *kayayei* (plural), *kayayoo*, (singular) to allude to female head porters. Additionally, the terms *kaya* and *kaya business* will be used in this study to mean as follows. “*kaya*” will refer to load or luggage. “*kaya business*” will allude to the practice of women (*kayayei*) carrying loads on their heads for a price (Abu, 2020; Nyarko & Tahiru, 2018).

The word '*kayayoo*' constitutes a migration heritage that distinctly accentuates the interconnectedness of Internal and External (International) Migration. External Migration brought about the word '*kaya*', and Internal Migration, more recently, rendered it female or '*yoo*'. The items carried by the '*kayayei*' range from farm goods such as rice, greens, corn and yam and meat to supplies such as milo, milk, and sugar, which are carried in boxes or plastic bags (Kwankye et al., 2007, p.11). Studies have shown that most youngsters in the *kaya business* hail from Northern Ghana's five ethnically heterogeneous regions, where poverty levels have consistently exceeded the national average since 2005/ 2006. Many of the *kayayei* speak Dagbani and Mamprusi as their first language (Bowles, 2011). However, a couple of the *kayayei* come from adjacent areas in Burkina Faso and Togo, while a few come from other parts of southern Ghana. Further research even revealed that small traders of Ga descent in Accra sometimes work as headload porters if they cannot earn enough cash selling (Lattof, 2018; Nyarko & Tahiru, 2018; Opare, 2003).

Indeed, among many factors, the predominance of young females from the north in the *kaya business* in urban markets is considered to be a consequence of the substantial hardship experienced in their source region and cyclical nature, which brings about the regular movement to southern cities throughout the fallow farming period (Agyei et al., 2015).

According to Clark (1994, p.325), “the rising proportion of women in marketplaces corresponded to an increased marginalisation of market traders and women, in a mutually

reinforcing pattern”. Markets in Ghana functioned as “sites of female accumulation” as more women became more visible as traders (Akyeampong, 2000, p.222).

According to Appadurai (1996), the motivation of head porters to move to Accra is informed by an “imaginary” that transcends space. Due to perceived opportunities and high hopes of reaping potential benefits, these head porters from the north tend to look at their relocation through rose-tinted glasses and are often ignorant about the hardships they will face upon joining the wagon to the south. However, upon migrating, these youngsters are met with severe challenges. Their migrant status, gender and marginalisation compound their situation by exposing them to tons of difficulties, including sexual, emotional, and physical abuse on several counts of their daily lives (Abu, 2020; Bermudez et al., 2018). One source indicated that “about 50% of all children born to *kayayei* at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra each month are abandoned by their mothers” (Opare, 2010 as cited in Ahlvin, 2012).

The “*kayayei*” are omnipresent in the towns and cities of the southern part of Ghana and part of the Ghanaian commercial vocabulary” (Opare, 2003, p.34), however, their experiences take place on the margins of the informal economy or market. Authorities and people in Ghana’s two most populous regions, Greater Accra and Ashanti region (Kumasi), frequently regard *kayayei* as “strangers or outsiders” (Lattof, 2018) and “out of place” (Bowles, 2011) for a variety of reasons. Women engaged in the *kaya business* speak Dagomba and Mamprusi as their first language, which is not widely spoken outside of the north. Northerners, in general, are mostly heavily Islamic leaning religiously, which contrasts with the predominantly Christian South (Bowles, 2011).

Although the *kayayei* are marginally self-employed young women, they are heavily stigmatised as a result of their menial work, gendered labour, and northern identities (Bowles, 2011). Furthermore, many *kayayei* are hesitant to interact with strangers, such as researchers, census officers, and government figures, due to political concerns about forcefully returning *kayayei* to the north. They have unease and doubt about these authority figures (Lattof, 2018; Daily Graphic, 2010). However, despite the difficulties associated with the *kaya business*, it remains an appealing business activity in a low-asset context for these girls because it requires no assets to begin working apart from the expense of commuting to the cities and can generate small sums of money quickly. Indeed, many of these young ladies prefer survival on the margins to poverty and unemployment (Bermudez et al., 2018; FWHRD et al., 2018; Agyei et al., 2015).

The pervasive nature and particular difficulties associated with the *kaya business* have become the new boogie man attracting international development agencies, the government, and several stakeholders for several reasons: (1) Ghana's attempts to reduce child labour are hampered by the significant number of teens working as *kayayei* (2) Accra's growing population of teenagers and young people puts further strain on social services and work prospects (Lattof, 2018, p. 1022). The *kayayei* issue, in particular, has been more notable and distinctive regarding migration trends because they are placed at the intersection of numerous constraints – female, young girls, migrants and from rural parts of Ghana's five Northern Regions (Kuyini, 2011; Kuyini et al., 2020).

As a result, the government, the public, and numerous global and domestic non-governmental organisations (NGOs), among others, have tried to take action to halt the *kayayei* business. Be that as it may, their prevention programs are minimal and have a short-term focus. Apart from focusing the majority of their efforts on countering the horrifying forms of child labour,

primarily in formal sectors like mining and cocoa (Bermudez et al., 2018), their approaches and perspectives are driven by an agenda of halting the migration of the *kayayei* or retaining them in the north or their places of origin. This approach is common to all NGOs and government approaches as they have a short-term framework.

For example, between 2005 and 2007, Hajia Alima Mahama, the Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP), claimed that the *kayayei* were “a threat to the national development agenda” even though she admitted there are minimal strategies to address the stressors associated with *kaya* labour (GhanaWeb, 2005). Following that, in 2008, the MGCSP subsequently launched ‘Operation Send Them Home’, in which more than 2,000 *kayayei* were registered and transferred back to their villages to be ‘shielded from the cruel circumstances they endure in Greater Accra’ (Huijsmans, 2012).

With the onset of COVID-19 in 2020, Cynthia Mamle Morrison, the Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection, stated that “the state will be moving to ensure there are no *kayayei* of school-going age operating. She indicated that the young *kayayei* would be registered and sent back home, and no young lady within school-going age will be allowed to engage in the *kaya trade*” (Adogla-Bessa, 2020). It is worth indicating that the public and government recognition of head porters' hardships does not transform into a fixation on the social conditions they struggle against (Bowles, 2011).

Likewise, NGOs have also come up with new initiatives. Nevertheless, a significant number of their programmes will generally follow the Ghanaian government programme depicted above and zeroed in on ‘saving’ youthful migrants and returning them to the north. The programs of Swift Aid, for example, were examined briefly by Denekamp (2011). This organisation sets out to reduce the number of children working as *kayayei* by forming a

‘Network against Child *kayayei*’ and simultaneously providing vocational education (in Accra and the rural parts of the North) and urging them to go back to their native regions (northern region) (Denekamp, 2011; Huijsmans, 2012).

The *Kayayei* Association, founded in 2008 by Michael Alongyah and American student Rachel Jackson, is another model that is vaguer in its strategy to the *Kayayei* phenomenon. From one perspective, it resembles the structure and framework of Swift Aid and the Ghanaian government since it attempts to ‘halt the movement of youngsters from the North to the South who are coming to search for employment opportunities and end up on the streets or wind up raped’. Nonetheless, it works to enhance the well-being of *kayayei* in Accra at the same time.

In many cases, the interventions of NGOs fail to realise the expected objective of getting the *kayayei* to apply the skill they have been trained on or put it to use. This failure is partly because the interest of these donors and international development agencies are fundamental in implementing such interventions since they are significant sources of finance for such projects (Agyei et al., 2015; Abu, 2020). Given this, interventions are characterised mainly by a brief training period, insufficient training materials, a lack of start-up capital, and an inadequate market for products they are trained to produce. Others who provide vocational skills training or some form of microfinance opportunity to returnees primarily ignore the household's critical family and psychosocial aspects and principal gender norms within the community, which may help sustain the practice (Bermudez et al., 2018).

Over time, the *kayayei* in the southern markets have learned and adopted unique strategies that they believe are important for their survival in these unfamiliar environments. One such strategy has been to rely on *gatekeepers* for security and protection against abuse and

exploitation in urban centres. However, it is worth remarking that the term *gatekeeping* is not new. It is a concept that has been around since the mid-twentieth century and has grown over time to cover numerous fields of research and practice. In any case, the concept ‘*gatekeeping*’ originally emerged in the Journal of Human Relations in 1947, in social psychologist Kurt Lewin’s unfinished manuscript, “Frontiers in Group Dynamics: II. Channels of Group Life; Social Planning and Action Research”(Shoemaker & Riccio, 2016).

Kurt Lewin (1890-1947), a pioneer in social psychology and a German psychologist, coined the term to study post-World War II social change. He first looked at the concept via psychological lenses, exploring why and how different families’ food patterns and activities varied. In the groups he examined, he noticed that homemakers controlled the decision-making process connected to food habits and activities by providing behavioural hurdles and rewards; Lewin dubbed these housewives as *gatekeepers*. Later, the term evolved into diverse forms and theories developed mainly in the management of technology, communication, information science, and later political science. Various elements in the conceptualisation of *gatekeeping* were highlighted in each discipline and field. The term *gatekeeping* alludes extensively to the act of regulating information as it moves through a channel, filter or gate. It is often related to exercising varied types of power, such as news selection, maintaining the status quo in legislative committees, and conciliation between professional and ethnic groups (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008). A *gatekeeper* is a key person or network position that manages such information or access to “gains or benefits” desired by others who are their “clients or customers” (Corra, 2020; Corra & Willer, 2002). The advantage desired by the client might be access to another social relationship, for instance, a tie to a monarch or access to goods, such as instruments required for employment (Corra, 2020). When allowed access, the customer shoulders a

responsibility, and such responsibility may be released or dismissed by paying the price to the *gatekeeper*.

Gatekeepers, unlike intermediaries, do not buy merchandise or goods to resell for a profit. Because intermediaries buy with the intention of trading at a profit, they acquire ownership of goods and pass that ownership on to buyers. On the other hand, *gatekeepers* manage access to but never own the benefits that their customers enjoy. It is the externality to the *gatekeeper* and the *client-gatekeeper* relationship that decides or determines if an occurrence constitutes *gatekeeping*, not the nature of the advantage. The externality of benefits is the solitary factor separating or distinguishing *gatekeepers* from intermediaries (Corra & Willer, 2002).

Nonetheless, like purchasers and sellers, *gatekeepers* and customers may bargain or negotiate. However, the goal of the *gatekeeper* bargaining is not to hand over ownership but to offer access presided over by the *gatekeeper*. The rewards are the customers' or clients' access, and the *gatekeeper* may charge a price to clients who want to secure that access (Corra & Willer, 2002; Corra, 2020). There are numerous historical and modern examples of *gatekeeping*. Tepperman (1973) uses a fourteenth-century guild organisation in England as an early illustration of *gatekeeping*. In those days, an apprentice seeking to learn or practice a craft had to undergo extensive training under the supervision of a master artisan or craftsman. Typically, masters were organised into guilds or associations that served as licensing boards. The association or guild was the means through which males in the community obtained income, authority, and prestige (Corra, 2020).

In modern organisations, *gatekeeping* can be fixed firmly in formalised hierarchies and take the shape of organisational politics (Corra, 2020). In universities, departmental chairs can control information moving downward to their departments because they are strategically

positioned. When that information is intentionally disseminated to advantage some members of departments while excluding others, the chair functions as a *gatekeeper*, and the department members who gain from it are customers. The charge needed could be founded on or based on personal allegiance to the chair (Corra, 2020).

Merton (1973) also considers *gatekeeping* to be a crucial function of academics. For example, in the area of lectureship recruitment, *gatekeeping* is “a key networking practice.” (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2014, p. 463; Corra, 2020, p. 296). At this point, faculty *gatekeepers* “assess the promise and limitations of aspirants to new positions, therefore affecting both the movement of individual scientists and, in the distribution of personnel throughout the system” (Merton, 1973, p. 522).

Furthermore, rather than disappearing, today’s technological institutions are transforming and bringing a new twist to the *gatekeeping* role. Today's thriving internet companies often had no intention of acting as *gatekeepers*. Recent developments, however, suggest differently, as these businesses are progressively emerging as new gatekeepers on the Web as web directory owners have emerged as the primary *gatekeepers*. According to Corra (2020), in 1997, Swisher presented a contemporary illustration of an internet *gatekeeper*.

Another recent example involved Twitter and Facebook, two of the largest social media platforms. They acted as internet *gatekeepers* by permanently suspending the social media accounts of then-President Donald Trump of the United States and his critics for spreading false information and inciting violence through tweets and posts on social media. Other social networking sites, such as Facebook and YouTube, followed similar actions after Trump’s expulsion. A case in point is Twitter’s banning of almost 70,000 accounts associated with the

debunked QAnon ideology, which served a crucial part in inciting the Capitol siege on 6th January 2021. Twitter has executed subsequent bans on leaders in other countries around the world. A recent example is the suspension of the Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's account by Twitter (Dwoskin & Timberg, 2021).

Indeed, these technology corporations' success has enhanced their domination in the information and news sphere, made them ubiquitous, and strengthened their position as internet *gatekeepers*. Part of this dominance means they can control access to social media channels, limit information reach, and decide who gets to say what online and what constitutes hate messages or misinformation. However, this new dominance has raised concerns regarding the unchecked power of these technology giants, their biases and role as internet *gatekeepers*, users' agency on social media in relation to the owners of the platforms, and the profound effect it has on our democracy (Rosenberg, 2020; The Economist, 2021).

Undoubtedly, the *kayayei* in the urban centres have *gatekeepers*, with so much control and power, like these *internet gatekeepers* illustrated above, with *gatekeeping* roles fixed in rules governing informal organisational structures. In the case of the *kayayei*, these *gatekeepers* are generally men who identify as coordinators, advocators, and protectors of *kayayei*. They manage and control access to the *kayayei* community. Any programme proposed for the *kayayei* by the government, individuals or NGOs cannot be carried out or implemented without their support. According to the UNFPA (2008), it was impossible to implement the *kayayei* programme until the implementing partners had established a positive, and in most cases, monetary-based relationship with the *gatekeepers* who had hitherto instructed the *kayayei* not to partake. Hence, there is a need to understand who these men are, the gender power dynamics of this relationship, and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon. This is what the study will zero in on.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The *kaya trade* has become so far-reaching and widespread that its reality currently envelops southern and northern cities like Accra, Kumasi, and Tamale. However, there are still no precise insights or statistics on the number of *kayayei* in these places, as no nationwide study is dedicated to collecting information on them.

Notwithstanding, a research conducted in 2003 discovered about 23,000 *kayayei* in Kumasi. Correspondingly, research in 2011 projected that there were around 15,000 *kayayei* in Accra, mostly from the five regions in northern Ghana. The increase of *kayayei* populations has also been observed in other places in the northern region of Ghana, such as Tamale, which appears to be a recent phenomenon (FWHRD et al., 2018; Abu, 2020; Agyei et al., 2015).

These *migrant head load porters (kayayei)* form part of the city's underprivileged, who not only live in a cash economy and must pay for everything but also have fewer prospects and are exposed to dangerous situations. In addition, they are easily exploited by older men and women, who patronise their services. This exploitation is possible because they lack the requisite negotiation skills and safety nets to lessen their insecurity and vulnerability within the urban environment (Bermudez et al., 2018; Kwankye et al., 2007).

They, therefore, adopt strategies (utilizing ethnic ties, joining migrant unions, among others) and opt for relationships they believe are essential for their survival in these alien contexts. One such strategy has been to depend on *gatekeepers*, who often serve as safety nets for most of these young migrants in times of crisis or need, thereby minimising the charges and hazards associated with migration (Hart, 1971). However, these supposed *gatekeepers* in the *kayayei*

reality are men who identify as coordinators, advocates, and protectors for *kayayei* working in the metropolitan markets. These “*gatekeepers*” also serve as a point of contact before any project intended for the *kayayei* can be implemented. Without their support, a project cannot be implemented (UNFPA, 2008).

Overall, the *kayayei* phenomenon has attracted the attention of several scholars who have conducted studies about *kayayei* from different dimensions. For instance, Awumbila et al. (2008) analysed the subject from a migratory perspective. Opare (2003) focuses on migration and identifying current circumstances that have caused these females to migrate. Even though Ahlvin (2012) talks about the socio-cultural and economic factors underpinning the *kayayei* phenomenon, she presents it as challenges in their line of work and not factors leading to their choice of work. Abu (2020), on the other hand, probes into the subject from an ethnographic and gender perspective. She throws more light on the gender and cultural dynamics that determine females’ choice to participate in *Kayayei*.

On the other hand, in some studies, Lattof S. (2018) focuses how health insurance status impacts *kayayei* ‘migrants’ medical care-seeking behaviours. Lattof S. (2018) and Kuyini et al. (2020) also examine women’s migration experiences and health issues working as *kayayei* in Accra. Most studies either view the *kayayei* as collectively or individually victims of a specific context (Awumbila et al., 2008; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011; Opare, 2003).

In contrast to the majority of studies emphasising the specific vulnerability of the *kayayei*, Bowles (2011) and Ntewusu (2012), on the other hand, explore the subject from a historical perspective and openly highlights the historical diversity and context-dependence of the issue

of *kayayei* in Ghana. Thus, it opens the possibility of seeing the *kayayei* as agents capable of imaginatively influencing their social milieu. Agyei et al. (2015) also conduct an in-depth study viewing their migration as a livelihood strategy.

Within the state discourse on female porters, the *kayayei* are often perceived as helpless but resourceful street children (Hickey, 2000 cited in Bowles, 2011, p.8). Some view the *kayayei* as a sign of failed modernity, victims of the fast-growing informal economy, and barriers to state development (Okaitey & Malik, 2007; GNA, 2006 as cited in Bowles, 2011). Others also see the *kayayei* as entrepreneurs who use their creativity to modify their social milieu rather than view them as migrants fleeing domestic hardships or acclimating to a new environment (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

Many authors have examined the subject either from a migratory perspective, livelihood perspective or public policy response to the phenomena. Nonetheless, an emerging phenomenon known as the ‘*gatekeeper*’ phenomenon is associated with the entire *kayayei* reality that has not received much attention. Investigating this emerging phenomenon is what this study seeks to do differently by identifying who these *gatekeepers* are and examining the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon in Accra’s Tema station. Overall, this dissertation is a study of power and power relations, and the study falls squarely in the domain of politics and political science.

1.3 Study’s Objectives

The study’s main objective is to examine who these *gatekeepers* are and their exact role in the *kayayei* phenomenon.

The specific objectives include:

- Evaluating the gender-power dynamics of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships

- Assessing the interests, winners, and losers in the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships

1.4 Research Questions

In order to find out who these *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon, the study posits and answers the following research questions:

The Main Question

1. Why are *gatekeepers* so prevalent in the *kayayei* industry, and what role do they perform?

Sub-Questions:

2. What are the power and gender dynamics that govern the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships?
3. What are the interests of the *gatekeepers*, and why are they important?
4. Are there cases of women who have gone beyond these *gatekeepers* and operate without them?

1.5 Justification and Rational

The novelty and importance of the study lie in its possible contribution to a better understanding of components of the *kayayei* phenomenon known as the “*gatekeeper*” phenomenon, which is associated with the entire *kayayei* reality that has not received much attention. Second, it examines the role these *gatekeepers* serve to NGOs and government which may serve as valuable resources for government and other stakeholders in future policy formulation and implementation.

1.6 Study's Limitations

The difficulty in getting some of the *kayayei* to engage in long interview sessions, especially during the day when markets are busy, was one of the study's drawbacks, as involvement could result in the loss of potential consumers. Also, finding a less noisy area in the market to record interviews was a challenge. However, these challenges did not affect the study's findings as certain measures, such as staying in the market until night-time to interview the *kayayei* when markets were less noisy, and *kayayei* were less busy.

1.7 Organization of Study

This research is divided into five chapters. The study's introduction, problem statement, objectives, justification, and organisation are all covered in Chapter One. Chapter Two contains the literature reviewed in four thematic areas and a theoretical framework: the Intersectionality Theory and Social Dominance Theory. Chapter Three deals with the methodology, research instrument, and method of data analysis. Chapter Four is devoted to the data analysis and presentation of the fieldwork as well as the research findings and their discussion. The overview of research findings, conclusion, and recommendations are highlighted in Chapter 5.

1.8 Conclusion

This section provided background information to the study, stated the research problem, listed the study's objectives, the research questions, the significance, and justification. In addition, it looked at how the study is structured. The next chapter will critically explore the literature and establish the gaps in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The research on the push and pull factors of North-South Migration is extensive. Even though there are studies on the coping and survival strategies of *kayayei* in urban markets, there is an emerging phenomenon known as the “*gatekeeper*” phenomenon associated with the entire *kayayei* reality that has received little attention. Consequently, this study intends to fill this lacuna.

The literature review is in the following four thematic areas:

1. Gender and Migration Across the Globe: Current Trends and Patterns in Ghana
2. Historical Perspective of Head Portage in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Era of the Carriers and Era of Female Head Porters
3. *Kayayei* in Accra: Experiences and Coping Strategies
4. General Literature on Gatekeeping and Feminist Theories

2.1 Gender and Migration Across the Globe: Current Trends of Migration in Ghana

This section starts with a glossary of terms that are important to the study. It also discusses the gender and current migration trends globally and in Ghana specifically.

2.1.1 Gender

Gender is a socially and culturally significant category developed over the past centuries out of intense discussions and struggles over meaning-making processes (Lykke, 2010). Gender, according to UNESCO Publications Board (2011), is known as the roles and responsibilities

of men and women created in families, societies, and cultures. Gender also refers to the expectations that people have about women's and men's appearances, abilities, and likely behaviours (femininity and masculinity). Lla'cer et al. (2007) also view gender as the various roles that men and women play in a historically and socially determined unequal power structure. The definitions and what constitutes gender may vary across societies. However, this study adopts the UNESCO Publications Board (2011) and Lla'cer et al. (2007) definition by viewing gender as the classification of persons of the two sexes (men and women) founded on socio-cultural distinctions rather than biological makeup or genetic features.

2.1.2 Gender and Migration: Trends Across the Globe

Gender is becoming increasingly essential to comprehending the processes, causes, and consequences of migration. In the past, the literature on migration limited women's roles to just mothers, wives, and daughters. It often overlooked women's contributions outside of reproductive labour (e.g., nursing, household labour, unpaid work) (Lattof* et al., 2018).

Similarly, depending on whether they relocate as wives and daughters or as members of the workforce, studies may classify migrant girls and women as "dependent" or "independent" (Lla'cer et al. 2007, p.ii4; Lattof*et al., 2018). Likewise, in migration studies, women and young girls who migrate with their husbands and fathers are referred to as "passive" migrants rather than "active" migrants (Lattof* et al., 2018, p.8). In the early 1960s, for instance, the expression "migrants and their families" meant "male migrants and their wives and children" (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). Women and children were imagined following closely behind the 'primary' male migrant (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). The literature on migrant men and boys lacks these classifications. Male migrants, on the other hand, are not classified according to their relationships with their wives and mothers.

In addition to using distinct lingo to explain the migration of girls and women, the studies on migration have historically disregarded the roles of female migrants, with some researchers even viewing the phenomenon as gender-neutral because it dealt with *people* mobility (Dugbazah, 2007; Lattof* et al., 2018). Also, the type of migration and migration-related employment undertaken by women and young girls are often invisible and unacknowledged, particularly when it comes to the domestic work of migrants (Elias, 2010). This lack of visibility and knowledge about female migration patterns stems from research conducted in the 1960s, 1970s, and before the mid-1980s, where researchers assumed that all migrants were male, concentrating studies on male migrants and historically underrating the migration of women (Zlotnik, 1995; Caldwell, 1969 as cited in Lattof* et al. 2018; Dugbazah, 2007). However, over the last three decades, critical evaluations of migration studies through the lens of gender have steadily revealed and drawn scrutiny to the masculine gender bias ingrained in migration studies (Camlin et al., 2014). Recent migration studies across the globe have challenged these assumptions and further indicated that “women are migrants in their own right” (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011, p.13). In other words, women have as much right to migrate as men and are equally active participants in the migration process. They do not need a male figure to validate their movement.

Studies have also revealed that Migration is gender-structured and not gender-neutral since men and women migrate for various reasons, and utilise various channels. Both sexes (male and female) in receiving and sending communities have different outcomes and experiences due to migration (Dugbazah, 2007; Hashim & Thorsen, 2011, p.13). For example, in a study conducted by Camlin et al. (2014) in South Africa, females in rural areas were found to be highly mobile, challenging the idea that females represent the residentially stable population. In Malawi, where young women increasingly relocate more frequently than young boys, norms

of customary matrilineal residence trends following marriage are no longer valid (Beegle & Poulin, 2013). As evidence reveals shifts in migrant sex composition, it also reveals shifts in migration motivations. While both sexes may attribute their migration decisions to issues such as the desire to find work or a lack of freedom in their home country or place of origin, gender-specific factors emerge.

Also, when a parent dies of AIDS in South Africa, young women are much more likely than boys to leave the family. In addition, families who have experienced a death may expect girls to take on caring responsibilities elsewhere or choose to keep boys (Ford & Hosegood, 2005).

2.1.3 Gender and Migration: Patterns in Ghana

Similarly, studies on Internal Migration in Ghana have been fixated mainly on male adults from the northern regions who moved either unescorted or had their dependents tagging along with them to the middle and southern zones of the country to make the most out of opportunities in the mining and cocoa-growing areas of the south (Kwankye et al., 2007). In contemporary times, however, migration patterns and internal population movements have shown the predominance of women in migration streams previously male-oriented (Ntewusu, 2012; Abu, 2020). Today, attention has switched to assessing the recent developments of the youngsters, particularly young women moving all year round from the northern parts of Ghana to large urban centres in the South, specifically Accra-Tema, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, to work in menial jobs (Kwankye et al., 2007).

Also, Tamale, a metropolitan zone located in Ghana's northern region, is said to record high numbers of *kayayei* (Awumbila et al., 2008; Abu, 2020). Initially, men were the main subjects of the migration discourse since they relocated from the north to the south of the country's

coastal cities for fishing or agricultural purposes. Women were mainly left behind to care for children and tend to farms. The Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) models, which are among the earliest migration models, emphasised that Internal Migration occurs in a dual economy. To them, the urban sector attracts men from the workforce from the rural sector.

This phenomenon, however, has changed in recent times. Today, migration increasingly allows girls and women to question conventional social roles in rural societies (Lattof* et al., 2018). According to Awumbila et al. (2008), women now move more freely inside and outside the country for financial and other reasons such as job advancement and education. Not only do highly-adept migrant women have higher migration rates than less-adept women, but they are also more likely to migrate than highly-adept men. (Chant, 2010; O'Neil et al., 2016). In Ghana, for example, girls have defied these stereotypes by deciding to migrate on their own (70 per cent of girls versus 54 per cent of boys) and funding their own migrations (57.6 per cent of girls versus 34.9 per cent of boys) (Lattof* et al., 2018). In addition, more girls, particularly in the younger age groups, are migrating to Accra rather than Kumasi. This pattern contradicts some migration literature, suggesting that males dominate long-distance migrations and females, short-distance migrations (Kwankye et al., 2007).

Another living proof of migration providing women with the leverage to question traditional social norms and roles in rural societies is the finding of the study by Abdul-Korah (2011) in Ghana. Abdul-Korah (2011) looked at gendered patterns of remitting by Dagaaba migrants in Ghana and found that, despite patriarchal conventions favouring sons over daughters, female migrants sent money home more frequently and for a more extended period than their male counterparts. Thus, most parents now perceive female children as also valuable to family welfare. He adds that “modern Dagaaba girls are not just facing up to the traditional

impediments to their development and independence by migrating south to work for compensation, but they are assuming control over roles and obligations that were believed to be solely male” (Abdul-Korah, 2011, p.396).

Again, women migrants are progressively attracted to both the formal and informal wage labour market as a survival strategy to expand insufficient family income. According to Kwankye et al. (2007), Yaro (2008) and Awumbila et al. (2008), brief-to-long distance migratory streams that were traditionally dominated by men in West Africa, specifically Ghana, are increasingly becoming feminised. In response to poverty in the sub-region, independent female migration to the south has become a significant survival strategy. These female migrants mostly work as *'kayayei'* (head load porters) in market centres and lorry stations (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). They also move on their own through networks of friends and relatives. Adepaju (2004) and Awumbila et al. (2008) indicated that this contradicts earlier studies that assumed women migrated solely to join spouses and become dependants. In the current migration flow, young people, particularly females, tend to be autonomous migrants who have decided to migrate despite the fact that they may have no family members in the destination area.

Gender-specific factors may also influence women's and girls' destination choices, according to evidence. Migrant girls were periodically sought after and recaptured by their families, according to a 2005 study of 450 child migrants in Accra and Kumasi. This discovery could be one of the reasons why so many women chose to relocate to Accra, which is the farthest from Ghana's five northern regions (Anarfi & Agyei, 2009, as cited in Lattof* et al., 2018).

Gender may have an impact on where migrants choose to work in addition to their destination. Gender has been assigned to public spaces in Accra: markets are associated with female entrepreneurship, whereas bus stations are associated with male entrepreneurship (Thiel & Stasik, 2016). Findings from a 2005 survey in Accra and Kumasi on independent child migrants add further emphasis to Thiel and Stasik's (2016) assertion that young migrants have a solid gender-segregated labour market. Girls, for example, are far more likely to work as head porters (*kayayei*), whereas boys' jobs are more varied, including petty trade, truck pushing, working in workshops, and head porting. It is worth noting that young male migrants' jobs may include an informal apprenticeship arrangement, such as mechanic, and thus provide an opportunity for skill development. This is not the case for those working as head porters, which is the sad fate of many young female migrants (Huijsmans, 2012).

Gender disparities in earnings are a result of a gender-segregated labour market. The mechanical use of the human body that the *kayayei* utilises indicates structural economic distributions and reinforces male dominance. When masculinity is related to technology, it transfers into unequal access to earnings across gender (Bowles, 2011). This effect ends up limiting the capacity of women's for action and agency without entirely restricting and determining that capacity (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003, p.3). Researchers in Ghana have found the earnings of male migrants, specifically men porters' or 'truck pushers', to be higher than that of their female counterparts working in the informal market (Bowles, 2011). This was further confirmed by a survey of 120 migrants in Accra by Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) in Accra. Their findings showed that male porters' weekly earnings or truck pushers were higher than female porters or *kayayei*. This difference in earnings can be partly attributed to the fact that male porters can negotiate distances and wages with clients before they load goods. *Kayayei* wages, on the other hand, are not pre-negotiated and depend entirely on their customers'

generosity (Bowles, 2011). This finding challenges the earlier observation that migration is gender-neutral. Overall, this study found that men and women in both origin and destination communities may have different experiences.

Furthermore, a mother's migration can result in changes in the parent-child bond as well as paradoxes surrounding mothers' caregiving role (Contreras & Griffith, 2012, p.51). Coe (2008) also supports the argument by Contreras & Griffith (2012) by indicating that family arrangements of Ghanaian migrants, regardless of the shape it assumes – internal migration, transnational and regional migration affect parent-child relations throughout centuries. Whether in a general or migrant setting, Parenthood and Motherhood cover a broad range of care responsibilities for migrant parents and mothers in particular (Kpedator, 2018). Nonetheless, while financial support is now an important part of "superior motherhood," it comes with some significant disadvantages for migrant mothers. One of these disadvantages is that mothers may not be present in their children's lives and may be unable to provide emotional support and care to their children from afar, which can have a negative impact on the well-being of their children (Contreras & Griffith, 2012, p.62; Coe, 2008). The process of migrating "brings about the separation of the family" for migrant families, particularly migrant women, who do not relocate along with their children (Coe, 2008, p. 238).

Migration can increase the value of motherhood by allowing mothers to provide their children with more resources and better living conditions. On the other hand, migration can erode motherhood by requiring other family members to provide childcare in the mother's absence. In this regard, mothers who migrate alone without their children rely on the ability of family members to provide daily care. (Contreras & Griffith, 2012, p.57).

2.2 Historical Perspective of Head Porterage in Sub- Saharan Africa and Ghana: The Era of Carriers in Accra and the Era of Female Porters

This section provides an overview of the history of head-porterage in Sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on Ghana. This short historical account will be divided into two sections - the era of carriers in Accra, Ghana (1908-80) and the era of female porters (1980 to the present).

2.2.1 Historical Perspective of Head Porterage in Sub - Saharan Africa

Head Porterage is perhaps the most defining feature of many informal markets in urban cities across the globe. It is a source of income that has grown over time. It can be traced to pre-colonial cities between 600 and 200 B. C and was practised by men during the rise of Greek and Roman cities (Aidan, 1998; Otieku et al., 2016). In Sub-Saharan Africa, head porterage has continued to play an important role in the informal economy and, in particular, in shaping Ghana's economic history. Studies indicate that this practice could even be related to the African people's cultural expression and existing technologies for moving goods and transporting themselves on various occasions (Akanle & Chioma, 2014). In fact, transportation in West Africa's coastal forests was either by water or on people's heads, backs, and shoulders prior to the introduction of the internal combustion engine.

Due to its location within the forests, Accra, according to Ntewusu (2012), would have ceased to exist and would not have grown into the metropolis that it is today if it did not have the labour-power of people to meet its transportation needs. In the absence of head load porters, studies show that informal market transactions, which are the most common business operations in Africa, would come to a halt. For example, most businesses in Sub-Saharan Africa operate in informal domains, accounting for more than 70% of all businesses and employing more than 70% of the region's workforce (Akanle & Chioma, 2013). Ghana, for

example, has a large informal sector that accounts for roughly 90% of the country's 7.7 million workers (Clarke, 2005). Indeed, the experiences of head porters help to understand the socioeconomic contributions of internal migrants and their role in shaping African urban communities (Bowles, 2011).

Across the globe and in West Africa, this pervasive practice may be called different names, but it often takes a similar form and tends to resemble many others in informal markets worldwide. In South America, specifically Peru, a porter is commonly known as “*cargador*” by market women of Cuzco. These porters are broadly responsible for hauling products in bulk for anyone in need of their services for a fee in the market (Seligmann, 2004). In many markets in India, the overwhelming presence of porters are a common sight. They are often referred to as “*sahayaks*”, meaning helpers in Hindi. For example, in the Gadodia market, one may find nearly 500 female and male migrant porters who work and reside there (Khan, 2015).

In Nigeria, males and females who engage in head portage are called ‘*alabaru*’ (Akanle & Chioma, 2014). They are known in Ghana as “*kayayoo or kayayei*” or “*paa oh paa.*” Women and girls mainly undertake this head portage trade in Ghana. According to history and written literature, head-load portage has been around since the colonial era and dates as far back as 1908. Studies indicate that this trade was first introduced in Ghana by male migrants from Sahelian countries such as Mali in West Africa (Abu, 2020). It was solely a male domain, and those who practised it were referred to as ‘*kaya.*’ After the foreigners left for their country, the space created was occupied by male migrants from the North (Kwankye et al., 2007; Abu, 2020). However, it is worth indicating that various factors necessitated the joining of northern migrant men in the *kaya* trade. As a result, the next section will cover a brief history of *kayayei* in Ghana and the predominance of northerners in the *kaya* business.

2.2.2 Brief History of North-South Migration in Ghana: Era of Carriers in Accra (1908-80)

North-South Migration

As indicated above, the North-South Migration, the use of head-load porters, and the *kaya trade* concentration in the southern cities of the Republic of Ghana have a historical root and date to the colonial era. Many studies allude to North to South migration as an immediate result of colonialism. British colonialism was fixated on capitalist practices that focused solely on resource extraction from the north, all in the name of redistributing resources more evenly between the north and the south. This extraction took the form of minerals, cash cropping and encouraging southward migration of people. Resources were continuously taken, but development was never implemented (Bowles, 2011; Lentz, 2006).

Some studies have suggested that labour migration is associated with the industrial underdevelopment and policies of neglect concerning the Northern Regions of Ghana. Relationships between northern and southern Ghana in pre-colonial times, where kingdoms worked in opposition to decentralised ethnic groups, ensured that northern Ghana was the other, a labour reserve for timber and mining enterprises outside the region (World Development Report, 2006 as cited by Bowles, 2011). Also, the chieftaincy institution brought about persistent tensions and serious conflicts within Northern Ghana and between leaders in the north as well as with other political parties scattered throughout the country (Lentz, 2006). Bacho (2001, p.21) concludes, “in economic terms, Northern Ghana is best viewed as the backyard of Ghana”. This deeply ingrained viewpoint stems from the British colonial government’s official policy of separate intentional development in Northern Ghana.

The separation practices before colonisation and since independence form part of that narrative. According to Holsey (2008, p.95), “the North as a specific geographic entity has continued to have many bad meanings attached to it since the days in which it was perceived to be a pool of potential slaves”. The Asante Confederacy used the north as a cheap source of captive slaves. The British followed suit with their perception of the north as a reserve army of labour (Abu, 2020; Ntewusu, 2012).

Again, not only did colonial policies, poverty in the region, structural adjustment policies and the seasonal nature of farming and poor soil structure propel people from the northern regions to relocate, but catastrophic events like heavy downpours and droughts forced them to migrate.

The Commissioner for Northern Province, for example, is said to have reported in 1928 that:

“Owing to the great damage to the crops in the Zuarungu district caused by heavy falls of rain at the period of harvest in 1927, conditions of almost famine proportion obtained at the beginning of the year under review. The areas affected were chiefly inhabited by the Nankani tribe and, to a certain extent, by the Talensi and Builsa tribes and involved approximately 100,000 people. As a result of this and previous similar occurrences, the government’s policy has been to endeavour to persuade the people to migrate southwards” (Ntewusu, 2012, pp 67).

Subsequently, in 1931, the commissioner is said to have reported that:

“The Northern Territories has [sic] always been relied on to supply labour in the south. Throughout the dry season, there is considerable migration of labourers and traders from the north and people on their routes make a living catering for them” (Ntewusu, 2012, pp 67-8; Agyei et al., 2015; Abu, 2020).

Also contributing to the North-South Migration was the military intervention of 1981, which resulted in a reduction in maize cultivation and the eventual collapse of some agricultural activities, such as rice cultivation. In 1981, a coup in Ghana exiled and destroyed budding capitalist rice producers, as well as their agricultural equipment (Ntewusu, 2012; Abu, 2020).

The above reasons led to the institutionalisation of North-South labour migration, a cyclical migration in nature and undertaken by people from the five northern regions to southern cities to look for jobs that will enable them to earn money and survive the dry season until the next

rains. This ongoing phenomenon has gradually become ingrained in people's social and economic lives (Agyei et al., 2015; Abu, 2020; Bowles, 2011; Ntewusu, 2012).

2.2.3 Era of Carriers in Accra (1908-80)

Missionaries, administrators (executives), and traders used to refer to head-load porters as “carriers” and “hammock men.” There were three types of head-load porters, according to Ntewusu (2012): those who carried loads and human beings such as missionaries and administrators, and those who were hired on a permanent basis by individuals. The rest were freelancers. He claims that in the past, missionaries and administrators relied on their offices and private individuals or agencies to arrange or order carriers on their behalf for a fee. James Addo of Christiansborg, an agent for the colonial administration in Accra, is one example. These agents were relied on because of the absence of motorised transport for such journeys.

Private individuals in the South were also permitted to request carrier services from the district and regional commissioners in the Northern Territories, thanks to the colonial administrator's policy of encouraging North-South labour migrations. For example, Chief Braimah, the founder of Tudu, who died in 1915, had several male carriers in charge of transporting his kola nuts from various parts of the current Eastern Region to Accra.

Braimah was a trader as well as a leader in Accra's Muslim community. Because Chief Braimah had the support of the colonial government, he was able to hire and fire carriers, as well as determine how much they should be paid. It is worth noting that, in addition to being free labour, Braimah's carriers were regulated by him through the chief of carriers he chose. Due to its colonial administration's policy of exploiting human and material resources in the colony and making a maximum profit with minimal expenditure, the government-backed private traders like Braimah (Ntewusu, 2012).

Again, because of the nature of the items these head-load porters carried, men dominated the trade. They carried heavy loads in large quantities and travelled long distances, primarily barefoot, which often resulted in starvation and death. The travellers' average daily journey was said to be between fifteen and twenty miles. In general, migrants slept in the woods near villages, while others slept on the side of the road. On a rainy night, shelter was sought in the villages. There have been instances where villages along migratory routes were unable to contain the influx of migrants, resulting in migrant deaths. This could also account for why females hardly engaged in the trade (Ntewusu, 2012).

As advancements in communication such as motorised transport came to being, so did the diminution of commissioned carriers. For instance, both the long-distance carriers under the colonial administration and those previously under traders such as Chief Braimah were gradually replaced by motorised transport. However, in the 1930s and 1940s, a third category of head load porters known as *kayakaya* emerged. They were not under anyone like they had been under Chief Braimah previously. These *kayakaya* worked as self-employed head porters in marketplaces and lorry parks. Also, they went around the neighbourhoods collecting garbage from time to time. As motor transportation improved, more commodities and passengers were transported from the hinterland to Accra, resulting in an increase in their activities. These groups mainly were Zabarima, who combined head-load portage with trade. However, with the exception of a few successful Zabarima traders in the markets, the rest of the Zabarima had a slight proclivity to remain in Accra. These Zabarima were usually newcomers to Accra who worked under the supervision of a head porter or leader known as the *harrman* (corrupted from headman). Because they arrived earlier in the city, these *harrmen* thoroughly understood the city, particularly the lorry parks. They set the price per unit of load to be collected and kept the

money on behalf of the carriers. The harman also kept ten per cent of the price charged for performing a ‘caretaker’ role—those who stayed longer also graduated to become future headmen (Ntewusu, 2012) .

Two significant factors in the 1960s, such as the country’s general economic decline and the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, resulted in the mass expulsion of ‘aliens’ from the West African sub-region. These aliens included the Zabarima, which decreased their number in Accra and migration from other West African countries into Ghana. Overall, the colonial administrators’ porters – the ones hired by Addo, those headed by Chief Braimah, and the Zabarima *Kayakaya* men – could be described as semi-professionals whose rise in Accra was because of labour demands of the time and who had their labour rewarded.

The preceding discussions clearly show that men dominated early head-load portage in Accra. The prevalence of males in the years before 1980 could be attributed to the arduous journey porters embarked on, which resulted in the death of many who moved from the north to the south. The discussion also showed that pre-1980 male portage did not involve any technology. The following discussion will shed light on the period of female dominance in head-load portage (*kayayei*) in Accra and the use of hand-drawn carts. This period is said to have been influenced by internal and external factors about three decades ago.

2.2.4 Era of Female Porters (*kayayei*): 1980 to the Present.

From the 1980s, the predominance of men in the head-load portage business shifted to women. A few reasons account for that, and we focus on why women have become the dominant group in *kayayei* from the 1980s to date. According to studies, the current pattern of women’s predominance in head-portage resulted from many factors, including the implementation of the

World Bank-inspired structural adjustment programme (SAP) in the 1980s (Ntewusu, 2012). To Folbre (1994), their participation is partly due to the ‘social structures of constraints’ limiting their opportunities (Agyei et al., 2015).

To Clark (1994), most head porters engage in the *kaya* business because there are no “reasonable” alternatives. Bowles (2011) views the migration of *kayayei* to Accra as, in many cases, a result of gendered work and the prevalence of urban pathology. She also indicated how polygamy acts as an instrument facilitating the ease with which married women from the north migrate, mainly because they have co-wives who can quickly take over the labour tasks they leave behind. Additionally, the north’s household structure, seasonal nature, and soil structure propel head porters to take advantage of slack agricultural periods to make money in the southern cities. Overall, the consequences of uneven development, inter-ethnic conflicts, SAP, colonial policies, and poverty in the north have contributed to migrants’ perceptions that urban centres offer them more opportunities to improve their lives. This eventually led both men and women, especially those who depended on agriculture, to migrate to the southern cities to look for jobs or wage employment (See Ntewusu, 2012; Abu, 2020; Agyei et al., 2015; Bowles, 2011). This has almost become a rite of passage for people from the north and child migrants who are trying to make a living in southern cities (Kwankye et al., 2007).

2.3 The Kayayei in Accra: Experiences of Female Migrants

This section will elaborate on the *kayayei* in Accra, their categories, earnings, challenges, coping mechanisms, and the *kaya trade* benefits to female migrants.

2.3.1 Brief Profile of the Kayayei Livelihoods and Entrepreneurship in Accra

The *kayayei* constitute an essential community within the field of African market women (Bowles, 2011) and are essentially 'ubiquitous' in markets located in southern cities (Opare, 2003, p.34). This ubiquity of *kayayei*, according to Giese & Thiel (2015), is based on social relations. To them, "what is at issue is not social phenomena in space but both social phenomena and space as constituted out of social relations". In their view, the *kayayei* are entrepreneurs who are imaginatively changing their social milieu rather than as migrants fleeing domestic hardships or merely adapting to a new place (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

As already discussed, a chunk of the *kayayei* girls who engage in the *kaya* business hail from Ghana's five ethnically heterogeneous regions of Northern Ghana, with many speaking Dagomba and Mamprusi as their first language. Bowles (2011) defines *kayayei* as transporters of only goods of buyers and traders. However, Agyei et al. (2015) revealed that a few *kayayei* (11.1%) used their resting periods to engage in some petty trading activities like selling groundnuts and chilled water. Others also exchanged coins for drivers of taxis and minibuses. The study's conclusion of Agyei et al. (2015) contradicts Bowles' (2011) earlier assertion that the *kayayei* were just transporters.

The southern markets and transport stations serve as enticing locations for these young migrants who believe urban centres have relatively more significant economic, social opportunities and better wages for them to improve their lives (Bowles, 2011; Kwankye et al., 2007, p.7). In the core business district of Accra, the *kayayei* can be found gathered in large numbers in specific locations such as Rawlings Park, Makola, Tudu, Tema Station and Kantamanto market (Bowles, 2011; Ntewusu, 2012). The *kayayei* usually work for 12 hours a day, carrying heavy loads like groceries or large domestic appliances, sometimes with a child on their back or heavily pregnant or both (Abu, 2020; Hazlewood, 2015). The average *kayayei*

transports 88.3% of her body weight on her head over 1.5km in distance. In situations where the *kayayei* carries both babies and loads, they carry an average of 114.8% of their body weight (Lattof* et al., 2018).



Figure: 1. A kayayei plying their trade. Source: field, 2021

Additionally, the *kayayei* migrate for a specific purpose or to fulfil a particular ambition. For men who engaged in the *kaya* business, buying a bicycle was normally their primary goal. Bicycles were seen as a symbol of modernity and progress at the time. A return trip from the south was incomplete for northern migrants, particularly porters, without a bicycle. The high demand and the value attached to bicycles by head-load porters were due to limited motor transportation services in the north. Bicycles could also be easily exchanged for cattle, so purchasing one was a wise investment. Aside from walking, the horse was the most immediate mode of transportation. Non-royals, on the other hand, were not required to use horses. As a result, bicycles became a viable alternative to horses. The bicycle was the 'iron horse,' a stand-in for the actual horse that the royals had refused them (Ntewusu, 2012).

The technological ambition of the *kayayei* is different from that of the men. Most often, their main ambition or purpose for migrating is to buy a sewing machine. The sewing machine, to them, is symbolic of success in the *kaya* business. The sewing machine could be expected to help the *kayayei* complete an apprenticeship in the less strenuous business of sewing in their various villages. However, though some may have this intention, others have different reasons for buying the sewing machine. It is considered by some to be a necessary item among the items required for marriage. Others also buy it as a security against emergencies in order to resell it. It is either sold or used as a guarantee for a loan in the village in such cases. Aside from the desire to own a sewing machine, some *kayayei* who are yet to marry and some married *kayayei* invest in clothing and kitchen utensils. With others, their ambition in the *kaya* business is to buy marriage items, save money to pay a debt or go to school, or raise capital to start a trade (Bowles, 2011; Ntewusu, 2012). Additionally, *kayayei* who have recently given birth sometimes relocate to the cities to accumulate funds to supplement their insufficient rural earnings until their children are grown-up (Bowles, 2011).

Also, despite the pressure migration puts on limited amenities in the cities, migrating for *kaya* work produces economic liberation. Their movement within the country also offers prospects toward new ways to perceive distance, space and cultural norms (Bowles, 2011). However, the downside of this is that some of the *kayayei* may lose their sense of belonging as a result of living between two cultures, which can create a conflict of identity. According to some studies, many returnees no longer bow in front of their elders in order to show respect. Returnees also substitute makeup, nail polish, high heels, and shorter skirts for conservative, traditional items, which contradicts the lifestyle in their place of origin (Hazlewood, 2015, p.17).

The *kayayei* also use the head portage to respond to the financial challenges of their household and rural communities. Women remit wages to families and intend to return to the rural community at some point (Bowles, 2011; Agyei et al., 2015). The *kayayei* stays in the city for a short while, usually ranging from three months at least and six months or up to two years at most, because they migrate with a purpose, which, once achieved, they move back to the north (Ntewusu, 2012, p. 84; Bowles, 2011). However, some *kayayei* relocate permanently to the cities or settle down after marrying in the cities (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

The *kayayei* also enjoy recreational activities like going to the beach. On Sundays, colleague *kayayei* from Madina, Agbogbloshie, and Tema Station join those in Tudu and head straight for the Bola beach, which is about three kilometres from Tudu. According to Ntewusu (2012), Bola Beach, as the name suggests, is one of Accra's dirtiest beaches (*bola*, a Ghanaian jargon meaning *dumping site*), yet the *kayayei* prefers it as entry is for free. Also, the beach gives the *kayayei* a sense of inclusiveness among themselves while offering them some exclusivity from other ethnic groups. New migrants are taken through basic terminologies in the Twi and Ga languages at the beach to ease negotiations during their trade. On such days, their male tribesmen (Dagomba or Mamprusi) join in this leisure time. These men usually collect scrap metal or waste in the residential areas. Love is negotiated and accepted or rejected here. By 7 p.m, they return in pairs, groups, or singles, reflecting on their success, or otherwise, in finding partners (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.3.2 The Earnings of *Kayayei* in Accra

The *kaya* business over the years has served as an excellent source of building capital for young female migrants. Young girls have been encouraged to migrate to southern cities to work as *kayayei* as a result of these earnings. According to Kwankye (2012, p.542), one out of every

five male migrants in Accra and Kumasi earned GHS5.00 or more, compared to one out of every ten female migrants.

A 2014 study of 40 street hawkers and *kayayei* in Kumasi confirmed that male and female migrants earn different amounts as porters. From the study of Yeboah et al. (2014), *kayayei* earned an average daily wage of GHS 20-40 (US \$9.11–US \$18.21) on a perfect day, while some did not earn anything on a bad day. Although distances and weights carried by male and female porters may differ significantly, the female porters, especially (*kayayei*), lack proper bargaining skills, translating into lower earnings. Again, due to the sheer mass of available carriers or porters clustered at one location, the customer often wielded the bargaining power (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

Furthermore, language barriers between porters and customers adversely affect these porters' bargaining power with their customers. Vendors and customers commonly look down on head porters through the lens of ethnicity, limiting their ability to demand higher pay (Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011, p. 31; Giese & Thiel, 2015). Overall, this indicates that *kayayei* earnings depend on the market's fortunes (Agyei et al., 2015).

2.3.3 The Types of Kayayei in Accra

According to Ntewusu (2012), there are three types of *kayayei*: sitters, roamers, and caregivers. The Sitters are usually girls who assist shop owners by carrying items purchased. They are usually advantaged to be employed by specific shops in the market and benefit from the Ghanaian marketplace's deep-rooted moral obligation for superiors to apportion some of their profits to those less privileged than they are (Clark, 1994; Hazlewood, 2015; Ntewusu, 2012).

The sitters can easily be recognised by their neat appearance and their fixed positions at the shops, as they are usually not found with their head pans roaming in the hot sun or crowded markets. They are typically aged between twelve and twenty-five and sit by a store waiting for a customer to buy items, after which they carry the items to a specific location and return to the shop. The sitters can slowly graduate into sales girls if they are genuine and hardworking. However, despite the advantages, whenever money or food gets missing from the shop, the sitters are usually the first suspects. On the other hand, due to their frequent interactions with shop owners and customers, they are able to pick up the Twi and Ga languages faster than the other *kayayei* (Ntewusu, 2012, p.80). These porters primarily profit from their Accra social connections and, as a result, serve as *gatekeepers* for future newcomers (Giesea & Thiel, 2015). For example, a sitter who has earned the confidence of local store owners might introduce a related newcomer to one of these owners and encourage her to make this store her base (Giesea & Thiel, 2015).

Giesea & Thiel (2015) found that some sitters are informally employed by the Chinese shop owners in the markets. According to them, in spite of the low status of the female head porters, the Chinese employers usually treat them with more dignity than the Ghanaian employers. This arrangement, on the other hand, provides the women with a steady, albeit reduced income as well as some protection from competition. Furthermore, the additional income they earn as day labourers slightly improve their economic vulnerability as freelancers; however, in the Chinese shops, they receive no payment for days they are not present.

The Roamers are typically seen with their head pans roaming around the market and transport stations, searching for customers (Hazlewood, 2015; Ntewusu, 2012). They do not have a particular shop they sit at; neither do they have walk-in customers like the sitters. The roamers

are mainly responsible for finding and building their customer base to make ends meet. Also, because they do not know what load they will be carrying, these types are usually not well-dressed. They usually regard those who sit near stores as “lazy ones who cannot face the sun” (Ntewusu, 2012).

The Caregivers, who are usually the oldest group, make up the third category. They usually have prior motherhood experiences and thus can act as nannies. While the other *kayayei*, particularly the roamers, are out looking for customers, the caregivers take care of their children and properties. According to Bowles (2011), many *kayayei* mothers prefer to migrate along with their younger children until their toddling ages because leaving their toddlers in the village only burdens families because children are too young to take up household tasks. As a result, it is not uncommon to see some *kayayei* with their children, who may be as young as three months old. The caregivers act as wet mothers for such kids, especially if they have kids of the same age. This assistance allows the roamers to be able to go about the *kaya* business with ease. Again, it allows the roamers to manoeuvre their way through the congested business district, which would be dangerous for the children if they were tied to their mothers' backs. Caregivers are paid one Ghana cedis per child per day for taking care of them. In most cases, the number of children in care ranges from five to seven. The income generated by caring for the children is therefore quite substantial. In some rare instances, some *kayayei* get to live in private homes to perform domestic work (Hazlewood, 2015).

Additionally, these head porters have devised systems for collective or unit saving, called ‘*adashie*’ pools, whereby contributors take turns to receive the collected amounts. This becomes a form of protection, especially when a member is sick and her time for receiving the money collectively saved is due. These saving units often help them realise their goal of going

back home. However, the “shared nature of cohabitation does not directly translate into concerted economic action or decrease competition for carrying jobs” (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

However, some Roamers prefer risking carrying their babies around the markets to entrusting them with the caregivers. Some of the caregivers also carry goods from time to time, particularly when one of the roamers becomes ill and offers to look after the children. On the whole, the Sitters and Roamers make the most use of the head pan, which is essential to the *kayayei* (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.4.1 Creating Livelihood out of Survival

Power differences are very much represented in this space of social relations and are far from being egalitarian (Giese & Thiel, 2015). According to Tsing (1993), the *kayayei* work in spaces with “unequal subject position within common fields of power” (Tsing 1993, p. xi). Giese & Thiel (2015) agree with Tsing (1993), claiming that the *kayayei* are trapped in social structures and spatial orders encrusted with various seniority and power relationships that limit newcomers' entrepreneurial opportunities. Access to certain locales that lead to economic prospects is influenced by social status and relationships. Furthermore, their physical labour places them in clearly inferior socio-economic power positions in the market (Opare, 2003; Bowles, 2011). All in all, this section will highlight how cyclical movement demonstrates how the *kayayei* develop means of subsistence using their head pans in spite of these challenges in the increasingly service-oriented neoliberal economies and its advantages.

2.4.2 Plying the Kaya Trade in Accra

In the southern cities, the *kayayei* utilise their rustic household duties of gathering firewood and fetching water from long distances (Bowles, 2011). Extending and reshaping rural tasks to

urban settings demonstrate one way the *kayayei* creatively make economic opportunities despite limited spheres of work (Bowles, 2011; Das & Poole, 2004).

Secondly, transportation plays a vital role in the informal markets in West Africa. Clark (1994) ‘Onions are my Husband’ accounts point to how transportation is a key agent in selling goods for market women. According to Clark (1994), Ghanaian traders spent extended amounts of time evaluating the effect of the movement of goods on their profit margins. Agyei et al. (2015) also argue that the *kayayei* play a vital role in assisting in market distribution and exchange system. Motorized transportation has disadvantages, but most times, goods get to the market. Once goods get to the markets, the importance of human labour is evident. In other words, the importance of human transportation positively constructs portering as an easy occupation for self-employment. The *kayayei* physical labour creates a particular way of existing because *kayayei* serves as technology through mechanising their bodies to carry various loads. Their limbs are “the most immediate, nearest terrain where social facts and social contradictions” play out (Bowles, 2011).

Also, the *kayayie* not only fills the transportation gap but also takes advantage of the norms in the transport sector in Africa. For instance, women trust and prefer fellow women to men to carry goods on their bodies. Although the strength and equipment advantages make it easier for men to carry more loads, women are still preferred over men to carry their loads because they believe that men can quickly run off with their property in crowded markets (Bowles, 2011).

Additionally, the head pan serves as a tool that helps the *kayayei* to efficiently navigate their way through the thick traffic caused by both vehicles and human beings. This makes them more attractive to traders and buyers. Also, because the fees charged by *kayayei* are believed to be

quite low in comparison to the motorised system, small traders usually employ their services. One other reason for which people opt for the services of *kayayei* to vehicles is that some of the taxi drivers are selective with the goods they want to carry. Some are hesitant to carry certain goods like fish and meat under the pretext that blood from poultry stains their vehicles while fish make the vehicles smell. Some taxi and minibus (trotro) drivers prefer not to carry passengers with loads, explaining that the processes of loading and off-loading these goods slow them down, denying them the opportunity to get other passengers for whom they are competing with other drivers (Ntewusu, 2012).

Although the *kayayei* are often subject to curses and insults from traders because of their prevalence in crowded market spaces, they are a ‘necessary evil’ because the same customers who run insults on them seek the same women to carry their goods after completing their transactions (Bowles, 2011; Agyei et al., 2015). According to Bowles (2011), “head porters institute a survival way that depends on other women’s sales of goods and the need to transport them, rather than as traders directly”.

Another example of the *kayayei* constantly adapting their every practice to new opportunities is the gradual adoption of male technology facilitated by the Chinese shop owners in the markets. According to Giese & Thiel (2015), female head porters working with the Chinese traders are challenging social and transport norms by employing transport technology, specifically pushcarts, which are primarily considered a masculine realm in exclusively Ghanaian business situations. The Chinese do not only encourage the use of pushcarts, but they also provide them at no cost. Having a pushcart decreases the economic risks of the job by allowing things to be moved in more compact units and in a more stable manner. Furthermore, having access to this male-dominated technology expands the range of economic opportunities

available to these female head porters. These female head porters have begun to resist gendered power disparities as well as challenge established social structures and hierarchies by entering the male zone of vehicle transportation, a process enabled by Chinese employers (Giese & Thiel, 2015).

2.4.3 The Head Pan: An Indispensable Tool

The head pan serves as a multi-purpose tool for the *kayayei*. Not only is it cheaper to purchase, but it is also easier to obtain. Some of the *kayayei* even have the opportunity of acquiring them on credit and paying later. Buying a head pan costs about seven Ghana cedis while renting it costs about fifty pesewas per day. These prices are pretty low because old pans are typically used for this business (Ntewusu, 2012).

Upon migrating, the *kayayei* sleep in places such as the markets, transport stations or slum areas. However, these places do not have some amenities like water. The pans are therefore used to draw water to bathe themselves and their children at the close of the day (Ntewusu, 2012). Even in places with bathhouses, some *kayayei* bathe in their head pans as a way of saving money. Some *kayayei* between the ages of ten and fifteen, for example, carry lesser weights and do not earn as much money as the older ones. They can save money by bathing in the head-pans because they pay for the water and pay to use the facilities at public bathhouses (Ntewusu, 2012).

Also, the head pans serve another purpose when *kayayei* are not working. They turn them and sit on them, playing an essential role during their break time at work. In rare situations of nostalgic feelings of home, some *kayayei* occupy themselves by singing, drumming, and dancing because of recollections of home. When they get together for meals in the evenings,

they sit on their head pans and eat. On rainy days, they use the head-pan as an umbrella, flipping it over their heads to keep the rain off their skulls. Finally, and most crucially, the *kayayei* may rely on the head pan for protection. In Accra, they have used the head pan as a protective and attacking weapon. The *kayayei* use their head pans to confront and shield them from attacks by drug addicts, minibus (trotro) drivers, or AMA officials in the market (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.4.4 Networks of Kayayei

Many studies have indicated the importance and usefulness of networks in Ghana. Ungruhe (2011) contends that young women usually travel from rural areas together. It is the custom for young girls from rural areas to travel together. Lattof (2018) supports Ungruhe (2011) and Ntewusu (2012) by agreeing that networks drive North-South migration in Ghana. Migrant *kayayei* are related on the grounds of kinship, friendship, community, and tribe. *Kayayei* is inextricably linked, and this has an impact on their mobility. Relationships with current migrants influence the choice of destination for young ladies from the north considering migrating to Accra. As a result, the *kayayei* normally plan their own lodging in Accra, sleep together outside or in a shared room, look after each other's children, and provide assistance to one another. If they arrive unaccompanied, they eventually join a group of head porters from their home region, allowing them to meet with a cousin or family acquaintance who is already in the destination area (Giese & Thiel, 2015; Ntewusu, 2012; Lattof, 2018).

Also, they rely on ethnic affinities to thrive in southern cities. Ntewusu (2012), for instance, reveals that the Roamers sit in accordance with their places of origin. They, however, disintegrate into clans or families if they are many from a particular village. Two groups can be identified at Tudu Lorry Park, Tema Station, Makola: The Mamprusi and the Dagomba. (Bowles, 2011; Ntewusu, 2012). Migrant *kayayei* with broad networks in Accra are likely to

have lived in the city for an extended period or have migrated many times (Lattof, 2018, p.1022). Findings from Shamsu-Deen (2013) showed that some of the *kayayei* also have chiefs who act as caretakers of the girls in the cities. However, he did not explore the other roles beyond the caretaking duties and their significance in the *kayayei* phenomenon.

Ntewusu (2012) also looks at social interactions from a spatial perspective and the connections that exist between these different contexts. He refers to social spaces as the "backbone of contemporary communal life" since they are so crucial in furthering individual aspirations. Other academics emphasize the value of social networks as a resource that can be used in times of need, enjoyed for its own purpose, or exploited for financial advantage.

Similarly, the *kayayei* in Accra rely on the spatial position of zongos and regard them as important networks. The majority of them, for example, live in Agbogbloshie, Konkomba Market, Timber Market, and Sodom and Gomorra. These four communities came out of Old Fadama, a Zongo that was once home to Hausa but is now primarily populated by Dagomba. Because of their religious commonalities, the *kayayei* have assimilated with the Hausa (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.5 Challenges of Female Migrants and Coping Strategies

This section will explore the specific ways in which being *kayayei* shapes the kinds of experiences that these head porters access at the market in the southern cities. It will also explore their challenges and coping strategies in the market.

2.5.1 Identity of the *Kayayei*

The hierarchies of power and inequality interconnect or communicate through class, ethnicity and age (Bowles, 2011). These characterize status markers among women in urban centres in

Ghana (Robertson, 1995, as cited in Bowles, 2011). According to Bowles (2011), the level of empathy between women who work at Makola delineates along class and ethnic lines. Women around the world face certain restrictions just by being women or because of their gender. These limitations stretch further because head porters are outsiders to Accra.

These head porters are marginalized, female, from rural communities, migrants, non-natives of the southern regions, and often uneducated transporters hailing from the north. These hierarchies of power lead to a subordinate position and stigmatization of the *kayayei* since they are considered outsiders. Bowles (2011), during her PhD research, recalls the challenges and criticisms she faced from market traders who viewed her association with the *kayayei* as ruining her status and social standing as an Accra lady. She also received unsolicited advice from men in the market space about the supposedly “bad behaviour” of the *kayayei*. Overall, their cultural and religious practices, such as polygamy and the lingering perceptions of northerners as slaves, lead to further vilification and stigma of the *kayayei*.

Within the media discourse, constant humiliating images of head porters in print media with related articles talk about their “tribulations” and “self-imposed exile” in Accra. Also, their vulnerable sleeping arrangements in open markets and the vast number of *kayayei* in the markets who compete for customers' merchandise fuel the public discourse of the *kayayei* as a bother and an inconvenience (Okaitey & Malik, 2007; Bowles, 2011). “This narrative and perspective add to the social othering of the Northern Ghanaians as a whole compound the challenges the *kayayei* face in southern cities” (Bowles, 2011). It is also worth remarking that even within the *kayayei*, some ethnic disjunctions and alliances exist, as reported by Bowles (2011). A head porter described a Mamprusi *kayayei* who portered at Tema station as “sex ladies” instead of a porter.

Communication is essential in all human activities involving more than one person. The three most important languages needed for any interaction in Accra are Ga, Twi, and English. The *kayayei* must utilise one of these languages in order to practice their trade or seek assistance. Unfortunately, most of the *kayayei* cannot communicate in these languages because they differ from the languages spoken in their places of origin. Due to the *kayayei's* inability to communicate effectively in Twi, there have been numerous disputes between the *kayayei* and the customers about the remuneration required from the outset. For new arrivals to meander their way out of these challenges, they usually rely on individuals who have stayed longer for negotiations. (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.5.2 Accommodation Challenges

The *kayayei* in the urban cities do not have any proper accommodation and mostly dwell in transport stations, markets, uncompleted buildings and slum areas. According to a study by Kwankye et al. (2007), more than half of females in Accra reported spending the night on the streets, in market squares, or at transportation stations. Many of the respondents in the Malata Market, Agbogbloshie Market, Tema Station, and Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) stations shared this sentiment. Furthermore, one in every seven of their female counterparts slept in a kiosk at night; a smaller proportion of both sexes slept at relatives' or friends' homes, often without having to pay rent. This precarious condition has rendered them vulnerable to rapists and sex for shelter exchanges, which has resulted in the acquisition of infectious and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV and AIDS (Ntewusu, 2012; Shamsu-Deen, 2013). Findings by Shamsu-Deen (2013) indicate that the frequency with which the *kayayei* are sexually harassed has to do with the nature of their sleeping environment. Findings from Bowles (2011) revealed that some authority figures meant to protect the young ladies end up sleeping with them while others pay rent through sexual activities with security guards.

Also, many *kayayei* have reported having their monies stolen. Studies also report the issue of stealing of children of the *kayayei*. As a result, the *kayayei* in the Mallam Attah market have taken to sleeping with their babies tied to their legs. However, some babies, particularly toddlers, have been deformed as a result of this. Also, some of the *kayayei* give money to market security for protection in these spaces. According to Ntewusu (2012), the employment of caretakers by the *kayayei* has helped decrease such robberies.

2.5.3 Health Challenges

Studies prove majority have no fixed places of residence, exposing them to a variety of illnesses such as cough/cold, skin rashes, stomach aches, eye infections, malaria, skin disorders, cholera, and sexual and reproductive diseases (Shamsu-Deen, 2013; Ntewusu, 2012; Kuyini et al., 2020). According to the findings of a study by Shamsu-Deen, the initial age of first sex was observed to be 13 years (2013). His studies also demonstrate that a combination of economic and societal factors limit the head porters' health-seeking behaviour. Previous encounters with discrimination at health centres, as well as the uncertainty of out-of-pocket payments, hindered insured and uninsured female migrants from getting optimal health care, according to Lattof* et al. (2018).

Overall, these limitations prevented the *kayayei* from obtaining medical care, taking time away from work, registering with Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), as well as renewing their expired health insurance policies. The migrants, on the other hand, have usually coped with these health challenges through purchasing off-the-counter medicine from the pharmacy, using traditional herbs or self-medication, which seems to be more of the norm, particularly in Kumasi. Often, a *kayayoo* with symptoms usually takes medications from friends who have previously suffered similar symptoms. Visiting the hospital was the last resort

because of the challenges of accessing health care as *kayayei* (Kwankye et al., 2007; Kuyini et al., 2020).

2.5.4 Work-Related Challenges and Health Knowledge

Many *kayayei* are harassed on a daily basis by clients, older males, and police (Kwankye et al., 2007; Bermudez et al., 2018). Additionally, 34% of the *kayayei* who participated in a study by Kwankye et al. (2007) said that common ailment among them was waist and chest pain. They attribute it to the heavy loads they were carrying and the distance they walked while carrying them. The weight of the load carried, combined with bad eating habits and age, had an impact on the health of head-load carriers, with many developing spinal difficulties, headaches, and body pains, according to Owusu and Yeboah (2018). Also, many of the *kayayei* hardly eat a balanced diet or eat once or sometimes 2-3 times a day. In many cases, eating was about survival (Kuyini et al., 2020).

2.6 General Literature on Feminism and Gatekeeping: Feminism and Gatekeeping

This section will explore the literature on feminism and *gatekeeping* with a specific focus on the effect of racial or ethnic status on a specific power relationship: the relationship between gatekeepers and their clients since an essential aspect of this thesis has to do with *gatekeeping*.

2.6.1 Gatekeeping

As indicated in Chapter One, *gatekeeping* has long been a ubiquitous phenomenon spanning across societies around the globe. Gatekeepers, according to Corra (2020), are actors who manage access to benefits valued by others known as 'clients.' These actors control access to jobs, automobiles, housing, *kayayei* communities, and information. They may also include job recruitment agents, real estate agents, car salespeople, and *kayayei-gatekeepers*. In other words,

gatekeepers operate as a switchboard, deciding whether or not clients can seek advantages actively (Corra & Willer 2002).

Although a *gatekeeper's* power impacts the total amount of fees they receive, *gatekeeping* is not always tied with a fee to the *gatekeeper*. Corra (2020) argues that focusing too much attention on the fees gained by the *gatekeeper* will obscure other consequences. When the *gatekeeper* is a bureaucratic official, for example, the actions are impersonal (Weber, [1918] 1968). The bureaucrat must not charge fees for official services that benefit clients, according to the terms and conditions of their office.

Another example is when the major professor serves as a *gatekeeper* between the graduate student and the doctorate degree. In addition, the police officer serves as a *gatekeeper* between the lawbreaker and the possibility of acquittal. By regulating subordinates' access to promotions, the superior also serves as a *gatekeeper*. The “intangible fee” of deference or respect is owed in each of these instances. Refusing to pay can be as damaging to the customer as failing to pay a recruitment agency's finder's fee.

Corra (2020) goes on to say that we often take it for granted that professors, police officers, and supervisors' actions will be governed by rules and closely supervised. To put it another way, we assume that there will be no "fee paid." Nevertheless, even when no fee is charged, there may still be ordering effects. One of these effects is monitoring. Because totally illegal fees can be paid when not monitored, activities of the professor, police officer, and superior are all subject to monitoring.

Furthermore, *gatekeeper* fees come with many names. As previously stated, they may be referred to as gifts, but when the payment is illegal, such as one paid to a corrupt border guard,

it is referred to as a bribe. In the words of Corra and Willer (2002, p. 205): “Social structures are as new as the latest regulations against sexual harassment, or as old as the Censorate, which acted to centralize power by limiting bribery in ancient China (Eisenstadt, 1969 as cited in Corra, 2020), grow as a result of nefarious *gatekeeping*.”

2.6.2 Status and Gatekeeping

According to Weber, “Power” (Macht) “is the probability that an actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests” (Weber [1918] 1968, p.53; Corra, 2020). Conversely, a person’s status situation comprises all facets of their “life fate” that are influenced by a “social estimation of honour” (Weber [1916] 1968, p. 932). Weber’s analysis underscores a complex reciprocity within this relationship (Corra, 2020). According to Corra (2020), status is as important as money, and power is a micro motive for behaviour. At a macro level, status also stabilises the inequality of resources and power by translating it into cultural status ideas about who is “better” (that is, esteemed and competent) among groups.

According to Corra (2020), there are many reasons to assume that some instances of *gatekeeping* have to do with status (Corra, 2014). A book published in 2016 by Posselt with the title *Inside Graduate Admissions: Merit, Diversity, and Faculty Gatekeeping* by observed the “prevalent misuse of GRE scores” by graduate admissions committees in deciding who gets admitted or otherwise (cited in Corra, 2020). He contended that graduate admissions committees, as *gatekeepers* to elite graduate programs, “engage in some homophily, or love of same—that is, they choose [high status] people just like themselves.” (Cassuto 2016: para. 4 as cited in Corra, 2020). The consequence is that “while faculty may be fully convinced that they are guided by ethical objectives like rewarding merit and representing diversity, their

admissions practices instead sustains the status quo.” (Cassuto, 2016: para. 4 as cited in Corra, 2020). Van den Brink and Benschop (2014, p. 473), for example, assert that gender is involved in *gatekeeping* in academic settings. “When the *gatekeepers* are prevalently men, women have a hard time gaining access to desirable academic networks.” (Corra, 2020).

Similarly, in Dutch academia, Van den Brink and Benschop (2014) reveal that *gatekeeper* networking practices favour men. Hewlett et al. (2010) also opine in their book *The sponsor effect: Breaking through the last glass ceiling* that *gatekeeping* is seen to play a role in workplace gender inequality. When career advancement is, to an extent, is dependent on sponsorship, women are normally disadvantaged since most of the high-ranking "sponsors" are usually men (Corra, 2020). In effect, *gatekeeping* is an underlying factor in the prevalence of the now widely-established phenomenon of gender inequality, what Hewlett et al. (2010) refer to as the glass ceiling.

It is also worth noting that *gatekeeper* status may be earned from an already held high status (Corra and Willer, 2002). This suggests that *gatekeeping* may exacerbate (or be exacerbated by) existing status inequalities. In primaeval societies, where *gatekeeping* took the shape of patronage, activities of *gatekeeping* followed from the privileged position of the patron. The patron’s prominent position determined their ability to *gatekeep*. The *gatekeeper* had their income greatly supplemented by the donations, usually gifts, that came from clients. Corra (2020) further argues that these fees or gifts contributed to constructing the value attached to the position of the patron.

Another example to illustrate the above assertion is the “power over” (Collard & Cecilia, 2005) and “power with” (Wartenberg, 1992; as cited in Corra, 2020) conceptual differentiation, which

is respectively used to describe the leadership styles of men and women. Power is exercised unidirectionally in "power over" leadership, from the leader to subordinates. In the "power with" style, on the other hand, power is shared, making the leadership style a more collaborative and collective one (Corra, 2020).

Numerous research and theories indicate that women who occupy positions traditionally reserved for men may be resisted by subordinates as they may be regarded as breaking gender norms (Corra, 2020; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Department chairs and deans are two examples who serve as *gatekeepers*. According to research, such women receive poor evaluations from subordinates. Competent female leaders may adopt a collaborative and collective leadership style in order to avoid such opposing feedback from subordinates (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Corra, 2020). Generally, these examples suggest that low status may reduce *gatekeepers'* power.

2.6.3 Race and Societal Gatekeeping

Though gatekeeper–client relationships in modern times can take many forms, any of them can be implicated in racial or ethnic inequalities. Politicians who set legislative agendas can be classified as *gatekeepers* (Leibfried and Pierson, 1995 as cited in Corra, 2020) as much as primary-care clinicians who control their patients' access to specialists (Pena-Dolhun et al., 2001 as cited in Corra, 2020). Politicians can also influence racial or ethnic inequality by passing legislation that favours a racial and ethnic group over another.

Similarly, physicians can make racially or ethnically biased decisions that result in health inequalities (Corra, 2020). For example, the same race between physician and patient results in better healthcare delivery for racial and ethnic minorities than in cases where both physician

and patient are of a different race (Cooper et al., 2003, as cited in Corra, 2020). Real estate officials who determine prospective buyers' access to sellers can either act to perpetuate or break down housing segregation. Racial steering is a practice where real estate agents direct white customers to white neighbourhoods and black customers to black neighbourhoods, thereby maintaining racial segregation in neighbourhoods (Corra, 2020).

Furthermore, evidence shows that blacks and whites pay different prices for similar housing units (Bocian, Ernst, & Li, 2006, cited in Corra, 2020). For example, homebuyers of Black and Latino origin pay higher interest rates than whites with comparable credit ratings (Bocian, Ernst, & Li., 2006, as cited in Corra, 2020). In like manner, white households in boundary (integrated) areas pay about 7% less in rent than black households in the same areas (Corra, 2020).

Many *gatekeeping* functions have been established and professionalised in recent years. Private employment agencies manage access of potential employees to employers (Corra, 2020), with the employers, employees, or both paying some fees for the service rendered. Depending on how that control is applied, it can either contribute to or reduce occupational stratification based on race or ethnicity. Agents are also described as *gatekeepers* because they provide access to external benefits related to their professional role and client relationships (Corra & Willer, 2002). The study's findings indicated the effects of practices, some being heinous and discriminatory, but they did not explain how the effects came about. However, Corra's (2020) recent study extends that analysis to explain how these effects manifest by providing answers to the question as to whether race diminishes the power of black *gatekeepers* of white clients or whether race increases the power of white *gatekeepers* of black clients.

According to the results of his experiments, racial status does indeed devalue the power of black *gatekeepers* of white clients. It also significantly demonstrates that the power of black *gatekeepers* of white clients is completely eliminated. Black *gatekeepers* have essentially "settled" for equal exchange ratios of division. However, while White gatekeepers' control over Blacks was enhanced by racially-influenced status, the effect was insignificant, far insignificant than would have been expected from well-documented field studies. According to this study, Blacks in the United States are disadvantaged by *gatekeeping* as well as other race-related conditions. Overall, Corra's (2020) analysis demonstrates that *gatekeepers* of low status have their power mitigated by influence. It also reveals that power and influence work against a client of low status under a *gatekeeper* of high status.

2.7. General Literature Feminist Theories: Framing Gender and Power structures

This segment gives a quick rundown of the feminist theory on which this dissertation is premised. It also discusses the issues of dualism, categorization and the terms sex and gender briefly. Since an essential aspect of this thesis has to do with the aspect of power and power structures, the connection between gender and power is discussed, followed by a section on intersectional theory.

2.7.1 Feminist Theory

There is no single "feminist theory"; but instead a broad spectrum of viewpoints that have frequently clashed with one another. As a result, feminists favour plurals in terms of theories, views, and the theorizing process (Osmond & Thorne, 1993). A feminist theory, according to Linda Gordon (1979, p. 107), "is an analysis of women's subordination to figure out how to

change it". This term combines three themes: a focus on females and their experiences; an acknowledgement that women under current societal arrangements are subordinated or oppressed; and dedication to eradicating that unjust subordination (1979, p. 107 as cited in Osmond & Thorne, 1993). These concerns have developed a fourth central theme: the importance of gender and gender relations in all aspects of social life, including the men's and women's lives. In short, feminist theories are focused on politics and social action. Also, feminist philosophy has been accessible to a chorus of theoretical voices since it is part of a political movement (Osmond & Thorne, 1993).

The discourse within feminist and gender theory about the division of the terms sexes/genders is broad. Firstly, the need to categorize humans in these (most of the cases) two groups according to particular biological attributes is challenging for many modern feminist theorists (Helander, 2015). Secondly, the differences between gender and sex are widely discussed and have changed throughout the times (Lindeborg, 2012, p.47; Helander, 2015). The classification itself is also a necessary condition for constructing gender. However, many modern feminists view this as linked with female subordination, lack of control and limitation in their identity construction. However, categorization can work as a tool for analysis.

This study finds it necessary to use groupings as a tool for the analysis while being aware of some problems related to groupings and the considerable risk of creating new myths to visualize power structures. This study opts for uncomplicatedness in the use of gender and sex, just as Lindeborg (2012, p.44) and Lla'cer et al. (2007) view gender as the social construction of sex.

The gendered power dynamics traces its origin from a feminist theory on which this thesis is premised. This study will identify and acknowledge these gendered power differences and the interrelated gender roles. Gender roles became a cornerstone in this study since both previous types of research have acknowledged that women's roles in society and transport stations in Ghana are gendered. Previous feminist geographers, such as Forsberg (2003, p.24 as cited by Helander, 2015), recognize the division as gendered spaces: the 'private sphere of the women (home, family and household issues) and the 'public' sphere of the men (waged work and formal political activity).

Other feminist scholars built a sex/gender analysis upon a Marxist foundation, a material base, and invented the concept of reproduction as a 'sister' category to production (Lindeborg, 2012, p.57). These are, of course, consequences of dualistic labelling. For this reason, this study wants to underline and emphasize that it should be understood as an analytic tool rather than a definite fact. Based on this discussion and to visualize the realities of women, this concept will be used as a tool for the analysis.

2.7.2 Origin of Feminism

The first-wave feminists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to Lorber (2001), battled hard for rights that we now take for granted. The concept of equality that nineteenth-century feminists used in their campaign for women's rights were derived from liberal political thought, which indicated that all men should be treated equally under the law and that no one should be granted special privileges or rights.

Indeed, when the United States of America was created, that concept of equality excluded enslaved men and restricted menservants because they were not regarded as independent

citizens. All women, regardless of their social rank, were not free either. Their legal standing was similar to that of teenagers—financially reliant on and borrowing their social rank from their dad or spouse. In Ibsen's renowned play *A Doll's House*, Nora faked her deceased father's signature because she could not legally sign her name to the loan she needed to save her sick husband's life (Lorber, 2001).

Since then, there have been numerous waves of feminism. The first-wave feminism's objective was to achieve equal rights for women, especially the right to franchise. At that time, feminists were labelled suffragists. In the United States, women did not gain the right to vote until 1919. After World War I, many European countries also granted women the right to vote to repay their war services. “French women, however, did not have that right until after World War II. This was made possible when Charles de Gaulle enfranchised women as a form of gratitude for their central role in the underground fight against the Nazis and the collaborationist government of occupied France” (Lorber, 2001).

The Chinese and Russian revolts of the early twentieth century provided women equal rights, even though they condemned the individualism of "bourgeois feminism." Their main focus was on work in the collective economy, prenatal care and childcare given by the state so women could be both employees and mothers. After World War II, countries in Africa, Asia, Central and South America broke free from colonial rule and established independent governments. Thus, granting females the right to franchise (Lorber, 2001). However, in some Muslim countries, females are still unable to vote, leave the house without their husbands' approval, drive cars, or appear publicly without their veils. In the first wave of feminism, franchise was the primary objective, but property, wages, and higher education rights—many of which were given by the end of the nineteenth century—provided women with a chance for economic

independence. These privileges were crucial in lifting married women's position or status from childlike reliance on their spouses and providing widows and single women with a means of living independently rather than as a poor relation in their spouses or brother's or son's household. In the initial part of the twentieth (20th) century, liberated women included autonomous factory girls who toiled all day and went dancing at night and middle and upper-class, erudite women who had "Boston marriages" (were housemates for life) (Lorber, 2001).

Another branch of nineteenth-century feminism concentrated on a woman's freedom to "own" her body and plan her pregnancies rather than equal rights. A twentieth-century feminist struggle that was as fierce and on par with the fight for suffrage was the campaign for legal contraception that a woman could control. Women could not be free to be excellent mothers and spouses, mainly if they were poor or had multiple children (Lorber, 2001).

Also, doctors were banned from fitting women with diaphragms or cervical caps (the pioneers of the coil and the pill). It was even illegal to send information over state lines. Traditionalists feared the family's demise would be due to married women's widespread use of contraception. Feminists, on the other hand, were scared that men would sexually exploit single ladies who were safeguarded from pregnancy. For women, the long battle for authorized woman-controlled contraception had resulted in greater sexual freedom before marriage and Planned Parenthood after marriage (Lorber, 2001).

The second feminist movement, sometimes known as the second wave, emerged. A post-World War II movement began to take shape with the publication in France in 1949 of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. This intriguing explanation of women's historical and current place in the Western World contends that men set the standards and ideals. Women are viewed

as the ‘Other’, who lack the characteristics the dominants show. Males play the role of actors, while females play the role of reactors. As a result, men are always the first sex, while women are always the second sex. De Beauvoir believed that men's supremacy and women's subjugation are social constructs, not biological facts. Although *The Second Sex* was prevalently read, the second wave of feminism did not emerge as a formal political movement until the 1960s, when young people openly criticised many aspects of Western society (Lorber, 2001).

Over the years, third-wave feminism has arisen and has contributed to social change by concentrating on how women continue to be more socially disadvantaged than men by evaluating the sexual oppression women face and suggesting interpersonal, political, and legal solutions. Within the third wave of feminism, the theory of intersectionality, coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1989), emerged. Because the primary goal of this study is to explore the *kayayei* phenomenon, this theory will be used to illustrate the multiple identities the *kayayei* hold and how it impacts their relationship with the *gatekeepers*.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.8 Introduction

This study is based on the convergence of two theories: Intersectionality and Social Dominance Theory. The study adapts the Theory of Intersectionality to explain the phenomenon of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationship. The origins, characteristics, strengths, flaws, and relevance of Intersectionality and the Social Dominance Theory are discussed in detail in this chapter.

2.8.1 The Concept of Intersectionality

The terms ‘matrix of dominations’ and ‘Intersectionality’ have become buzzwords in the debates of power relations and emancipation struggles (Patriarchy) (Dupuis-Déri, 2016). The word ‘intersectionality’ comes from the American English word for the crossing of roads: ‘intersection’, similar to the British English word ‘junction’, has achieved much ground as a name for these intra-actions and meeting of different social categories such as gender/sex, race/ethnicity, class, age/generation, and disability and other power differentials and identity markers since the early 1990s (Lykke, 2010).

According to Lykke (2010), Intersectionality is a theoretical and methodological tool used to analyse how historically specific kinds of power differentials or constraining normativities, based on discursively, institutionally, and structurally constructed sociocultural classifications such as gender, ethnicity, age, interact, resulting in different kinds of societal inequalities and unjust social relations. Intersectionality can be defined as Dominance/Subordination, Inclusion/Exclusion, Power/Disempowerment, Possession/Dispossession, Privilege/Lack of Privilege, Majoritizing/Minoritizing, and so on, depending on the theoretical framework used (Lykke, 2010, p.51).

This study is mainly premised on Patricia Hill Collins’ work on Intersectionality Theory and Black Feminist thought. Collins developed a framework for comprehending Black women’s lived experiences concerning what she calls the “Matrix of Domination” (Collins, 1990). This term describes the overall organization of hierarchical power relations for any society by concentrating on the unique forms of oppression and exploitation that Black Women face in North America based on the interlocking nature and intersecting systems of oppression such as

racism, sexism, classism, gender, ethnicity, status, age, sexuality, religion, among others, that organize their lives.

Instead of beginning with a single category, such as gender, and then adding in others such as age, sexual orientation, race, social class, and religion, Hill Collins sees these unique systems of oppression as parts of a single broad structure of domination (1990) and a particular organization of its domains of power, such as, disciplinary, hegemonic, structural, and interpersonal (Collins, 2006). Matrix means the environment or context in which something such as a society develops. The environment can be cultural, social or political.

2.8.2 Origin of Intersectionality

The Intersectionality and Matrix of Domination theories, which black feminists first created, is one of, if not the most, noteworthy innovations in social sciences and activism in recent decades. The ‘buzz’ (Lutz et al., 2011, p9) around Intersectionality mainly is such that its ‘extraordinary fame’ has become a topic of analysis in itself (Davis, 2011). Intersectionality’s historical roots have been traced back to the 19th century when activists like Sojourner Truth and Anna J. Cooper began to draw attention to the problematic circumstances women of colour were challenged with concerning their lives. However, Intersectionality was coined by Kimberly Crenshaw, a law professor, social theorist, civil rights activist, and significant scholar of critical race theory. She coined it in 1989 in her seminal critique of US anti-discrimination law and its failure to recognise Black women’s distinctive experiences of racism and sexism as simultaneous and intertwined. She used the term Intersectionality to illustrate the marginalized communities because she felt that neither the feminist nor the anti-racist movements were doing enough to help women of colour overcome their problems.

With the metaphor of intersections, of roads crossing each other, Crenshaw intended to build an appropriate tool for analysing, resisting prejudice and exclusion of women of colour. Her main argument was that women of colour situation become distorted by political initiatives built on conventional politics, founded around resistance to only one power differential (Lykke, 2010, p.74). The image of roads crossing demonstrates how identity politics and anti-discrimination policies take either gender/sexism or race/racism into account, but not both simultaneously and how they overlook the issue of women of colour.

According to Crenshaw, to conduct a practical Intersectional analysis, it is essential to structurally analyse how power differentials around gender, race and ethnicity are intertwined with each other. She defined Structural Intersectionality by explaining women of colour's positions within overlapping systems of oppression and Political Intersectionality by displaying how both feminist and antiracist policies have added to concealing brutality towards women of colour. The issue, she claims, lies not with the existence of these social categories but with the ideals associated with them and how they are employed to generate social hierarchies.

Progressively, more feminist theorists have expanded the concept of Intersectionality within feminist theory, such as Collins (1998). Collins uses an intersectional perspective to examine how race, gender, and class interact in people's lives. At times, one can appear to be more important than the other, but they all overlap and impact one another. The most prominent categories and those with the most direct socio-economic effects are race, class, and gender/sex (Burgess-Proctor, 2006, p37). These visible categories have many names, such as the 'big three' (Hearn, 2011, p89; Dupuis-Déri, 2016). They dominate, according to Collins, the "newer" categories, such as age, ethnicity, belief, disability, nationality, culture, language,

religion, age, socio-economic class, skills, geographic location, Migrant, indigenous, displaced person status, among others also form part of the matrix (Dupuis-Déri, 2016).

2.8.3 Strengths of the Intersectionality Theory

The matrix of domination is essential to comprehending power relations, oppression, and social domination. It “ensures densely configured identities that take shape around people’s diverse subject positions as concurrently privileged and oppressed individuals” (Rogers & Lott, 1997, p.498; Azab, 2011). For example, there are specific ways that being *kayayei* shapes the kinds of experiences the head porters access at the market in the southern cities. The Matrix of Domination Theory also suggests that the *kayayei-gatekeepers* relationship could be viewed as a system of dominance, one that is linked or intertwined with other systems and impacts the *gatekeepers* as much as they influence the *kayayei*.

2.8.4 Relevance and Application to the Study

The usefulness of such a perspective is that it begins to peel away at the many layers of power and control, oppression and resistance, exploitation and injustice that shape Black women’s everyday worlds and the “intersecting oppressions” that constitute them (p. 89). First, the *kayayei* women hold complex and intersecting identities--female, migrant, Muslim, marginalized young people, and from rural northern Ghana (Collins, 1990, p.89; Ali, 2018).

Also, they work in spaces with “unequal subject position within common fields of power” (Tsing, 1993, p. xi). The labour of physical services leads to distinctly lower roles and status of socioeconomic power in the market (Opore, 2003), leading to experiencing multiple forms of oppression. Collin’s understanding of a matrix of domination offers a theoretical standpoint from which to begin analysing their collective experiences due to their ethnicity, religion, and

Northern Ghana patriarchy. The matrix of domination primarily addresses the subject matter of patriarchy which underpins the unequal gender power relationships between the *kayayei* and their *gatekeepers* in Tema Station (Collins, 1990).



2.8.5 Weaknesses of the Intersectionality Theory

However, Intersectionality Theory falls short insofar as it does not consider how Western systems of domination occur within the “third world or developing nations” in ways that are different from North American society. Notably, within postcolonial contexts, matrices of domination are primarily constituted by relations of war, States, displacement, and poverty linked to histories of Western colonialism, slavery, imperialism, and domination (Ali, 2018; Mekgwe, 2008). These histories and cultural norms brought over to Southern Cities by the *kayayei* impact their lives. This is something Collin’s theory of Intersectionality is unable to address thoroughly.

Also, categories and locations that determine people’s lived experiences and the formation of social relations on the African continent may differ significantly from the staples of race, class, and gender (Oyewumi, 2004) that form part of Collin’s Matrix of Domination. Again, it is primarily limited by Western cultural value systems that are based solely on the socio-historical context of American society, thereby marking, by its very construct, “the limits of ‘outsider within’ positionality” (Davies, 2007, p. 13 as cited in Ali, 2018). As a result, the subjective migratory experience of the Ghanaian female *kayayei* is flattened by an essentialist, Westocentric logic of a particular Black female identity that fails to take into account how colonialism primarily affects Black women’s location within the Matrix of Domination. In African contexts, social status, such as marital status and career, for example, might be key identity categories independent of class (Oyewumi, 2004).

In order to apply Collins’s concept of “the Matrix of Domination” to the lived experiences of young *kayayei* women in relationship with their *gatekeepers* in Tema Station, we have first to recognise the internal and external forms of oppression and discrimination that these women

are subjected to: not only do they have to navigate ethnic bias, islamophobia in Ghanaian society, but they must also resist patriarchal norms within Northern Ghana culture, which puts intense pressure on them to find ways to resist and subvert these complex systems of oppression (Ali, 2018). Overall, this section explained the Concept of Intersectionality, its origins, strengths and where it falls short. The following section will complement it with the Social Dominance Theory to fully understand the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationship and the hold these *gatekeepers* have on the *kayayei*, and why the *kayayei* buy into it. It also reveals the way the *gatekeepers* mirror society.

2.8.6 Social Dominance Theory and Gendered Power Bases

Advocates of the Social Dominance Theory contend that all human societies are made up of social hierarchies, with certain groups being systematically favored over others. Because hierarchies within society are based on particular social categories (e.g. religion, gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality), subordinate groups increasingly face prejudice institutionally and interpersonally on several counts of their daily lives (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This theory acknowledges and describes the dynamics of gender-based power disparities at both the institutional and individual levels and their implications.

This hypothesis has been used to explain persisting disparities of groups based on gender, ethnicity, and other marginalized social categories affecting varied populations. This theory, for example, has lately been used to investigate the relationship between gendered power patterns and women's capacity to use various contraceptives and their risk for HIV infection (Bass & Richards, 2012; Uddin, 2014).

2.8.7 Propositions of the Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

The SDT postulates that in any society, humans have a tendency to develop three types of group-based hierarchies: Age-based, Gender-based and a third category called Arbitrary-Set systems. Socially constructed categories such as race, ethnicity, or socially created group variance fall under the Arbitrary-Set system category. Dominant and subordinate groups occur in all categories, especially in the third category of socially created group distinctions—Arbitrary-Set Systems.

The dominant groups hold an unequal portion of positive social value items, like political influence and power, lovely residences, good health care, riches, and high social status. On the other hand, negative social value elements, such as low-status occupations and gender, inadequate medical care and modest or terrible housing, are absorbed disproportionately by the subordinate groups. This creates a hierarchical structure in which the dominant group is on top and the subordinate group at the bottom (Erika, 2017, P.147).

Second, SDT indicates that human group-based hierarchies are dynamic; they will keep restructuring themselves and adapting based on the contours of the dominant group in order to reify the position of the dominant group. Group based hierarchies sustain themselves via a combination of “aggregated institutional discrimination, aggregated individual discrimination and behavioural asymmetry.” Aggregated individual discrimination has to do with individual acts of discrimination—occasionally unintentional and influenced by implicit bias— against another individual. Behavioural asymmetry suggests that the dominant and subordinate groups work in concert to sustain the existing arrangement. The dominant group remains at the pinnacle, and the subordinate group is at the bottom (Erika, 2017). In other words, behavioural asymmetry suggests that people who belong to the subordinate group do not act in self-serving

ways but rather engage in ways that help maintain the existing state of affairs due to their lack of power. On the whole, the propounders of SDT claim that discrimination across the three levels mentioned above—individual, institutional, and behaviour asymmetry—“is harmonised to favour dominant groups over subordinate groups [through] legitimizing myths or societal, consensually shared social ideologies.”

Legitimizing myths are known as “consensually shared ideologies (including stereotypes, attributions, cosmologies, predominant values or discourses, shared representations) that organize and justify social relationships.” Legitimizing myths ultimately serve to convince people that the present quo is acceptable and desirable despite its disparate effects on low-status groups. For example, in Northern Ghana, it is widely held that females should be protected and taken care of by men (i.e., benevolent sexism, patriarchy, primordial sentiments) (Glick et al., 2000). Such benevolent sexism puts women in a weaker position and serves to perpetuate unequal power relationships between *kayayei* -gatekeepers in Tema Station.

2.8.8 Relevance and Application of the Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

Within the Social Dominance school of thought, Pratto and Walker (2004) presented four bases of gendered power. Resource control, consensual beliefs, force, and social obligations are among these bases. These four sources of gendered power can be used as a lens to examine how these bases influence the *gatekeepers'* hold on the *kayayei* women in a hierarchical society dominated by patriarchy, religious beliefs, and an embedded cultural value system.

2.8.9 Weaknesses of the Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

SDT has been criticized for unnecessarily "psychologizing" social and structural forms of oppression. Critics have pointed out that dominance structures are discussed largely as issues of belief reproduction. In reality, SDT actively confronts the issue of how these structures are

internalized by actors while not denying the existence of structural variables. The circumstances under which such systems can be altered, rejected, or changed by specific actors, however, remains an open area of research for SDT (Gazi, 2014).

2.8.10 Conclusion

This second chapter begins with a brief definition of terms related to gender and migration. It also provides an in-depth analysis of the current trends and patterns of migration globally and in Ghana. The second theme examines the history of head portorage in sub-Saharan Africa and Ghana. The third theme delves more into the experiences and difficulties faced by *kayayei*, taking into account their gender and other variables. The fourth thematic area explored brief literature on feminism and gatekeeping. The final section explored the two theoretical frameworks adopted and how they can be applied to understand the relationship between the *kayayei* and the *gatekeepers* in Tema Station.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section discusses the methodology used to attain the study's objective. It will explain the broader considerations and reasoning behind the selected research method and the central tenets. There will be a clarification on how this study used the technique selected and a discussion of the ethical viewpoint that guided the collection of data and analysis. Finally, a discussion of validity and trustworthiness is included. The central goal of this research is to figure out who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon. The study's specific objectives are: (1) to evaluate the gender-power dynamics of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships. (2) to assess the interests, winners, and losers in the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships.

Tema Station was chosen as a case study because Tema Station serves as an entry to the market and a locus of gender signification and sexuality (Seligmann, 2004; Bowles, 2011). Not only is it one of the largest bustling stations housing over a thousand *kayayei*, but it is located at the centre of Accra, approximately 1.1-2.1 km from some of the oldest and largest markets in Central Accra (such as Tudu, Makola, and Kantamanto near the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) Market). The economic position of Tema Station makes it an essential arena for the forging of relationships and the playing out of struggles between men and women; between okada riders and the police; between big and small traders; between *kayayei* and their customers; between *gatekeepers* and the *kayayei*; Between the *gatekeepers*, the *kayayie* and the nonprofit organizations (Clark, 1994).

3.2 Research Approach

The science of studying how scientific research is carried out or a method for systematically solving a research problem is known as a research methodology. Conducting research, according to Kothari (2004), entails engaging in “scientific investigation”. To do this, a researcher needs a methodology that aids in making a theoretical analysis of the study and determining how valid and reliable the whole study is. The research methodology also directs a study by determining which procedures and instruments to use, the logic behind the procedures used, and a justification for why a particular method was used in the study context. It is also worth mentioning that research methodological approaches can differ depending on the type and goals of the study.

There are three key approaches to research, namely the qualitative, quantitative, and in between them is the mixed method. It is worth noting that every research approach comes from a philosophical worldview of knowledge claim (Creswell, 2009). Quantitative Research tests objective hypotheses by probing the connection between the variables (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). These variables, in turn, can be measured, usually on instruments, so that numbered data can be analysed using statistical processors. Researchers who subscribe to this worldview believe the world are guided by specific laws or theories that need to be tested and refined to comprehend it fully. Thus, the procedure begins with a hypothesis, collects evidence to either support or reject the hypothesis, and revise the hypothesis or theory before additional tests are carried out (Creswell, 2009).

Again, Quantitative Research depends heavily on scientific proof, such as trials and surveys, to show the exact nature of how society works. It uses the assumptions of scientific research

or empirical science, which believes that cause determines effects. They, therefore, identify and assess causes that influence outcomes (Creswell, 2009).

Quantitative research, like qualitative research, relies heavily on scientific evidence, such as trials and surveys to demonstrate the precise nature of how communities operate. It is based on scientific or empirical science assumptions, which hold that cause causes consequence. As a result, they uncover and evaluate factors that influence outcomes (Creswell, 2009).

All in all, this approach concentrates on carefully measuring (or experimentally manipulating) a small set of variables to answer theory-guided research questions and hypotheses (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This knowledge claim also acknowledges that the researcher's theories, background, knowledge, and values can influence what is observed (Creswell, 2009).

On the other hand, Qualitative Research is a method for investigating and comprehending the meaning individuals or groups attach to a social or human problem. This study is based on Constructivism or Social Constructivism (often merged with Interpretivism) perspective or worldview, commonly viewed as an approach to qualitative research. Social Constructivists believe that people desire comprehension of the world in which they live and work. People also interpret their own experiences in subjective ways. Using this approach, my goal was to explore the variety of views and diverse interpretations that individuals make of their experiences instead of reducing meanings into a few categories or ideas. This helped me make sense of the meanings and complexity of views individuals have regarding the *kayayei-gatekeepers* relationship in Tema station. Therefore, I relied heavily on the participants' perspectives on the situation under investigation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Also, according to Creswell and Creswell (2018), the meanings individuals often make of their experiences are subjective and are negotiated historically. They are not simply engraved on individuals but are shaped by their interaction with others (hence Social Constructivism) and through historical and cultural conventions that govern their lives. Because meaning is primarily determined by historical, social, and cultural factors, context is a vital meaning determiner. Thus, this study focused on the unique contexts in which they work to comprehend the participants' historical and cultural surroundings (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Qualitative researchers are also aware that their personal, cultural, and historical experiences influence their interpretation; as a result, they immerse themselves in the study to understand how these experiences influence their interpretation. Inquirers build a theory or pattern of meaning inductively rather than starting with a theory (as in postpositivism). Qualitative researchers' inquiry strategies include Ethnography, Narrative Research, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory Studies, and Case Studies.

Despite the above difference in worldviews or epistemologies, qualitative and quantitative methods are not as individually distinct as they look and should not be perceived as rigid, opposites, or dichotomies rather, they should be viewed as representing different ends on a continuum (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). As a result, choosing one against the other can be an arduous task. It involves a compromise between the breadth and generalisation of the quantitative method and the detail of qualitative research (Asher & Miller, 2012, p. 3 as cited in Abu, 2020). A study is likely to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa.

While qualitative research tends to generate hypotheses, that is, aiding an inquirer in making informed guesses regarding how or why a process happens, quantitative research, on the other hand, tends to test hypotheses and helps the researcher determine how accurate such an informed guess is across a given population. To some authors, the most apparent difference between qualitative research and quantitative research is the use of words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative), or even better, the use of closed-ended questions and responses (quantitative hypotheses) or open-ended questions and responses (qualitative interview questions) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In other words, a researcher doing a quantitative study seeks to answer the explanatory question "how," whereas a qualitative researcher seeks to answer the exploratory question "why" (Biggam, 2015).

From the above deliberations, quantitative research is premised on the hypothesis generated by qualitative research. This background agrees with Creswell (2009) and Creswell & Creswell (2018), suggesting that qualitative and quantitative approaches are ends to a continuum. Both approaches play supportive roles and therefore are equally relevant. Each has its unique and distinct purpose to perform. Likewise, both methods have their advantages and disadvantages. Between the two distinct approaches are the multiple methods of research, popularly known as Mixed Methods Research.

This Mixed-Method rests in the centre of this continuum because it incorporates components of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a research study. This implies that the strength of both quantitative and qualitative approaches are combined in one study. Overall, my choice of qualitative research method over other methods is informed by several compelling reasons. First, analysing power relationships and using feminist theories require a methodological approach consistent with the theory. A feminist methodology directs the focus

on marginalized groups. A qualitative method enables a deeper understanding of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationship in a research area like this one. Also, the qualitative research method is the best method when investigating a phenomenon in its natural setting and attempting to comprehend social processes in context (Esterberg, 2002). The study's goal was to figure out who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* were and their role in the *kayayei* phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Secondly, utilizing a qualitative approach allows the researcher to explore phenomena that are difficult to extract or learn about using traditional research methods, such as sensations or thought processes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To completely comprehend the *gatekeepers'* function in the *kayayei* reality, I investigated *kayayei* and NGO perceptions and actual experiences dealing with them for this study.

Finally, the qualitative research approach fits the motivation of this study which is to understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon. To achieve this, I immersed myself in their activities to discover and examine their lived experiences. According to Whitehead (2004), qualitative research methods have the advantage of better assessing context, process, and socio-cultural meaning that underlie human behaviour. Hence to understand the context of this relationship, I will use a case study methodology, a qualitative research method. The following section discusses the sample size, target demographic, type of research design, place of information gathering, data collection tools, and ethical considerations to consider when conducting the study.

3.2 Research Design

A successful research project necessitates the preparation of a research design. When conducting a study, the researcher not only selects a quantitative, mixed-methods or qualitative study to conduct; the researcher also chooses a study type within these three choices. Research designs are the types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches that provide detailed guidance for research study procedures (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Others have referred to them as inquiry strategies, while others view them as a plan and structure designed to answer research questions or solve problems. The plan here refers to the entire study scheme or programme of the research. It also comprises an outline of what the investigator will do, from developing the hypotheses and their operational implications to the final data analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Kumar, 2011; Leavy, 2017).

Raj (1992) indicated that a research design is an amount of information to be gathered during the study. It includes the complete process of locating, gathering, and analysing data to achieve the study's primary goal. The viewpoint is that a research design is a planned procedure of reaching conclusions from a broader perspective to a complete gathering and analysis of data (Creswell, 2009).

In addition, Biggam (2015) and Bryman (2016) are of the view that a research design is how a researcher chooses to conduct a study empirically; either through quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods. Overall, a research design is vital since it helps in: adhering to the research goals, determining the total cost involved, deciding on the time allocated for the study, and knowing the sources from which information can be gathered. In other words, having a research design helps collect relevant evidence with reduced expenditure, effort, time, and money (Kothari, 2004). This study, therefore, adopts a qualitative case study design (under the

qualitative research method) as espoused by (Creswell 2009; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The case study approach is useful for generating unique insights into phenomena that have been understudied (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and for generating rich details of the phenomena we aim to understand (Eisenhardt, 1989). My goal is to use this approach to go deep and illuminate the entanglement and granularity of experiences as they are enmeshed in power relations, resulting in a multi-faceted understanding of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomena. The case study method gives background and specifics to illuminate the *kayayei's* intricate relationship with their *gatekeepers*.

A case study approach is an accepted research design used extensively in various disciplines, particularly the social sciences. Many well-known case study researchers have written extensively about case study research, defined it in many ways, and offered advice on organising and executing such research successfully. However, the central tenet of a case study is the need to investigate an event or phenomenon in depth and in its natural, real-life setting using multiple sources. This is why it is frequently called a "naturalistic" design, as opposed to an "experimental" design (such as a randomised controlled trial) in which the investigator seeks to exert control over and manipulate the variable(s) of interest. Also, the role of the researcher is personal in case study research.

For the purpose of this dissertation research, I relied primarily on definitions offered by modern case study methodologists Merriam (1998), Stake (1995), Yin (2009) and Creswell (2002). For Merriam (1998), a case study design is used to acquire a thorough knowledge of the incident and its meaning for everyone concerned. The interest is in the process rather than results, in context rather than a single variable, in discovery rather than validation. For Yin (2009, p. 18), a case study is “an empirical inquiry investigating a current phenomenon in depth and within

its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident.’’

Creswell (2002) defines a case study as "an in-depth exploration of a bounded system (e.g., an activity, event, process, or individuals) centred on extensive data collection" (p. 485). Creswell recommends case study as a methodology if the problem to be studied "relates to developing an in-depth understanding of a 'case' or bounded system" (p. 496) and if the purpose is to understand "an event, activity, process, or one or more individuals" (p. 496). Creswell (2007: 73) describes a case as ‘a bounded system’ (for one case) or ‘multiple bounded systems’ (for more than one). What he means by bounded is that the researcher makes unambiguous statements in the research objectives about the focus and the extent of the research. “Bounded can also mean that the case is separated for research in terms of time, place, objectives or some physical boundaries” (p. 485). Stake (2000) also defines a case study as the study of a "bounded system" (p. 436). Additionally, a case study can concentrate on a variety of different things. A case could be an individual, a group, a school, or a community (Merriam, 1998), or a case could also include "a program, events, or activities" (Creswell, 2002, p. 485).

The bounded system of this study is to understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon in Accra’s Tema Station. The boundary of the cases is determined by my research objectives and the relevant stakeholders I collaborated with to understand the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomenon.

Also, case study research is suitable or lends itself well for answering questions or capturing more explanatory information that starts with how who, what, and why (Yin, 2009). For my current study, I broadened my understanding of who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and their role

in the *kayayei* reality by asking the following why questions: (a) why are *gatekeepers* so prevalent in the *kayayei* industry, and what role do they perform? (b) what are the power and gender dynamics that govern the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships? (c) What are the interests of the gatekeepers, and why are they important?

Additionally, case studies are particularly well suited for investigating events occurring in a contemporary context or when the researcher has little control over events. According to Nayak and Singh (2015), the case study technique allows the researcher to comprehend the mentality of a specific group (understanding why they behave the way they do), as well as collect comprehensive data for the research (getting an excellent picture of the entire situation). Furthermore, employing a case study allows an inquirer to obtain an accurate account of an individual's subjective feelings (internal conflicts, pressures, and inspiration) that governs his or her attitude towards specific occurrences (Kothari, 2004).

Overall, the above strengths of the design make it the best for undertaking my current study, which is occurring in a contemporary context and is vital for acquiring individuals' experiences and subjective feelings about the *kayayei-gatekeepers*. However, it is worth noting that research techniques that can be employed in service of the study of cases know no intellectual boundaries and include what is widely regarded as both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Also, there are different types or kinds of case study designs and units of analysis (the unit of analysis hinges on the primary research questions). The researcher's first decision concerns whether their research will be based on single or multiple case studies. Depending on the study or the issue or phenomenon in question, researchers can choose to adopt a single or multiple

case study. In multiple case studies, the researcher studies multiple cases to understand the differences and the similarities between the cases (Stake, 1995).

Again, the researcher can choose to analyse the data both within each situation and across situations (Yin, 2003). Using multiple case study designs has many advantages, including creating reliable and robust evidence (Baxter & Jack, 2008) and creating a more convincing theory, especially when the suggestions are more intensely grounded in several empirical evidence. Thus, multiple cases permit wider exploration of research questions and theoretical evolution (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Gustafsson, 2017). In addition, the multiple-case design method is particularly beneficial when analysing situations from multiple contexts. However, the downside of using multiple case studies is that it can be enormously expensive and time-consuming to implement (Baxter & Jack, 2008). On the other hand, singular case studies focus on one set of contextual conditions or a single case rather than the repetition of study over multiple case designs (Tellis, 1997).

This dissertation adopts the single case study design because of so many compelling reasons. First, the study or research at hand involves only a single case (role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers*) investigated in Tema station. A single case design was the best for this study because the single case study design ensured an in-depth portrayal and detailed description and analysis to understand better “how” and “why” the *kayayei-gatekeepers* emerged and why they are prevalent in the *kayayei* industry. In single case study research, the opportunity to open a black box arises by looking at more profound causes of the phenomenon. The case data can lead to identifying patterns and relationships, creating, extending, or testing a theory (Ridder, 2017).

Again, a single case may be selected because, at the time, it has not been studied before or the case is unusual or unique, so it is necessary to know or find out (Yin, 2009). Again, if the researcher only wants to study one single thing or a single group (for example, a cluster of people), a single case study is the finest choice (Yin, 2003). These characteristics make the single case study design the best approach for this dissertation because little or no research has been done on the current study at hand, which is the role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers* in Tema station. Also, the study deals specifically or focuses on a group of people, namely the *kayayei-gatekeepers*. Again, I analyse a single context, the role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers* from various perspectives of the stakeholders in the *kayayei* reality in Tema station. While this approach may not necessarily allow for comparisons across *gatekeepers* in the whole of Accra, it does allow for a more in-depth analysis of these *kayayei-gatekeepers* in Tema Station.

Once a researcher decides on whether he or she is undertaking a single or multiple case study, the researcher has to take a stance on the holistic and embedded nature of the unit of analysis. A holistic unit of analysis depends on a single unit of analysis for each context analysed, whether it is one or many. However, due to the comprehensive nature of the role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers*, this is a holistic single-case study. According to Yin (2014), a descriptive case study is also referred to as holistic. This study adopts a holistic approach. Given the multiple perspectives analyzed as part of this case study, a single case design using holistic evidence was best to give a detailed description of the role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers* in Tema station. Since I am not using other *gatekeepers* in other parts of Accra as comparison samples, I needed to understand this emerging *gatekeeper* phenomenon in the *kayayei* reality in Tema Station to understand it fully.

My research objective is to develop a complete, detailed portrayal of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomenon, “to get the story down for the possible benefit of policymakers, scholars, and

other citizens” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This study draws on participant observation and in-depth interviews to understand the stakeholders' experiences, perspectives, and worldviews regarding the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomenon.

Additionally, a case study methodology has many uses that might also be considered case study designs. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2018), a case study can be descriptive; explanatory; exploratory; lead to hypothesis generation and theory development; contribute to normative theory by focusing on what is and should be valued. The normative theory differs from descriptive and explanatory theories. Normative theory typically focuses on the social and behavioural sciences because it is concerned with what should be (norms, values, or ideals) rather than solely with an empirical phenomenon.

However, the drawback of a single-case design is its inability to provide a generalising conclusion and findings, mainly when the events are rare. One way of overcoming this is by triangulating the study with other methods to confirm the validity of the process. According to Yin (1994), the generalisation of results from case studies, from either single or multiple designs, stems from theory rather than from populations. As indicated by Yin (2014), a researcher may then engage in analytical generalization, which involves “a carefully posed theoretical proposition that can take the form of a lesson learned, working hypothesis, or other principles that are believed to apply to other situations” (p. 68). Overall, the single case is not regarded as a sample from a population but “as an opportunity to shed empirical light about some theoretical concepts or principles” (p. 40).

It is worth noting that Yin prioritizes a theory-first approach to the case study. According to Yin, case study researchers construct “a preliminary theory” related to the topic of the study.

This initial construction of theory distinguishes case studies from grounded theory and ethnography. It is a vital part of the design phase, “whether the ensuing case study aims to develop or test theory” (Yin, 2009, p. 35). For Yin, the ontology of the case is not singular or unique. Yin (2009) contends that it is misleading to assume that a case study does not involve a prior consideration of theory. As specified in the first dimension mentioned earlier, the very act of selecting a case assumes a “theory of the case”—that is, what constitutes the case and what it is a case of, as explained earlier.

Another way of understanding theory and research within a case study is to see them as interacting dialogically throughout the research process. Dialogue also signifies an open-ended interaction between contextually situated participants in a quest for understanding. Dialogue helps us to reconceptualize “theory,” “practice,” and “research” and the relations among them as distinct and situated processes involving participants: Thus, the purpose of this study is not to develop or test a theory but to connect the theoretically based predictions with the data on the site (Ridder, 2017). This connection is made following the data collection phase as themes emerge. As data is analysed, I attempted to match patterns that appeared in the data to the theoretical propositions of the case study. The themes that emerged in this study thus served as answers to the research questions posed (Yin, 2009). Following the theme development stage, I carefully extracted meaning from the findings to determine recommendations for practice and future research.

3.3 Data Collection Method

For a study to be conducted well, it must have multiple sources of evidence, which ensures that the study is as reliable as possible. The concept of methods refers, in general, to the appropriate use of techniques of data collection and analysis (Prasad, 2005). In a case study, it is imperative

to join data sources, also known as triangulation, to ensure comprehensive results that reflect the participants' understandings as precisely as possible (Yin, 2009). Biggam (2015) also believes that there is no single method of collecting data. Thus, a researcher may want to use more than one method. This work employed two sources of data (primary and secondary). Both Yin (2009) and Stake (2000) again agree that triangulation is crucial to perform a case study reliably. Additional multiple data sources allow case study researchers to create a story that honours participants' meaning-making processes.

3.3.1 Sources of Data

Primary data here means data gathered from direct sources. Interviews and surveys are examples of tactics that could be used. The information acquired is strictly from direct sources, with the research aims in mind. Kothari (2004) also suggests that primary data is the one obtained over and over again from a single source. The study's objective prompted the use of first-hand data from the relevant stakeholders in the specific area.

Before accessing the appropriate participants for the interview, I contacted an insider who has worked with the *kayayei* on numerous projects in Tema Station. As an insider, she had not only contacts of some of the relevant NGOs but also knowledge regarding the time and date of programs that are organized for the *kayayei*. To gain access, establish familiarity and relationships with some of the relevant stakeholders in the *kayayei* community, I attended a programme intended for the community I needed to access. This programme helped me access many *kayayei* and a few *gatekeepers* present at the training.

Also, telling them my purpose, dressing like them, and speaking their dialect, allowed me to blend in with the community. My ease in building rapport was aided to an extent by my insider status (as I am from the northern region of Ghana and have some tribal and cultural familiarity). Another reason was that I was introduced by an insider who was known in the community. I took contacts of some of the relevant NGOs, *gatekeepers*, who were present, and some *kayayei* leaders who would provide who may offer me leads and connections with potential study participants or tell them of my visit.

Another initial trust-building strategy at the *kayayei* programme was showing empathy and providing them with a listening ear when they opened up about the social and economic problems they experience daily in the market. It is worth noting that these personal encounters before my interviews built familiarity and trust and allowed ease in gaining access to the relevant participants for the interview. The insider also helped me access some of the relevant NGOs in the *kayayei-gatekeeper* space in Tema station. These NGOs, in turn, further served as leads to gain access to the participants. They also provided me with extensive knowledge and important contact leads for the research because they have worked with the *kayayei* and *gatekeepers* for some time now and thus, had great community connections and could connect me with them. Overall, I used a qualitative approach to collect primary data by creating and conducting semi-structured interview guides in the field (see appendices). Primary data is gathered from the *kayayei*, *kayayei-gatekeepers*, former *kayayei* and NGOs with much experience working with these *gatekeepers* in Tema station.

On the other hand, secondary data is derived from other experiments, people's observations, or studies. Likewise, secondary data is data that has already been gathered, analysed, and discussed (Walliman, 2017). Here, secondary data was collected thoroughly by reading written

papers (books, research papers, articles, and journals) essential to the research. Typically, investigators will start a study with secondary data, allowing them to develop questions and gain a better understanding of the issues before moving on to primary data, which is more expensive and time-consuming (Creswell, 2009).

3.3.2 Population of the study

The population is all the group members that a researcher is interested in (Bynner et al., 1978). In view of the foregoing, the research focused on *gatekeepers*, *kayayei*, and NGOs with experience working with the *kayayei* and their *gatekeepers* for at least five or more years.

The population included six *gatekeepers*, three representatives from two NGOs, ten *kayayei* and two former *kayayei*. The *kayayei* selected were between the ages starting from 18 years above in Tema station were selected. The demographic was used in the study to aid the researcher in gaining multiple perspectives, diversity of opinions, and realities regarding the role of the gatekeepers and why they were prevalent in the *kayayei* reality.

3.3.3 Sampling Technique

The way a population sample is obtained is referred to as a sampling technique. It is critical to select an appropriate sampling technique for the research since it directs the efficacy and effectiveness of the study (Tripathy & Tripathy, 2015). However, to comprehend the sampling method to use, Walliman (2017) defines non-probability and probability sampling as the two main sampling strategies. Probability sampling selects cases from a population at random, whereas non-probability sampling involves choosing cases from a population (Walliman, 2017). Under non-probability sampling, I used the purposive, convenient, and snowball sampling approaches, taking into account the population. Nayak and Singh (2015) describe

snowball, convenient, and purposive sampling with a specific focus on non-probability sampling.

Purposive sampling is when the researcher or inquirer applies his or her own judgement to choose the sample based on his or her understanding of the population, convenient sample is when the sample is taken from a group easy to contact and snowball sampling is when participants in the study recruit people to take part in the research (Nayak & Singh, 2015). Similarly, Kothari (2004) claims that the purposive sampling selection specifics are based on the researcher's discretion.

The NGOs in the *kayayei* reality were chosen using purposive sampling. Based on my knowledge and assessment of the study population through focal points and research, I selected suitable participants who would be able to provide the data needed for the study. According to Agbitor (2012) and Neuman (2007), purposive sampling can be employed in situations when the inquirer uses his or her discretion to select a sample for a specific purpose (this purpose or reason can be viewed in three situations). To begin with, an investigator could opt to choose cases that have much data. Also, the investigator may wish to select specific volunteers from different groups. Furthermore, when the investigator likes to be aware of specific types of events in order to conduct a thorough analysis. As a result, convenient, purposive, and snowball sampling allowed me to choose participants who better understand the topic under investigation.

With NGOs and insider assistance, convenient and snowball sampling were used to pick the six *gatekeepers*. These *gatekeepers*, in turn, linked me with the *kayayei* who were available and accessible to link me with their peers who were accessible at that time. It is worth noting

that some interviewees were initially recruited during the *kayayei* program I attended and with the remaining through the assistance of NGOs such as UNFPA and Hope for Her Foundation.

3.3.4 Sample Size

The sample size is a subset of the population usually chosen because access to all population members is prohibitive in time, money, and other resources (Foddy, 1994). According to Borrego et al. (2009), activities should focus on a small portion of the overall community or population in order to comprehend a specific event's details. Also, because of these possible prohibitions that may emerge, Kothari (2004) feels that the sample size decision is based on the problem the researcher is attempting to solve, the research's goal, and how essential the type and trustworthiness of the information acquired is for the study.

To ensure the reliability of data and fair representation of the population, I selected twenty (21) as the study's sample size. This number was convenient for me to contact for adequate information about the role of the *kayayei-gatekeepers* in Tema Station. The sample size consisted of 3 representatives from (2) NGOs, six (6) *gatekeepers*, ten (10) *kayayei* and two (2) former *kayayei*. The selected population covered a broad spectrum or represented a wide range of ages. It depended on certain factors such as experience, understanding of the population sample, experience and nature and goals of the research, and relative power in the field. As a result, the "concept of information power for qualitative studies," which governs a proper sample size for qualitative investigations, supports the selection of the above sample size. Malterud et al. (2016) went on to say that the more useful data a sample has, the fewer people it needs. The idea is that the sample size that provides enough information power is determined by the study's purpose, sample particularity, the utility of a well-known theory, and communication effectiveness.

3.3.4 Research Instruments

In-depth Interviews: The interview is often seen as a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee, in which the interviewer asks questions, and the interviewee answers accordingly (Esterberg, 2002). When conducting interviews, relationships and rapport must be established and coupled with trust: “The importance of interviewing is to discover what is in and on someone else’s mind. We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot observe” (Patton, 1987, p. 196).

Active listening and nonjudgmental behaviour are two standard practices that should be prioritized when interviewing for case study research. Also, there are six types of questions to be employed during the interview process for case study research: (1) experience/behaviour, (2) opinion/belief, (3) feeling, (4) knowledge, (5) sensory, and (6) background/demographic (Patton, 1987; Merriam, 2009). Esterberg (2002) described a pattern for general and specific questions, called “open-ended” questions, and cautioned against dichotomous or leading questions, leading to a closed style of questioning. This study intended to make the interviews conversational.

As the researcher, I shared information about myself with the participants and spoke their dialect to establish the trust and rapport necessary for this conversation. Conducting the interviews in this way allowed me to put respondents at ease and allowed for an optimal interviewing environment. Qualitative researchers use many methods for gathering information, and interviewing is one of those methods. One of the primary goals of this study was to understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the role they play in the *kayayei* reality. The in-depth interview approach allowed me to gather multiple perceptions, opinions, and understandings the relevant stakeholders had regarding the role of the topic of study. This was

accomplished through face-to-face conversations, which were documented in notebooks and captured on a recorder. The study used comprehensive interviews to acquire information from a wide range of stakeholders in the *kayayei* reality. Information was gathered in the market, sometimes very late at night or in the offices of the NGOs. This enabled the *kayayei* and relevant stakeholders to discuss their concerns openly and flexibly. It also allowed me to delve deeper into the subject. However, because most of these interviews were conducted in the market in Dagbani, which was noisy most of the time, finding a quiet space was challenging.

Semi-structured Interviews: Scholars like Nayak and Singh (2015) and Biggam (2015) have acknowledged structured (in which the researcher asks participants a fixed set of questions in a particular manner to ensure enough concentration); semi-structured (where the researcher asks questions based on relevant points listed on the interview guide); and unstructured interviews (where participants express their own opinions based on the subject on board). The study, therefore, adopted the semi-structured interview to gather primary data from the NGOs, the *kayayei*, and the *gatekeepers* themselves regarding their role and experiences in Tema Station; because they have adequate knowledge and experience in that area. Information received from them allowed me to ask further questions for clarification. All interviews were conducted face to face in Dagbani and Mamprusi, a language understood by Mamprusi. Interviews lasted from 1-2 hours. With participant approval, I audio-recorded the interviews to ensure accurate transcription. I also took handwritten notes during some of the interviews, especially when the market was boisterous, which enabled me to track critical points to return to later in the interview or highlight particular interests or essential ideas. The transcription process began after the first interview on May 8, 2021, and was completed by May 23, 2021. To ensure transcript accuracy, I reviewed each transcript while listening to the audiotapes.

Participant Observation: this method provided me with the opportunity to carefully: observe the role of the *gatekeepers* in the *kayayei* phenomenon, the gender power dynamics of the relationships, their interests and procedures and issues that come up in the market and how they go about resolving these issues.

3.4 Study Area

The study was started between May and July 2021 in the Tema station located in the Core Business District (CBD) of the Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) (Fig. 2 below). The Accra Metropolitan area, which serves as the capital of Ghana, is centrally located within the coastal belt of Ghana and shares boundaries with the Eastern region to the north, Central region to the west, and Volta region to the east. To the south of the region lies the Gulf of Guinea, which spans 220 km coastline stretching from Langma near Kasoa in the west to Ada in the east. It also has few mineral resources; the soils have low organic content with shallow top soils, limiting the capacity for crop production (Government of Ghana, 2013).

Although the smallest in terms of landmass (covering a total surface area of 4,450km. sq), the Greater Accra region has the highest population density due to the in-migration and a high population growth rate. According to Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS 6), migrants form 48.6% of urban areas, out of which Accra has the highest migrant population of 60.3%. Additionally, Accra contributes about 20–30 per cent of the national GDP. It has an average per capita income of one of the highest in Ghana, with Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, being the second and third, respectively (GSS, 2007). These migrants are generally attracted to this region because of the importance of the metropolis as an administrative, industrial and commercial centre and the positive cycle of economic growth and the diverse economic opportunities (Agyei, Kumi, et al., 2015). The increasing traffic congestion in the CBD is now

hindering people, goods and vehicles while creating space for a niche activity for *Kayayei*, who carry the goods for shop owners and customers on their heads (Kwankye et al., 2007).

Overall, the Greater Accra region has 27 districts within which the study area, Tema Station, a central bus terminal (Fig. 2), is explicitly located in Korley Klottey, a Municipal District carved out of the Accra Metropolitan District in 2019 and covered an area of 12 km² (4.6 sq mi). Tema Station, as indicated above, was selected as a case study because it serves as the entry to the market and also serves as a locus of gender significations and sexuality (Seligmann, 2004). Additionally, it is one of the largest bustling stations housing over a thousand (1000) *kayayei* and, at the same time, situated in the Central Business District (CBD) of Accra, approximately 1.1-2.1 km from some of the oldest and largest markets in Central Accra such as Tudu, Makola, Kantamanto, and Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) Market. Kantamanto alone is home to 3000 traders (Okoye, 2013). The Makola Market, the busiest market in Accra (Oberhauser & Yeboah, 2011), plays a crucial role in wholesale and retail activities (Robertson, 1983). For instance, Robertson (1983, p.470) asserts that the Makola market is “the centre of trade in Ghana, the chief wholesale and retail market in Accra, and the heart of a market system that evolved over centuries”. (Robertson, 1983; Bowles, 2011). Patronage is often high in these markets because of the abundance of fresh food and relatively low food prices (Agyei et al., 2015, p. 10). Both perishable and non-perishable goods are also sold in the market.

Tema Station is an open-air station that is easily accessible to people of all kinds due to its central location. According to Armah et al. (2010), 270,000 vehicle trips are made in and out of Accra's Central Business District each year (Oteng-Ababio & Agyemang, 2012). All in all, the economic position of Tema Station makes it essential for this study.

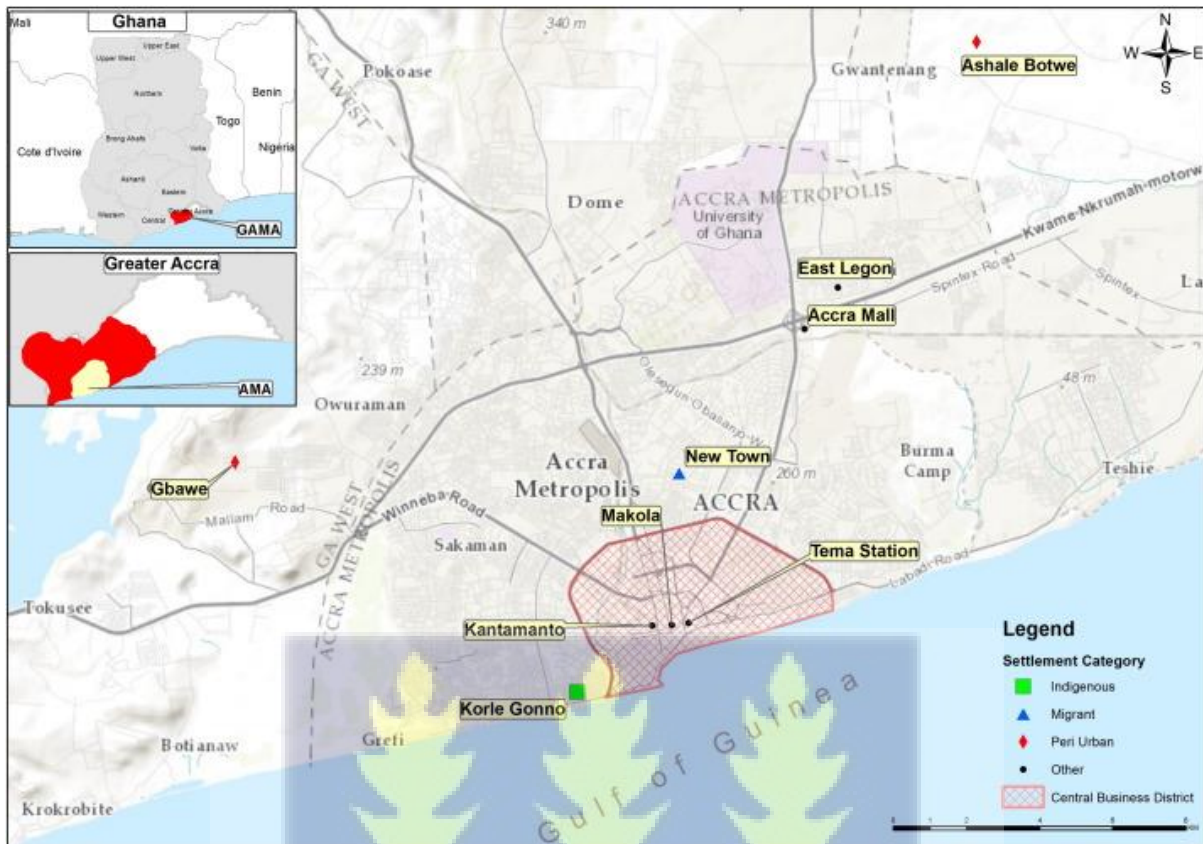


Figure 2: Map of Accra. Source: Adopted from Esson, Gough, Simon, & Amankwaa (2016).

3.5 Ethics

It is the sole duty of researchers to ensure that the moral rights of research participants are not breached. To not jeopardise the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom I come in contact during the conduct of my research, I positioned my ethical framework on the American Anthropological Association's (2009) Code of Ethics.

Personal Disclosure: One of the critical ethical considerations raised by *gatekeepers* concerned who I was, why I was doing this study, and why respondents should speak with me about their concerns. Because of their role in these communities, *gatekeepers* are frequently concerned about the ethics of the study, including them and the *kayayei* as subjects, and they want to ensure that their responses will not get them in trouble or cast them in a poor light.

According to the *gatekeepers*, the *kayayei* have been questioned multiple times by researchers, including NGO employees and strangers, who took innumerable and intrusive photographs of them, but no one helped them improve their life. Past experiences of vulnerable groups often make them cynical as they assume the worst about an outsider until their fears have been dispelled. According to Okaitey and Daabu (2007), the frequent images of head porters in print media with related articles that discuss their “misfortunes” and “self-imposed exile” in Accra operate in conjunction with the stereotype of Northerners as bush and uncivilized (Bowles, 2011; Okaitey & Malik, 2007).

Knowing this, I explained my research objectives, spoke our shared local dialect, and gave participants a choice to share their experience or not on questions. I wanted them to feel equally powerful in making a decision. This helped build trust and enabled the participants to have the courage to disclose delicate and personal data while also knowing that it would not be misused or abused. Also, by speaking the local dialect, they understood (because of my status as I am from the northern region of Ghana and have some tribal and cultural familiarity); this minimized power differences and allowed me to create rapport. Also, I found my class position being educated and from the north helped me build trust with participants and the local community. They were proud to have someone from their village come to interview them.

I endeavoured to be a good listener. I allowed them to share their problems by asking the *kayayei* questions in my local dialect “Could you please tell me how many times you have been to Accra, and what problems you face while living here” I also showed my empathy by saying that I would like to help them through my research so that the government takes relevant initiatives to improve their situation. I was honest with them about my inability to help the

community by providing financial assistance. I did not give them any false hope. Also, I bought water for the *kayayei* and gave the *gatekeepers* some money to spend time speaking with me. Perhaps this also helped me to make strong bonds with them. I also asked both the *kayayei* and their *gatekeepers*, “how would you want the NGOs to approach you and work with you”. I engaged with respondents to recognise ways in which this data could inform policy. These tactics helped me gain the trust of the *gatekeepers* and *kayayei*, who considered my research useful and worthwhile.

Referencing: All sources of secondary data (literature) were adequately recognized to avoid any sort of plagiarism.

Agreement: The study's objective was clarified to the relevant stakeholders, and their permission to participate in the research was obtained before they did so. I snapped some photographs and audio-recorded the interviews with the participants' permission to ensure proper transcription.

Privacy: The standards of privacy of participants were followed while conducting the study. Participants who wanted to remain anonymous had their identities withheld, and those who did not want their faces photographed turned their backs on the camera (see figure 3). Others who consented to their pictures taken can be found in the appendices. In my write-up, I used either “key informant”, “*gatekeepers* (G1-G6)”, “*kayayei* (K1-K10), *Former kayayei* (FK1-FK2), NGO (NGO1.1-1.2 -NGO2)” to differentiate between data gathered from the NGO, *gatekeepers* and data received from the *kayayei* in Tema station.



Figure 3: privacy of kayayei. Source: field interview, 2021

3.6 Data Handling and Analysis

After gathering data, Creswell (2009) and Biggam (2015) feel that the following step is to get ready for analysis. According to Creswell (2009), the goal of data analysis is to make sense of all the data collected. Similarly, according to Kothari (2004), analysed data summarises the data collected in order to answer the study questions. Because of that, the information gathered was transcribed verbatim. I identified common themes across the interviews. In addition, common interview themes identified were colour coded in order to connect their empirical findings to broader literature and concepts. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were used to analyse the biographical information of the *kayayei* and the *gatekeepers*. Thematic analysis was used in presenting the qualitative results, which helped in

grouping and examining the findings of the study in Tema station. For ethical reasons, fictitious names were used in the data analysis.

3.7 Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Case Study

In both qualitative and quantitative research, researchers regularly dispute about the validity and reliability of their findings. Despite the fact that reliability and validity are not absolute truths, they have become the gold standard for measuring the level of trustworthiness in research (Judd et al., 1991). However, according to Agbitor (2012), academics have finally concluded that the validity and reliability benchmark in reliability and validity is employed mainly in quantitative analysis to determine how effectively the findings may be generalised, which cannot automatically be applied in qualitative research. In qualitative analysis, generalisation relates the sample size to the entire population. The relationship between the sample size and the overall population is referred to as generalisation in qualitative research. Qualitative researchers have turned to extra methods of reliability and validity due to the small sample size in qualitative research (Agbitor, 2012).

To ensure reliability, I drew on my more experience working in the nonprofit space. Some critical skills included thinking fast while on the job, probing emerging related issues, and ensuring participants were comfortable in the environments where data was gathered.

As previously stated, the emphasis on trustworthiness and process scrutiny resulted in robust data with no gaps.

Validity: Triangulating the study using additional methodologies to confirm the validity of the procedure is one option to overcome this. Under this study, the focus of reliability issues is placed on the research process. In other words, I ensured that the literature had been adequately reviewed and the research themes were adequately identified, so during the data collection, I

stuck to these themes. I also used tactics advocated by renowned qualitative researchers, such as critical self-reflection on assumptions, biases, and the relationship to the study, which may affect the inquiry, to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study's findings (Merriam, 2002).

3.8 Conclusion

The type of methodology and its value to the study have been discussed in this chapter. The methods used to gather data, the instruments employed, and the medium via which the data was obtained, as well as the ethical issues considered, have all been highlighted. The following chapter of the study will analyse the data gathered thematically.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The main objective of this study is to understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon. The following research questions informed this study: (a) main question: (1) Why are *gatekeepers* so prevalent in the *kayayei* industry, and what role do they perform? (b) Sub-questions: (2) What are the power and gender dynamics of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships? (3) What are the interests of the gatekeepers, and why are they important? (4) Are there cases of women who have gone beyond these *gatekeepers* and operate without them?

Twenty-one interviews were conducted and transcribed. Using my field notes and transcribed data, I identified common themes across the interviews. Common interview themes were colour coded in order to connect my findings to broader literature and concepts. The research findings that these chapter reports are based on analysis of the following data sources: semi-structured and unstructured interviews, secondary data sources, and the researcher's observations of the *gatekeeper* phenomenon in Tema Station. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were used to analyse the biographical information of the *kayayei* and the *gatekeepers*. Thematic analysis was used in presenting the qualitative results, which helped in grouping and examining the findings of the study in Tema station. For ethical reasons, fictitious names were used in the data analysis.

4.1 Socio-demographic and economic features of respondents

Before delving into the core issues of the study, it will be helpful to provide an analysis of the socio-demographic results obtained from the sample of respondents selected and interviewed.

The 21 respondents' (six *gatekeepers*, ten *kayayei*, two former *kayayei* and three representatives from two NGOs) interviewed are presented in Tables 1 and 2. The results covered a broad spectrum of information such as region of out-migration, ethnicity, age, marital status, religion, educational attainment, and the number of years spent in Accra.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of the Socio-Demographics of Gatekeepers (n=6)

<i>Socio-demographic variable</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Age		
21-29	1	17%
31-49	2	33%
51-59	0	0%
61-above	3	50%
Marital Status		
Single	0	0%
Married	5	83%
Divorced	0	0%
Informal Union	1	17%
Education Level		
Primary school	0	0%
Junior high/middle school	1	17%
Senior high/vocational school	3	50%
No formal education	2	33%
Number of children		
1-2	1	17%
3-4	1	17%
5-7	1	17%

8-9	2	33%
10-above	1	17%
Region of origin		
North -East	6	100%
Number of years in Accra		
10-above	6	100%
Religious affiliation		
Muslim	5	83%
Christian	1	17%
Economic status		
Formal employment	1	17%
Informal employment	5	83%

Source: field interview, 2021

4.1.1 Gatekeepers in Tema Station

The sample included five (83%) *gatekeepers* from Tema Station and one (17%) *gatekeeper* from the CMB-Tudu area. All the *gatekeepers* were men. Half of the *gatekeepers* (50%) were 61 years and above, followed by 31-49 and 21-29 years representing 33% and 17% (see Table 1). The selection of the *gatekeeper* at CMB was meant to highlight some comparisons in terms of leadership styles and how it partly influences *kayayei*, who decide to go beyond the *gatekeepers* to operate.

Regarding the region of origin, interview results indicate that 100% of the *gatekeepers* are inter-regional migrants from the North-East Region of Ghana, specifically the Mamprusi by tribe, who have become permanent residents in Accra over time. Most of the *gatekeepers* (83%) were Muslims, with one person (17%) being a Christian.

Results on marital status indicate that about 83% of the *gatekeepers* were married, while 17 % lived in an informal union. Out of the 83% married, only 66% of the *gatekeepers* lived with their families in Accra, mostly around CMB-Tudu and Kasoa area. The remaining 34% of the married men and those living in an informal union had their families living in northern Ghana. Respondents indicated that they travel to the north to spend time with their families.

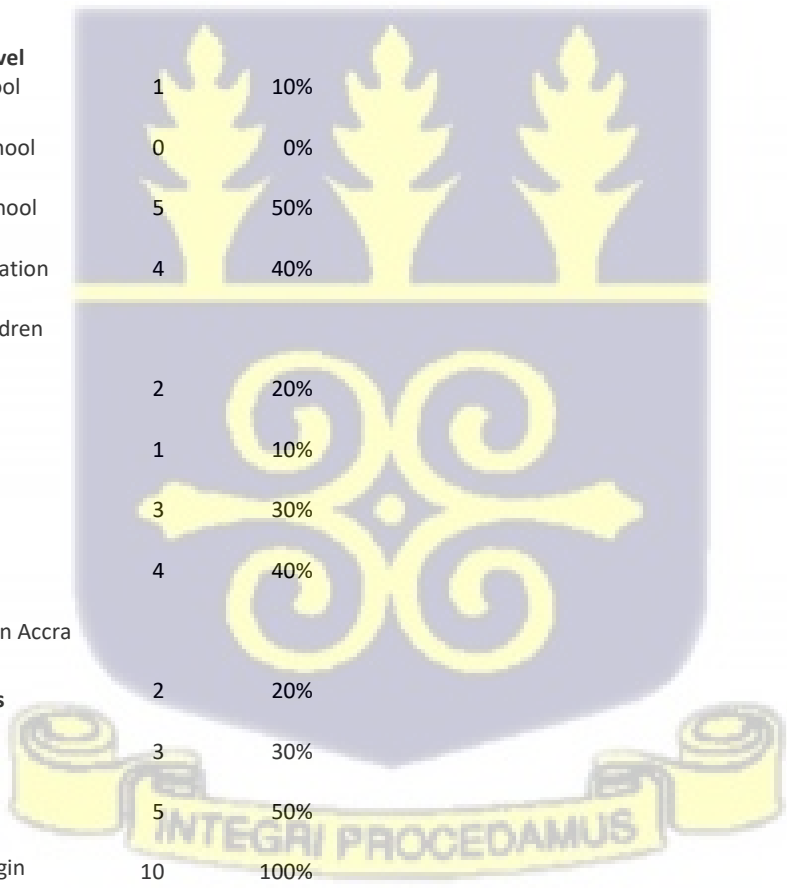
Also, about (50%) of the *gatekeepers* had secondary education, 33% had no formal education, and 17% had middle/ junior education. However, their power and leadership rank differed.

Many (33.3%) respondents reported having children within the range 8–9 children, followed by 1-2, 3-4, 5-7 and 10-above children representing 17% each, respectively (Table 1).

The majority (83%) of respondents were employed in diverse informal sectors, such as transport business, traditional smock sales, mobile money vendors, and poultry businesses. Only one (17%) of the *gatekeepers* interviewed worked in the formal economy during the day and the informal economy during the night. However, this finding agrees with the findings of Kwankye (2012) about a gender-segregated labour market. While the female migrants worked as *kayayei*, the jobs of male *gatekeepers* were more diverse. All the *gatekeepers* (100%) have resided in the cities for more than ten years and have become permanent residents. This, among other factors, indicates why they take on the role of *gatekeepers* to the *kayayei* because they have broad knowledge about the city. Overall, the sex distribution indicated that more of the *gatekeepers* in Tema station were men. Although there were female *gatekeepers*, they were all subservient to the male *gatekeepers* in Tema Station. In Tema Station, these women *gatekeepers* are called ‘*magajia*’, a title used by women leaders in marketplaces. The word ‘*magajia*’ originates from the Hausa language meaning ‘women’s leader’ but has been gradually adopted and widely used by people across ethnic groups in Ghana.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Socio-Demographics of Kayayei (n=10)

<i>Socio-demographic variable</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Age		
Below 10	0	0%
11-29	6	60%
30-49	4	40%
Marital Status		
Single	6	60%
Married	4	40%
Divorced	0	0%
Informal Union	0	0%
Education level		
Primary school	1	10%
Junior high school	0	0%
Senior high school	5	50%
No formal education	4	40%
Number of children		
1-2	2	20%
3-4	1	10%
5-7	3	30%
None	4	40%
Number of years in Accra		
1-3 months	2	20%
1-3 years	3	30%
5-above	5	50%
Region of origin	10	100%
North -East		
Religious Affiliation	10	100%
Muslim		
	10	100%



Source: field interview, 2021

4.1.2 Kayayie in Tema Station

The sample included 10 (100%) *kayayie*, all from Tema Station. This finding confirms Bowles (2011) and Ntewusu's (2012) findings that most of the *kayayei* in Tema station are Mamprusi by ethnicity. It is worth noting that the results presented by earlier researchers (i.e. Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009) failed to break down the ethnicity of *kayayei* by market. To a large extent, the prevalence of Mamprusi *Kayayei* indicates the high hardships in their region of origin and the seasonal nature of agriculture, which encourages repeated migration to Accra during the agricultural fallow periods (Agyei, Kumi, et al., 2015).

In terms of region of origin, survey results indicate that 100% of the respondents migrated from the North-East Region of Ghana. All the respondents are Mamprusi by tribe, indicating their reliance on ethnic space, primarily for networking and survival (Table 2). As suggested by earlier researchers, head portage has become an occupational niche for female migrants from the five northern regions of Ghana (Agarwal et al., 1997; Bowles, 2011; Agyei, Kumi, et al., 2015).

Lattof (2018), Ungruhe (2011), and Ntewusu (2012) findings confirm that north-south migration in Ghana is a highly network-driven phenomenon with migrant *kayayei* linked by kinship, community, and tribe. Indeed, they rely on ethnic affinities to thrive in southern cities (Ntewusu, 2012). The tribes in the northern regions practice agnatic inheritance. As Agarwal et al. (1997) asserted, the livelihoods of head porters are mainly shaped within the context of social identities (ethnicity). However, this finding contrasts with an earlier study by Yeboah (2008), who found that most *kayayei* are of only Dagomba origin.

The majority of the respondents (60%) were found to be in their youthful ages of 11–29 years (Table 4), while about 40% of the respondents appeared to be within age ranges of 30-49 years or older. 40 % of the older women (30-49) who engaged in the *kaya* business had no formal education and were not really sure of their ages. Migration frequently increases with age, but at a decreasing rate, according to Agyei, Kumi, et al. (2015), indicating the selectivity of migration on economically active age people. The modal age (11–29 years) suggests that young girls are mostly involved in head portorage.

Results on marital status indicate that about 60% of the *kayayei* of childbearing age were single, while 40% of the respondents were married with children. However, only 2 (20%) of the single respondents had children. The majority of the respondents stipulated that they sometimes travel to the north to spend time with their families. However, some married *kayayei* during my interviews indicated that they have settled in Accra with their spouses and are engaged in the *kaya* business in Tema station.

Many (60%) respondents reported having children with a mean of two (2) children each, while the range was 1–5 children (see Table 2). The majority (50 %) of respondents had secondary education, 40% had no formal education, and 10% had primary education. The lack of opportunities after completing SHS could be one of the factors propelling recent senior high school graduates into the *kaya* business. Also, this illustrates that the *kayayei* are a diverse group, and there is a need for specific rather than generalised interventions to meet their distinct group needs.

4.1.3 Past *Kayayie* and NGOs Working in Tema Station

One of the two (100%) former *kayayei* interviewed transitioned from *kayayei* to a food seller. In contrast, the other transitioned to a university graduate, which contradicts earlier research that indicated that many of these migrants do not transition beyond *kayayei*.

On the other hand, the three representatives of the two (2) NGOs selected were based on their experience working with the *gatekeepers* in Tema Station.

4.2 Analysis and discussions

During the analysis phase, each participant was given a number to protect their anonymity and help identify their responses. This part of the analysis will discuss the recurring themes presented that answers the research questions.

4.2.0 The *Kayayei*-Gatekeepers in Tema Station

This section discusses who the *gatekeepers* are, the *gatekeeper* leadership's hierarchy, what brought about the emergence of the *gatekeepers* and why they are prevalent in the *kayayei* reality. According to my findings, four factors necessitated the emergence and perpetuated the prevalence of the *gatekeepers* in the *kaya industry*. They include the need for social capital, the need for leadership and hierarchy, the prevalence of NGO activities, the natural leadership phenomenon and the proliferation of chieftaincy in migrant communities.

4.2.1 Hierarchy of Gatekeeper Relationship in Tema Station

Hierarchy is literally everywhere, from formal to informal relationships and institutions worldwide. Tema Station's *gatekeepers*, like many other organizations around the world, have a hierarchy. This hierarchy aids anyone seeking admittance into the *kaya industry* to understand who is in control. Hierarchy also functions as an incentive system and creates motivation. In

the *kaya industry*, people with greater rank, for instance, the *kayayei* chief, face fewer threats and reap the accompanying rewards—such as the prestige of presiding over a group of people, organizing the *kayayei* and interacting with notable NGOs for their activities.

One major drawback of hierarchy or weakness of hierarchy is that rigid structures may limit the opportunity for low-power individuals to contribute wisdom (Galinsky & Schweitzer, 2015) or even reap certain rewards. As a result, this may breed competition and conflicts, which will be explained in later sections.

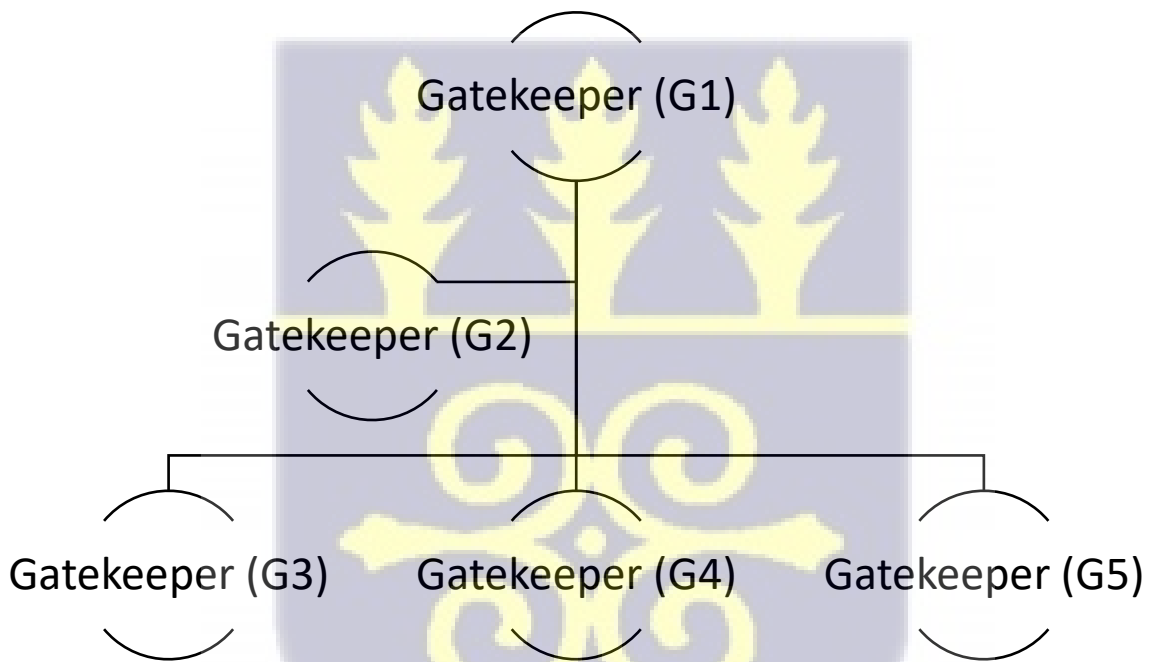


Figure 4: Hierarchy of gatekeepers. Source: field interview, 2021.

The *gatekeepers* in Tema Station have varying levels of influence and authority, even though they all have some power and control over the *kayayei*. G1 (sub-chief) is at the top of the hierarchy. G2, the second in command, serves as the chief's secretary. G3 serves as an area leader and is third in the ranks. G4 serves as a spiritual leader of the *kayayei* in Tema station and is the fourth in command. G5 serves as the chief's secretary and the sub-chief errand boy.

Among the five *gatekeepers* in Tema Station, only the sub-chief has legitimate authority over the *kayayie* in that vicinity. However, before being installed as chief of the *kayayei* girls, he was known as ‘chairman’ for Walewale and Tema Station in Accra. Despite lacking a chieftaincy title at that time, he still wielded so much power over the *kayayei* in his vicinity and even the *gatekeepers* under him, mainly because he was the oldest male figure in the *kayayei* space in Tema station.

4.2.2 Resource Control and Information

Gatekeepers, just like the *kayayei*, have their own occupations. On Sundays in Tema Station, the sub-chief (G1) owns and operates buses that convey people, most of whom are *kayayei*, from Accra to the five Northern Regions of Ghana at a fee.



Figure 5: Susu and Mobile money business of gatekeeper. Source: field interview, 2021

G2 works for MTN during the day and operates a mobile money and susu business for the *kayayei* in the evening. According to G2, he founded the susu company to protect the *kayayei*

from being exploited by shady financial institutions. G3 is a former teacher who specializes in woven northern smogs. He is an area leader and one of the literates in the *kayayei* space. G4 plays the role of a spiritual father who counsels the *kayayei* on good conduct and behaviour. G5 also owns a motorbike which he uses to engage in the okada business.

The resources the *gatekeepers* control means they are more economically well off than the *kayayei*, which partly explains why they command so much power over the *kayayei*. The Tema Station *gatekeepers* control some of the most critical resources most valuable to the *kayayei*, thereby creating a cycle of continuous dependence, which widens the gender income inequality gap. Although there may be other competitors, the *kayayie* is more likely to patronise these services provided by the *gatekeepers* because of feelings based on social and ethnic proximity. According to a culturalist perspective, individuals may feel proud of their ethnic group when the latter is more successful than themselves.

4.3 Emergence and Prevalence of the Gatekeepers in the Kayayei Industry

4.3.1. The Need for Social Capital

Several respondents cited the need for social capital and leadership as a reason for the *gatekeepers'* inception and prevalence in the *kayayei* reality. Paying close attention to how the *kayayei* negotiate livelihood and survival in the cities reveals specific resources key to gaining an advantage in these negotiations. Some of these are general social resources such as social capital and information, which are eminently crucial because the *kayayei* stay for a short while in the cities. According to 80% of respondents, a *kayayei* migrating to a new place does not have social capital and will seek to increase his social capital by getting in touch with all people with extensive networks or people who have stayed in Accra for a long time. Often, these networks are based on ethnic lines. Numerous research has revealed that *kaya business* is a

highly network-driven phenomenon, and the *kayayei* are known to rely on ethnic enclaves to thrive in the cities (Lattof, 2018).

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The fact that someone does not know anyone and whomever they come and meet in any setting makes them seem like they have more knowledge or expertise about what is happening around them. They automatically fall on these people. They are coming into an unknown that these people already know, so as more and more people come there, they fall on them and give them power as gatekeepers (NGO 2.1, field interview).

In addition, the interviewees' responses confirm the predictions of the model of investment in social capital, which predicts that people who lack social capital turn to ethnicity to integrate socially. Migrant groups (such as *kayayei*) especially have a higher likelihood of identifying with their ethnic group for many reasons: (1) they need this investment and social capital to thrive because they find themselves in a different social milieu without established local networks yet (Bossuroy, 2011). (2) Also, they need this capital to access information, including the appropriate codes of conduct in their new places, among others, for survival. These networks serve as links for migrant groups such as the *kayayei* to build street smartness in these

unfamiliar environments. Overall, building social capital is a lifelong process; as a result, young people just starting out in their jobs may invest more in ethnic capital than more older people who have already established their networks.

Again, people who are originally deprived of social capital, such as those who are less educated, unemployed, or working in the informal sector, are predicted to have higher levels of ethnic identification. Individuals who have left their local networks in their home regions and need to build social capital in their new location may experience this effect. This is especially true of the *kayayei* because they are positioned at the intersection of multiple disadvantages and multiple subordinated groups – female, less educated, head porters (menial occupation) and young migrants from poor underdeveloped rural northern Ghana. These complex identities they hold reflect the varying forms of marginalization they experience due to their positioning within the matrix of domination.

The model also predicts that when people find themselves in a dangerous situation, they will tactically organise their ethnic membership in order to improve their situation. For instance, the *kayayei*, due to a different social milieu with varying hierarchies of power and the fact that the *kaya trade* exposes them to precarious situations, tend to increase their degree of ethnic identification. This explains why they are likely to join associations or seek identifications with people of similar ethnic groups in the cities as part of their survival mechanism.

One thing we realized is that a lot of the *kayayei* come to Accra for different reasons, and once achieved, they go back home. However, they were faced with many odds, so there was a need for leadership -- like putting them into a union or trade group. However, that was not done officially but rather in another form through an older man who speaks their language in the city (NGO2, field interview).

This response applies to the Tema Station *kayayei*, who have been organized into a registered group based on ethnicity. However, many of the *kayayei* do not even know about this union

they are inevitably a part of based on their ethnicity. Also, in the *kayayei* reality, many of the individuals with the established networks are these *gatekeepers* who have stayed in these cities for long periods, so automatically, they become a natural point of contact for these *kayayei* to depend on. Again, because these men are from their places of origin or of the same ethnicity, this social proximity due to common ethnicity makes forming a group easy and accepting the *gatekeepers* as leaders. Overall, this necessity created a niche for the *gatekeeper* phenomenon to spring up in the *kayayei* industry.

4.3.2. The Need for Leadership and Hierarchy

Also, 50% of the respondents attributed the rise of the *gatekeepers* in the *kayayei* reality to the need for hierarchy. According to Galinsky and Schweitzer (2015), hierarchy is the most pervasive form of social organisation across all groups, countries, and cultures globally, which helps us navigate the shifting sands of our dynamic spatial relationships and unstable social environments. Scores of research have indicated that individuals tend to embrace hierarchy when faced with threatening situations where they feel out of control in their environment (Galinsky & Schweitzer, 2015). In such situations, hierarchy offers the needed structure for people who desire a sense of order and control in an unfamiliar environment. This applies to the situation of the *kayayei* in the urban cities since a majority of them migrate from the north to the unfamiliar environments of the south, where they are not only perceived as strangers who undertake menial occupations but intruders who sleep in slum areas and market places where the risk is high.

As already indicated in the above literature review, the *kayayei* are social beings who mostly use group living as a strategy to cope with the dangers of the shifting sands of urban environments. However, living in a group presents many challenges, such as conflicts. As a

result, these challenges present the *kayayei* with a situation where they have no choice but to coordinate their efforts and surrender authority to key figures (*gatekeepers*) who have the resources and sophisticated knowledge about the urban centres and can intervene in disputes.

I believe it is cultural and natural. For instance, when an Ashanti gets to Germany today, he will look for a group of Ashantis and try to recognize the hierarchy there. My father went to Nigeria, and I remember there was a hierarchy, and he went to the chief there. It is not a complex reason. It is leadership, and people always look for a leader. Then some of these men are here". (NGO1, field interview).

Just as the model of investment in social capital predicted that migrants resort to ethnicity to get socially inserted if initially deprived of the social capital, which explains why even the recognised hierarchy in the *kayayei* reality are *gatekeepers* with common ethnicity (Mamprusi).

4.3.3. Prevalence of NGO Activities

The war on ending the *kayayei* phenomenon has been one of the most studied subjects in the history of prohibition and the most enduring, garnering attention from the media, NGOs and governments who view the *kayayei* phenomenon as a means to secure donor funds or a threat to their bottom lines. This race to end the phenomenon, coupled with the need to secure grants, has primarily led to increased NGO activities laced with high-performance targets, slowly creating a gap for the *gatekeeper* phenomenon to fill. This is possible because the nature of the occupation of the *kayayei* and the very labour conditions makes them difficult to be organised for NGO programs. After all, the *kayayei* is always on the move and do not necessarily stay at one place; as a result, many NGOs tend to depend on these *gatekeepers* who work and most often live in the same vicinity as the *kayayei* to mobilize the *kayayei* to help them achieve their performance (numbers) target. It is worth indicating that this quest to meet their performance targets has gradually created a perception of exploitation from these NGOs. In Tema Station especially, there is an ingrained perception of exploitation due to *kayayei* past experiences of

NGOs lack of interest and emotional investment once their performance targets have been achieved.

4.3.4. Natural Leadership Phenomenon

About 80% of respondents also pointed the emergence of the *gatekeepers* to the natural leadership phenomenon due to certain key positions or resources specific individuals control. According to Corra (2020), status plays a crucial role in who is recognised as a gatekeeper in some instances. To Corra (2020), status is as important as money and power as a micro motive for behaviour. At a macro level, status also stabilises the inequality of resources and power by translating it to who is “better” (that is, esteemed and competent) among groups. For example, many of the interviewees cited that in Tema Station, there are certain people whom all *kayayei* recognise and depend on upon their arrival to a new social milieu or exit of these areas. Certain vital positions individuals hold, such as drivers, area leaders and tribal susu vendors, automatically confers legitimacy and recognition as *gatekeepers* because of their status and position in the vicinity the *kayayei* finds themselves.

For example, In Tema Station, every Mamprusi *kayayei* knows a driver called ‘Soamba’ and a susu vendor called Seidu. Suppose you mention Soamba or Seidu to any Mamprusi lady, they immediately recognise him because he has worked there for a long time in their main station, moving people from Walewale to any part of the northern region of Ghana as well as helping new *kayayei* locate their tribal groups. You know if people like that settle in this part of the country, they will be given some position (NGO 1, field interview).

4.3.5. Chieftaincy

The proliferation of *kayayei-gatekeepers* in Tema Station can be attributed to the prominence of chieftaincy in migrant communities. 90% of responses from my interviews suggested that the culture of chieftaincy and leadership is vibrant within the *kayayei* space in Tema Station and many other migrant communities despite the temporal, spatial disjuncture from their places of origin. These chiefs, based on the titles conferred on them, are naturally positioned as *gatekeepers*.

Although there are some kayayei without chiefs, they have leaders in front of them. Because even Nima, Agbologoloshie, Mallamatta, Adenta, Madina areas now have a chief. Every tribe has a king. Frafras, Sissala, Dagaati, and Dagombas have a king who takes care of them. We have a general king just like a president with his ministers. We are sub-chiefs (G1, field interview).

Africans have kings and leaders there. Sometimes I hear the chief of Ashanti in Germany, America and many more. It is the same here when they come, they want to belong and be recognized, so once they recognize a group, then they go with it. They have a hierarchy and goes down to sub-chiefs (NGO1, field interview).

According to Zakaria (2015), migrant communities often stick together (stay in groups) as part of their urban survival strategies to deal with the precariousness of a new social milieu. By staying together, they can gain security and assistance from ethnic-based associations with chieftaincy titles conferred on leaders. Others picked their tribe chiefs as chiefs of their own volition, expressing their (migrants') need for representation and protection.

Remarkably, political leadership or chieftaincy titles are regarded as one of the ways northern migrants negotiate the turmoil of Accra's political and economic terrain (Ntewusu, 2002 as cited in Zakaria, 2015). In other words, the migrant leaders' positions are based on their capacity to negotiate with natives and current political structures in order to secure trade and economic gains. However, it is worth noting that the concept of chieftaincy takes a different frame in migrant communities in Accra. These rulers are not necessarily chiefs in the traditional sense; a chief with a specified territory or access to land with the people paying homage to him, nor do they necessarily hail from the accepted royal bloodline.

According to interview responses, Tema Station, although being one of Accra's oldest stations, only gained a sub-chief two years ago after a visit to the area by the overall Mamprusi Chief in Greater Accra, who saw the need for a leader to watch over the influx of Mamprusi migrants in the vicinity. According to Corra and Willer (2002), attaining the *gatekeeper* position may result from the high status already held. This explains why assuming the position of a sub-

Chief of Tema Station automatically makes him a *gatekeeper* because of his role, status and title conferred on him.

I became a king two years ago. I am the king of the whole Osu Korley Klottey, including Tema Station (G1, field interview).

Regarding the ascension of chiefs, interview responses suggested that the area sub-chief (Naa) and youth-chiefs (Nachin Naa) are enskinned by the overall Mamprugu Chief of the whole Accra. However, this overall Mamprugu chief is enskinned by the Paramount Chief of Mamprusi back in the north in consultation with the relevant stakeholders in the metropolitan zones. This overall Mamprugu Chief, sub-chiefs and his youth-chiefs become broadly responsible for receiving and welcoming their Paramount Chiefs back in the north if they come to visit their territory. Claimants may petition the paramount chief and his advisors to be considered for appointment to vacant chieftaincy titles, which are generally gifts from the supreme monarchs. In the case of Tema Station, the claimant petitioned the overall Mamprugu Chief in Accra and paid a large sum of money before being enskinned as a king of Tema Station. According to respondents, the entire process of gathering a bus full of people for the ascension rituals and paying money to the overall Mamprugu Chief of Accra before being installed as a chief is costly for claimants.

I spent so much money to be the Chief of Tema Station. We organized and invited people (G1, field interview).

He came out first and said he wanted to be a chief. It is expensive to be a chief. He paid money to the overall Mamprugu Chief before he won it (CMB (G), field interview).

Interview responses also suggested that the sub-chiefs are enskinned based on their age, duration of stay in Accra, understanding of each jurisdiction, public backing, and ability to pay as a claimant rather than their education. This explains why many sub-chiefs, such as the Tema Station sub-Chiefs, are stuck illiterates.

We look at someone who has been here for long, at least not less than 10 or 20 years, because the person knows the area and environment properly (G3, field interview)

They investigate whoever is vying for Chieftaincy in that area, and he needs to have the support of the community elders before he can hold the title. They even inform the indigenous chief of that vicinity about the instalment of that particular sub-chief, although his approval is not necessary (CMB(G), field chief).

However, according to respondents, some controversies surrounded the instalment of the sub-chief at Tema Station since the relevant community elders disapproved of him because they did not know him. Initially, he was meant to be the Mamprusi Chief for Osu Korley Klottey, but he was reassigned to Tema station due to disagreements in his ascension.

He came out first and said he wanted to be a chief. At that time, the overall Mamprusi Chief did not consult the community men and installed him. However, that instalment was contested. As we are currently speaking, there is currently an Osu chief (G (CMB), field interview).

Also, aside from the sub-chief who goes through the process of enskinment, the rest of the *gatekeepers* in Tema Station are neither selected nor elected by the *kayayei*. However, it is worth noting that before the instalment of G1 as a sub-Chief of Tema Station, he was known as ‘chairman’ for walewale and Tema Station in Accra. Despite lacking a chieftaincy title at the time, G1 still wielded enormous authority over the *kayayei* in his area. Many factors influence whom the *kayayei* in Tema Station recognize as an authority figure. The following section will explore the role of the *gatekeepers*, why male *gatekeepers* dominate, and why they command so much respect from the *kayayei* will be discussed in the next section.

4.4. Role of the Gatekeepers

Because these *gatekeepers* are not seen policing or monitoring the *kayayei* while they go about their trade, it is easy to underestimate the full scope of the *gatekeeper* responsibilities. However, interview responses revealed a wide range of functions performed by these *gatekeepers*. This section will explore the role played by these *gatekeepers* in Tema Station.

4.4.1 Political Role: Liaising with Politicians and Vice Versa

Participants responses revealed that the *kayayie* do not mobilize politically due to daily tensions resulting from being marginalized (class). However, they do so (during elections) when instructed by these *gatekeepers*, who often are promised monetary incentives. Politicians, especially those who want to mobilize the *kayayei* for personal advantage, use the *gatekeepers* as liaison officers. These gatekeepers are also crucial in bargaining with politicians to provide specific items such as head pans to the *kayayei*. For example, during my third visit to the *kayayei* in Tema Station, I met a representative of Ghana's Second Lady, Mrs. Samira Bawumia, who came in to register the names of the *kayayei* girls for tailoring opportunities using the gatekeepers as a focal point. The registration was not only done in haste, but the *kayayei* were not given a choice in the type of training they would want to receive, even though these are diverse groups of people with different needs and aspirations.

They also have control over the assent of the *kayayei* by determining whom they vote for during elections. In many cases, buses are provided to transport the *kayayei* to the numerous voting destinations of these politicians, therefore temporally halting all *kayayei* activities in such situations. Once votes are cast in the politician's favour, low-value items like headpans are provided to the *kayayei*, while the *gatekeepers* receive the lion's share (huge monetary incentives).

Once a politician goes to the sub-Chief and settles him appropriately, he allows the *kayayei* to vote for you. I witnessed a particular political party sharing head pans for the girls using the gatekeeper as a focal point. So if a *kayayei* comes forward and takes the head pan, she votes for this political party (NGO1, field interview)

Also, even a political party provided an entire bus to transport the girls to the north to vote. We were going to have a program with the *kayayei*, and we were told that there is a bus coming to take them to their homes to vote, and this is serious business, so if we can postpone our engagement (NGO2, field interview).

Although the *gatekeepers* benefit from this situation more than the *kayayei*, interview responses show that the *gatekeepers* themselves fall prey to the deception of the politicians. It is also worth noting that these *gatekeepers* do not share the same political ideology, making it difficult for them to achieve political solidarity.

4.4.2. Conflict Resolution: Internal and External Conflict Resolution

○ Internal Conflict Resolution

As previously indicated, because the *kayayei* rely on ‘group living’ as a form of survival strategy, there will inevitably be disputes. The most common causes of disputes cited by respondents were petty quarrels over men, money or even apportioned trading and sleeping spots. In situations where female *gatekeepers* are unable to reach an agreement, the male *gatekeepers* step in to resolve the issue.

When there are conflicts, they come to us. These *kayayei* are mostly illiterates, quarrelling amongst themselves, especially when someone crosses them and the *kayayei* group beat the person, I have to intervene (G3, field interview).

Also, the *gatekeepers* mediate between the *kayayei* and their spouses. In most cases, the *kayayei* are urged to return to their husbands regardless of the situation at home. However, the implication of these *gatekeepers* mediating through *kayayei* issues with their spouses is that cases adjudicated can be skewed in favour of the men who may be abusive towards the *kayayei*. This is because these *gatekeepers*’ gender and cultural cognitive maps are shaped to mirror their patriarchal settings in the north, meaning they encourage patience and submissiveness at all times, and this can keep a *kayayei* trapped in an abusive situation.

During Ex-President Kuffors Government, a man’s wife fled from him, and he urged the chief to make sure the *kayayee* return home to him. Due to illiteracy, the chief and some young men fooled the *kayayee* to enter the car, and they tied her to the car seat. However, he was arrested and jailed by the police. It was G1 who tied her in the car. He was not a chief at that time, but he was jailed over the *kayayee* issue. (G3, field interview).

According to respondents, a *kayayei* fled from her spouse in the north to engage in head portering in Accra's Tema Station without her husband's permission. The *kayayei*'s husband contacted G1 and managed to convince him to bring his wife to him. Instead of learning the other side of the story from the *kayayei*'s perspective, G1 devised a deception plan and had the lady towed in one of his buses heading north. On their route, the police stopped their bus after hearing the screams of the *kayayei* and arrested G1. Even though he was later released on bail, this provides an interesting illustration of an 'alleged' mediation going wrong.

○ **External Conflict Resolution**

The *gatekeepers* act as mediators in disagreements between *kayayei* and customers and between *kayayei* and market women. As indicated previously, *kayayei* work in spaces where they have an unequal subject position within common fields of power. Thus, there is bound to be exploitation due to their position, which may generate into disagreements. According to responses, the *kayayei* mostly get into conflicts with customers and older men who try to cheat them because they are young and do not have a firm grasp of the language of southern Ghana.

When they are fighting, we call them, and we try to find out why they are fighting. We ask both sides, and we try to judge fairly and resolve the conflict. Because we want to be fair, we do not try to side with any, and we just end it to stop the fight (G2, field interview).





Figure 6: Gatekeeper Resolving Conflict between Kayayeei and a Market Woman in Tema Station. Source: field interview, 2021

4.4.3. Issues of Arrest and Bail Matters

As indicated above, conflicts are widespread within the *kayayeei* space and may sometimes result in arrests. In such situations, the *gatekeepers* are in charge of bailing out the *kayayeei* who has been arrested and remanded in custody. It is worth emphasizing that, even though these *gatekeepers* are unpaid, they still go to great lengths to assist their clients.

I recently had to bail a kayayeei who used a blade to cut a colleague because of a boy. I had to intervene (G3, field interview).

The *kayayeei-gatekeepers* are mostly faced with complex dilemmas where they are forced to take a stance. The *kayayeei's* ignorance and naivety in their desire to make money are some of the key drivers of these difficulties. According to respondents, many newbies who have recently entered the head portage profession are naive and are easily duped by ‘drug dealers in the market. 100% of the *kayayeei* indicated that their *gatekeepers* assist them in dealing with disputes or unintended loss of consumer stuff.

Early February this year, a customer purchased television and gave it to the kayayeei to transport to the Koforidua Station at CMB. A jonkey (A drug dealer) approached a

kayayoo and informed her that the television was for her mother and that they were in haste. The jonkey convinced her to accept 20 cedis while he delivered the TV to her mother. He did, however, flee with the TV while the kayayoo was apprehended by the cops (G3, field interview).

There was a time a kayayoo was arrested with human parts. A man had given her goods just around the Tudu area to transport near UMB where Volta Region buses are taken, and as usual, the kayayei did not inspect to verify what she was tasked to carry. The man gave her 50 cedis on her way, saying that he would meet her there when she arrived. I believe the scent was so awful on her trip that they had to put it down; when they opened it up, they discovered human parts, and she was jailed. When issues like this arise, it is the chairman who intervenes or takes action to have her released (NGO1, field interview).

4.4.4. Announcements and passing of critical information to the kayayei

○ Internal Announcements & External Announcements

According to the interviewees, the *gatekeepers* make announcements when a child of a *kayayei* goes missing. They mostly make these announcements through their network of *gatekeepers* across Accra on the appropriate description of the missing child or the *kayayei* in order to find the child. Again, they make announcements when a *kayayei* misses their way back home while carrying a customer's products. Externally, the *gatekeepers* also disseminate information to the *kayayei* regarding NGO and government programs.

Sometimes, bad people steal children of *kayayei*, and we do not ever get them back again. Recently, a *kayayei* went to buy water and left her child sleeping, and upon return, the child was stolen (G2, field interview).

When such stuff happens, we tell the leadership in other areas in Accra including Agbogboloshie, Madina, CMB, Tudu, Dakoman, Malata when a *kayayei* gets missing. (G1, field interview).

Sometimes the *kayayei* get lost with customers goods in the market, especially newcomers, and they have to bring the goods back to us, and we will announce (G3, field interview).

4.4.5. Mobilisation of Kayayei and Coordinating with Authorities: Internal and External

In addition, they help mobilize cash internally and externally to offset healthcare bills when a *kayayei* faces health emergencies. According to *gatekeepers*, aside from fundraising amongst themselves and within the *kayayei* to fund the healthcare bills of a sick *kayayei*, they sometimes seek help through their network or NGOs to offset their bills.

There are instances the chief will phone me and say that they were able to put down a certain sum for a *kayayei* sick in the hospital and that I should assist them to pay the remaining hospital bills (NGO1, field interview).

I work at Tema Station in the evenings till midnight, and sometimes we get a report that a *kayayei* is extremely unwell, so I will run to the pharmacy and buy the needed drugs right away, frequently with my own money (G2, field interview).

Furthermore, due to the mobile nature of the *kayayoo*, NGOs rely on *gatekeepers* to mobilize the *kayayei* for their initiatives in order to help them meet their performance target.

“One role that stands out to me is their role as spokesperson for the *kayayei*. For instance, they stand in as leaders of the community if you want to implement a project with the *kayayei*” (NGO2, field interview).

In addition, the *gatekeepers* collaborate and engage local authorities to prevent certain abuses meted on the *kayayei* in the market spaces. Again, they work with officials in vicinities, the *kayayei* sleep to avoid the regular persecution they face in the market.

“There is always a *kayayei* chief around that area that alerts the authority that groups of *kayayei* are here and that they should not be chased away” (NGO2, field interview).

4.4.6. Burial of the *kayayei*

They are also in charge of removing the body (*kayayei*) from the mortuary and burying it. In some cases, the *gatekeepers* get into trouble trying to retrieve the remains of the *kayayei* due to not following the correct procedures, which is sometimes due to many of them lacking formal education to be able to understand the proceedings regarding taking a corpse from a morgue. According to the responses, many *kayayei* lose their lives in their pursuit, although there is a paucity of data on *kayayei* deaths.

There was a time G1 almost got arrested for not following the appropriate rules in order to take a body from a morgue (NGO1, field interview).

4.4.7 Financial role

The *kayayei* are always victims of Ponzi schemes and fake financial institutions who flee away with their monies. As a result, the *gatekeepers* devised a savings mechanism to protect the *kayayei* from such schemes. Just like the *kayayei* draw on their rural household duties of collecting firewood and water from long distances to make money in the south despite limited

work opportunities, the *gatekeepers* also mould their household duties as fathers or heads of households to make economic opportunities and income despite their unpaid role creatively.

I made every effort to assist my people. Previously, the (microfinance) susu guys would visit the market and have the *kayayei* fill multiple forms in order to save with them, after which they will flee with all their hard-earned monies. Before I started, I asked myself, how can I prevent my people from going through these challenges. I came out boldly to register my own microfinance company and help the *kayayei* save, and it is almost three years now since I started. Every night, this is where I am seated, and they come to save. There is always pressure here, With many *kayayei* trying to write down their savings; therefore, there is constant pressure. All the *kayayei* come here right after eating to save their remaining earnings. Once a *kayayoo* achieves her savings goal, she comes for her money; otherwise, she leaves it and continues saving (G2, field interview).

From the above responses, it is clear that the *gatekeepers* have simplified the savings mechanism of the *kayayei* from highly formal to very informal ways of savings without them necessarily having to fill multiple forms.

4.4.8. Guardians and Protectors of the Kayayei

The *gatekeepers* serve as ‘protectors’ and ‘guardians’ of the *kayayei* without necessarily policing them around or monitoring them 24/7. They defend them against various threats, including unethical photography of *kayayei*, bad people, and exploitative organisations. The presence of bad people who merely want to profit off the image of the *kayayei* was a common theme in most of the comments.

According to both *gatekeepers* and *kayayei*, embarrassing images of the *kayayei* are frequently released online without their permission. As a result, most *gatekeepers* have become jittery, especially when the stakes are high. For example, one *gatekeeper* indicated that there was a time they caught a group of men filming the *kayayei* bathing naked, and he had to chase him away. Many NGOs, individuals, and even the media frequently photograph the *kayayei* without their permission, putting their dignity at risk.

“There was a time, I was in a car around the Osu area when I saw a cameraman hiding a videoing a group of *kayayei* bathing naked. I became upset, stopped the car, interrogated the man, and asked him, ‘ how will he feel if someone did that to her mother? I insulted him and made him

know that I am the youth chief for the CMB area and sacked him from the place” ((CMB (G), field interview).

They come and take pictures of our girls. However, some are married with kids, and someone perceives their condition as pitiful and hides and takes pictures of them. For instance, if you travel abroad and things are difficult, and someone spots you in a slum area (abroad) and takes you pictures or videos and shows them to your family, you will be embarrassed. The kayayei know very well they are suffering, but they do not want the rest of the world to know their shame (G2, field interview).

Additionally, there are occasions when certain NGOs and individuals offer the kayayei harmful food that makes them sick, and these *gatekeepers* defend them against that.

A year ago, an organization brought food which was distributed to the kayayei which made a lot of them sick because apparently, the food was unhygienic.....(G3,field interview).

One NGO stated that he still needs to get permission before speaking with anyone in the *kayayei* community, despite his acquaintance with the *gatekeepers* as a result of his work with them,

When they see you are speaking with the kayayei without their permission, they ask, ‘who are you and what are you doing here. Last two Sundays, a sister of mine came and wanted to submit her assignment on how covid affected the kayayei. She was supposed to submit a short documentary narrating what the kayayei went through during the covid19. I tried calling G1 to inform him of the visit of my sister, but his number was not going through. I learned he had called the video guy (shooting the documentary) and instructed him to leave the premises of the kayayei. When I called him, and it went through. I went and told him she was my sister. He said: “ I am looking at you with four-four eyes, you are doing something, and you know the rules here, and he gave me strict warning as if he does not know me (NGO1, field interview).

The above response indicates the extent they will go to protect their people or prevent anyone from doing anything in their community without their consent.

Again, just like a typical guardian, the *gatekeepers* expect the *kayayei* to keep them in the loop regarding their personal matters, including their travel itineraries.

They are our fathers and mothers here. They do so much for us” (K1, field interview).

If they are travelling, they tell their chief. When the chief is around, they go and greet the chief. If the chief instructs them not to go, they will listen. They will disobey nonprofits or any other person rather than their chief. They also get protection from the chiefs like when they are maltreated by the trotro drivers (NGO2, field interview).

To the *kayayei*, keeping the *gatekeepers* informed on their every move is one of the ways they maintain their relationship with the *gatekeepers*. However, by behaving this way, the *kayayei*

(subordinate group) are helping to maintain the status quo arrangement because of their limited power position as suggested by the Social Dominance Theory.

In addition, the *gatekeepers* protect the *kayayei* against mistreatment and sexual harassment of married *kayayei* from men who are primarily trotro drivers, strangers, okada men.

Sometimes we the married women, men try to disturb us, and it is the leadership here that helps us (K2, field interview)

However, this assertion was denied by some of the *kayayei*, who indicated that there are still men who threaten their lives in the market space, yet the *gatekeepers* hardly intervene beyond giving a ‘warning’ to the person.

4.4.9. Support System and Religious Counselling

The *gatekeepers* counsel the *kayayei* on matters of spirituality. 100% of responses indicated that he often comes to the station to speak to the *gatekeepers* and the *kayayei* on various issues, including their married life, the need to be chaste and respectable young women in their search for potential suitors.

They go to him when they have problems” (NGO1, field interview).
We advise them on marriage and spirituality. Before marrying a man from the city, we advise them to get to know his family and not to rush into marriage (G4, field interview).

Although other civil society entities are performing this function, the *kayayei* prefers the services of these *gatekeepers* because the gatekeepers preach in their local dialect, which makes understanding more effortless, as opposed to what happens in churches and mosques in Accra, where sermons are delivered in languages such as Ga and Twi, which the *kayayei* does not understand properly.

The *gatekeepers’* role, however, has inherent limitations. According to the *gatekeepers’* interview comments, no matter how much they try to help the girls, they cannot do everything,

and some things are out of their control. For example, they have little control over their sexual lives or with whom they choose to be in a relationship with; also, they cannot provide their homes for the *kayayei* in these market spaces.

There is nothing we can do if a *kayayei* gets pregnant. However, we can occasionally take the males on if they report to us, especially those who impregnate them. We do not also provide them with a place to sleep, but we can tell the necessary authorities to look after or not sack them in the markets (G2, field interview).

Overall, the *gatekeepers* have grumbled about how tedious their unpaid work is and some of the challenges they face in supporting women, yet they still go to great lengths to help them.

Nobody asks us, ‘how are we doing or dealing with all the *kayayei* problems and burdens’. Anybody who comes to us uses us as a means to get money from the government or donors, which they will pocket (G2, field interview).

5.5. Gender-Power Dynamics of the *Kayayei*-Gatekeeper Relationship

According to Pratto and Walker (2004), there are four bases of gendered power within the Social Dominance School of Thought. These bases will include consensually shared ideologies (cultural beliefs, stereotypes etc.), resource control, social obligations and force. This section will elaborate on how these gendered bases of power influence why male *gatekeepers* dominate the *kayayei space*, why they command so much power and respect from the *kayayei* and the gender power dynamics of the relationship.

Why Male Gatekeepers Dominate in the *Kayayei* Space

5.5.1. The northern structure: the patrilineal ethos of the society

➤ Patriarchal family structure

The social organization of the five northern regions is informed by “patrilineal descent”, which partly explains why male *gatekeepers* are seen as legitimate leaders who wield so much power over the *kayayei* even though the *kayayei* outnumber them in Tema Station. First of all, the *kayayei* hail from the five regions of northern Ghana, where patriarchy and the patrilineal

family system reigns. The patrilineal family system is a system where husbands are supposed to be responsible for the well-being of their families in general (Awedoba, 2015). With the patrilineal family system being the practice among the people of the north, men are placed highly in the family, and they make the final decision. This family structure assigns men superiority over women in terms of gender roles. In other words, these roles are carefully constructed to make women subservient to men. Men are seen as ideal leadership figures in such and of more excellent value than women. The same is replicated here in Tema Station unadulterated because the *gatekeepers* and the *kayayie* have the same cultural cognitive maps resulting from growing up in the same social milieu. As a result, the *kayayei* accepts this consensual dominance because they have seen it all their lives and internalised it as a norm.

Most of the *kayayei* are from polygamous families, and their fathers were always in charge, so there is the need for such male figures here (NGO2, field interview).

When I was a *kayayei*, we also had a gatekeeper. He was a man and from the northern region. In the north, they respect men and feel it is better to give birth to a man than a girl. To them, a female child will eventually get married and serve someone's house, while the male child will rather bring someone into the house to help with chores. Again, my siblings, who are boys, will eat and leave their bowls there, and they expect me to pick them because I am a lady, and that is my work (FK2, field interview).

The patriarchy is very much in the south, and it is all part of our education. Even the female gatekeeper (Magajia) will tell you to go and see the chief because he is the biggest boss (NGO1, field interview).

These findings can be explained by looking at the *kayayei* subordination through the lens of social dominance theory. According to Baffour (2012), one institution that assigns gender roles through patriarchy in today's society is family. The word patriarchy has its root in the Latin word 'pater', which means father (Akita, 2010). It usually refers to men's political power and authority in society, but it can also allude to fathers' power and influence within families.

Patriarchy is a system that endorses men's dominance over women, resulting in a concentration of privilege and power in men's hands. As a result, this system consequently ensures the control and subordination of women, which generates gender inequality of the sexes (Akita, 2010 p.

45). Patriarchal societies, therefore, see “maleness” as the yardstick for measuring for judging people’s intellect and general behaviour.

Patriarchy is especially firmly ingrained in tribal society. It is believed that patriarchy was institutionalised by post-tribal societies through complex units like the legal system, religion and even government structures. Momanyi (2007) warns that the hegemonic power structure does not always imply that men are the ones who dominate women. The author explains that both men and women will support a hegemonic masculine order at any given time in a particular culture. Consequently, the dominant group in power will ensure that subordinate groups accept the status quo and live by the rules established by society’s high and mighty (in this case, patriarchal society).

Associating this with what happens in the study area, the *kayayei* (women) are the subservient/ subordinate group, while the *gatekeepers* (men) are the dominant group. In addition, the *gatekeepers* draw on consensual ideologies regarding their roles and duties as fathers of the home and replicate it here in the south. Overall, although these migrant girls have embraced some urban lifestyles, their patriarchal family socialisation from their places of origin still influence them profoundly, making it easier for the *kayayei* to recognise these male *gatekeepers* as rightful leaders.

5.5.2. Cultural and Gender norms

Despite the presence of female *gatekeepers*, interview responses demonstrate that male *gatekeepers* meet a social need that the female *gatekeepers* are unable to fill. There are several crucial responsibilities that are strictly men's domain. For instance, leading burial rituals among the Mampruli tribes are functions women are not allowed to perform culturally. According to

respondents, many of the *kayayei* die in their pursuit of greener pastures in Accra, and it is the *gatekeepers* who assist in their burial in the south. Overall, this helps shed light on why these male *gatekeepers* dominate *kaya space* in Tema Station.

Additionally, the northern cultural norms or consensually shared ideologies of respecting men, especially the elderly and unquestioned obeisance to everything they say could be attributed to why these men get absolute respect and hold so much power over them. According to the results of my socio-demographic analysis in Tema Station, the bulk of the *gatekeepers* (99%) s are between the ages of 30-61 years above, while the *kayayei* are at their young ages (11-20 years) and still adhere to northern standards of respecting the old despite the temporal-spatial disjuncture.

You know how the northern structure is, the kind of respect you give to the elderly that is brought here. The *kayayei* here bend all the way down to greet the male *gatekeepers* in Tema Station. Even when I go home, I do something funny, my uncle, who is not older than me, will want me to feel like he is my father, so I have to accord him that respect. You know how strong our patrilineal ties are, so they bring that here (NGO1, field interview).

Findings also reveal that 99 per cent of *gatekeepers* are married with children. In Ghanaian society, being married has social value and is regarded as a symbol of respect. The marriage institution is highly regarded in the five northern regions, and married people naturally command respect due to their status. Furthermore, according to respondents, the *kayayei* trust male *gatekeepers* more than female *gatekeepers* (Magajia) since female *gatekeepers* are more likely to cheat them because of their age gap. Overall, these *gatekeepers* fit the image of mainstream, well-respected Northern men who are married, have a good job, and have much money.

They do not respect these older women because some of them cheat them (NGO2, field interview).

In addition, as part of my strategy to gain access to the *gatekeepers* of the *kayayei*, I attended multiple programs organised by the NGOs interviewed. In one of such programs organised by the UNFPA for the *kayayei* in the CMB area, the *kayayei* from Tema Station was witnessed throwing tantrums because they were walked out of the program due to disputes the organisation had with the *gatekeepers* at Tema Station. However, during the chaos, the

gatekeeper from the CMB area walked in and brought calm to the agitated *kayayei* from Tema Station. He began by introducing himself as Mr. Shaibu, a Mamprugu man, and moved further to connect his ethnicity with the fact that he was related by blood to a sub-gatekeeper (G3) at Tema Station before connecting his status as a chief which indicated the high level of ethnic identification and its saliency in whom the *kayayei* recognises as gatekeepers. This instance also shows how gatekeeper loyalty is earned and how they win trust from the community. Again, this short conversation also reveals how gatekeepers use their status as Chiefs to send out a message about their legitimate authority over the *kayayei* in Accra.

I am a Mamprugu. My mother's junior brother is Mr Alhassan (G3) at Tema station. I am from Boro Yili and also Wontu's junior brother. I was raised in Tamale. I am CMB chief, and they gave me CMB, Adbaraka and Tema station environs as a chief, you can confirm from Mr. Alhassan when you get there (G (CMB), field interview).

Also, chieftaincy plays a role in why male gatekeepers dominate in the *kayayei* space and why these men command so much power and respect from the *kayayei*. Chieftaincy is one of the most potent and most respectful institutions in Ghana, especially in northern Ghana. In the Mamprusi tradition, only men are supposed to be chiefs, which applies to the migrant chiefs here in Southern Ghana. Although these migrant chiefs are not chiefs in the classical sense, the *kayayei* are obliged to accord them as much respect as a chief should have. This also provides the basis for why these gatekeepers feel entitled or feel like they own the *kayayei* because the title brings up such expectations.

The gatekeepers act like they own the *kayayei*. Like they are a property (NGO2, field interview).

5.5.3 Religion

One of the critical leverages the *gatekeepers* have over the *kayayei* is through religion. 100% of the *kayayei* interviewed were Muslims and Mamprusi by tribe. Because Mamprusi culture

is so closely linked to Islam, you might observe Islamic themes at a Mamprusi funeral. For instance, Muslim women are not permitted to actively participate in burial rituals such as digging the graveyard and attending the burial of the deceased.

Additionally, in Islam, it is generally believed that women should be protected and taken care of by men. Many of these beliefs are backed by scriptures that are adhered to by the *kayayei*. As a result, the *kayayei* accepts this consensual dominance because they believe in the dictates of their religion. On the whole, the Islamic religion emphasises the submissiveness of women, which among other factors, explains why these male *gatekeepers* dominate and are seen as ideal leadership figures who obtain absolute obedience from the *kayayei*.

“Men are the protectors and maintainers of women because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard” (Sura An Nisa 34, Holy Quran).

5.5.4 Political Norms and NGOs Perspective

The prevailing norms about the responsibilities of the *kayayei* in politics have denied them some form of representation and influence amongst political party representatives. There are gender differences in political engagement and mobilisation of votes (such as joining political organisations, contacting representatives, and mobilising the *kayayei* community to vote for a party). The reasons include norms about gender roles that can eat into their time and the biases of these politicians towards men. For instance, these politicians prefer liaising with male *gatekeepers* over female *gatekeepers* because of the perception that politics is a male domain. This, among many other factors, has contributed to the prevalence of male *gatekeepers* in the *kayayei* reality. This preference of politicians to engage with male than female *gatekeepers* tends to bolster the power of the male *gatekeepers* and deepen gender equality in terms of

participation. It also opens up more opportunities for the male gatekeepers to access higher net worth people for their benefit and serves as a stepping stone for political legitimacy.

➤ **NGO perceptions**

The perceptions of NGOs regarding working with female *gatekeepers* has contributed to the prevalence and dominance of male *gatekeepers* in the *kayayei* reality. The response below by NGO respondents, when asked how they feel about why a male *gatekeeper* phenomenon emerged, shows how these NGOs unconsciously contribute to the gender imbalance in the *kaya space*.

There was the need for a male figure (NGO2, field interview).

Also, the response “the need for a male figure”, although subtle, reveals a definite ideal of patriarchy running through her account. It also does not only reveal the ethnic and leadership norms in the northern society characterised by machismo but also highlights the perception of power based on gender differences. By stating there is the need for a male figure, the interviewee automatically confirms that men are naturally meant to lead based on their gender, or a proper leader is a man to whom women in the society are to conform.

5.5.5 Duration of Stay

Due to the seasonal nature of the migration of the *kayayei* and temporal stay in the cities, male *gatekeepers* are preferred to female *gatekeepers*. Because even the Magajias of the *kayayei* are *kayayei* themselves who come and go, making male *gatekeepers* more attractive because they are permanent residents of the urban centres as most have established homes in Accra and more established networks due to the period they have spent living there.

5.5.6. Resource Control and Information

The gap in incomes between male *gatekeepers* and *kayayei* due to gender-segregated labour markets has resulted in a system where male *gatekeepers* control a significant amount of resources, have better homes, and more money, resulting in an inherent power differential. These *gatekeepers* control some of the most critical resources that are most valuable by the *kayayei* and so automatically keep them dependent on them. For instance, the gatekeepers are able to take various jobs ranging from transportation business to susu business which is highly patronized by the *kayayei*. Unlike the *kayayei*, who rarely venture beyond head portorage in the cities.

Also, the gatekeepers not only wield more resources (established networks and better businesses) but also control access to information, which creates an inherent power differential. For instance, the *gatekeepers* control information regarding NGO programs and decide which *kayayei* deserves to participate during the mobilisation of the *kayayei*. According to interview responses, most *kayayei* believe their gatekeepers are in charge of persuading and bringing these NGOs onboard for *kayayei* initiatives. This also contributes to why the *kayayei* are reluctant to disobey their *gatekeepers*. However, the dangers of the information divide between the *kayayie* and these NGO project implementors mean that the *kayayei* can easily be deceived or lured into certain relationships with promises of getting them to benefit from NGO initiatives. According to one of the interviewees, there was a time one of the *gatekeepers* selected his family members for a tailoring opportunity that was meant to benefit the *kayayei* community, revealing some of the biases that may go through the selection of the *kayayei* for NGO initiatives.

5.6.0 Interest of the Gatekeepers in the Kayayie Industry

This section will explore the interest of these gatekeepers in the *kayayei* reality. It will also explore why the *gatekeepers* have grown so common in the *kaya space*.

5.6.1 Economic Interest: Enrich their businesses

The *gatekeepers* have established business that is patronized by the *kayayei*, which helps enriches their businesses as well as strengthens their gains. Because of their position, they can undertake certain ventures or offer services other *gatekeepers* cannot and gain from it economically. For instance, the buses established by the G1 and the susu business established by G2 is highly patronised by the *kayayei* and serve to strengthen the gains of the chiefs.

5.6.2 Prestige and status:

The *gatekeepers* do not only get monetary incentives from coordinating with NGOs and politicians, but they get a status boost because they get to liaise and act as coordinators with prestigious NGOs such as UNFPA and the likes. Although these *gatekeepers* have existing social capital and network because of their length of stay in Accra, they still seek to expand their existing social network to include these prestigious figures from these organisations whom they can turn to in times of challenges.

Also, by being a *gatekeeper*, they gain respect and recognition from *kayayie*, who believe the *gatekeepers* lobby for them to get these benefits. 80% of the *kayayie* believed their *gatekeepers* brought these NGOs on board to help them. During NGO projects, they get to select and mobilize the *kayayei* and get free meals in return. Again, there were examples cited of how *gatekeepers* sometimes choose their family members to benefit from projects meant for the *kayayei* as a whole. This partly explains why these *gatekeepers* are prevalent in the *kayayei* reality.

However, this quest of status and prestige within the *gatekeeper* space in Tema Station has led to clashes and sabotage amongst the *gatekeepers* who seek to topple others in the hierarchy in order to secure greater rewards.

According to one of the respondents, there was a time G1 requested that an NGO support a cleanup exercise in Tema Station, which they agreed to do. However, during the process of sending the payments to G1, they found out from another G3 that the cleanup operation was no longer happening. As a result, the NGO refused to fund the exercise. According to G1, G3 tried to sabotage him so that he could get his position of having direct access to the NGOs. He denied ever sending a letter as he is not literate even to draft a letter.

We received a letter from G1 to fund a cleanup exercise. However, we heard it was not coming, so we refused to pay. Because why are we paying for something that is no longer coming on. So this year, when we went to him to initiate a new plan for a new activity we wanted to engage the *kayayei*, he demanded the money, and G3 helped us to change a new gatekeeper in CMB just to avoid the back and forth (NGO2, field interview).

I will break G3 legs. He is a hypocrite. He lied to the NGO about me (G1, field interview). G3 told me he is a selfish am a selfish person, and I am going to do what I can do to benefit (NGO1, field interview).

5.6.3 Financial Interest

The gatekeepers use their position to get monetary incentives through programs organised by these NGOs. Interview responses show that the *kayayei* regard their *gatekeepers* with ambivalence and hatred at times. One central theme I found across interviews was that many of these *gatekeepers* were making money off the *kayayei* girls in the station. Responses also indicate that their display of selflessness may also be a ruse to serve their own interests.

The chief wanted to reap the benefits meant for the *kayayei*. He had a sense of entitlement and wanted to make money off the girls. Suppose you are a non-governmental organization (NGO) and want to work on a project with the *kayayei*. In that case, you must first contact him and offer him money before he agrees that you are working with his people (NGO2, field interview).

G2 told me G1 is an illiterate who likes money. However, he himself calls to ask me for money, and that is the hypocritical part (NGO1, field interview).

According to one of the NGO respondents, they had planned to organise a ‘Hope Walk’ meant to raise awareness of the *kayayei* plight in Tema Station. The NGO informed G1 about the goal of the project and the benefits which G1 accepted. On the day of the event, the *kayayei* declined to participate in the walk upon seeing G1, who gave them a stern look. However, the *kayayei* were allowed to participate in the walk after the NGO paid the chief.

We funded the walk without any external support. We were supposed to walk from the circle to the stadium, but suddenly we saw that all of these girls were seated on the floor. We inquired as to what had occurred, and they stated that they would not be walking again after they had seen their chief standing from a distance. I approached the chief, who was unconcerned. A man I was conversing with in Hausa suddenly began speaking Mampruli as though he didn't recognize me. However, this is someone who calls me regularly to ask for favours. My colleague said I give him 100cedis. Once we gave him the money, the girls got up again with their placards to walk. He stated that he could have organised more girls to join if he knew the walk would attract media attention. He would not like it that he was in charge of a program, and the turnout was that small. He also added that we should reveal to the kayayei that he collected money. He also further asked the kayayei to inquire from us whether monetary benefits were exchanged (NGO2, field interview).

This example illustrates the selfish monetary interest of the *gatekeepers* who are out to exploit the naivety and limited power position of the *kayayei* to strengthen their gains. It also illustrates gatekeepers domination and the level of power they wield over *kayayei* and how the compliance of the *kayayei* help to sustain the status quo that keeps them on the bottom.

The above statement, “he could have organised more girls to join,” also demonstrates that gatekeepers, like the nonprofits they accuse (of chasing performance targets), have a similar interest in the *kayayei* numbers because they all perceive them as a means to an end. There were many more examples of all the *gatekeepers* below the hierarchy demanding monies or benefits earned by the *kayayei* after the close of programs. However, the gatekeepers refuted the allegations regarding their monetary interest. According to the gatekeepers, taking money from NGOs is considered legitimate because they use their resources to mobilise the *kayayei* for projects. For example, they incur costs in terms of calling vital focal points to get the girls organised for programs. Again, they argued that part of the etiquettes of the northern society regarding visiting a chief is bringing along a gift or bowl of kola nuts.

You do not go to a chief with an empty hand. Moreover, I am a chief, and NGOs can't expect me to go around mobilising the *kayayei* myself. I need to send the boys to that, and I have to give them money for that (G1, field interview).

5.6.4 Dominance and Control

There were allegations of the *gatekeepers* taking advantage of their position and sleeping with the *kayayei* in Tema Station. According to some responses, 90% of the *gatekeepers* found their wives (*kayayei*) in Tema Station. Also, some of the *gatekeepers* take advantage of their position and status to have sexual relationships with some of the *kayayei* while their spouses are away in the north. On the other hand, these girls see nothing wrong with it because they have been socialised to accept polygamy as a way of life. Moreover, they cannot even pinpoint the difference between a fling and a hookup. As a result, they treat and refer to the *gatekeepers* they are dating as my ‘husband’.

G2 told me G1 was frequently sleeping with the *kayayei*. Also, some of the *kayayei* secretly told me about the sexual relationship between a few *kayayei* and the G1 and G2.

One of the *kayayei* whose cousin is married to G2 and said ‘Saa Fuseini o on ye’, meaning Fatawu is not correct. According to her cousin, Fuseini always sleeps with the *kayayei* whenever her wife travels to the north (NGO1, field interview).

Additionally, the *kayayei* interviewed indicated that many of their *gatekeepers*, especially G1, lack flexibility and never consider their opinions and only care about his selfish interests.

Chief does not listen to us or anyone (K3, field interview).

Our chief does not know how to communicate, and just because he is our chief does not mean he wants our wellbeing. He treats us as if we are his children, and he wants to benefit from us. (K4, field interview).

These responses overall reflect the varying forms of marginalization they experience based on their gender, menial occupation, and overall subject positioning within a matrix of domination

5.6.5 Political interest

- **Financial interest:** Interview responses indicate that the *gatekeepers* take advantage of the *kayayei*'s position and solicit funds from the political elite, especially during elections. Also, 90% of the responses reveal that the *kayayei* do not have political consciousness that

is deeper enough to motivate them to organise solely to defend their self-interest. In instances, they are mobilized politically; it is merely to further the interest of the *gatekeepers*.

- **Political ideology:** According to interview responses, the gatekeepers at Tema Station are divided along political lines, making it difficult for them to achieve political solidarity. Elections primarily serve as a benefits system for *the gatekeepers*. During elections, the *gatekeepers* constantly compete amongst themselves to garner the most votes for their respective parties or who gets the largest share in terms of numbers for their parties. This has been a source of enmity, competition and animosity among them.

The reason the Chief hates me is because I support the NPP and the Chief is NDC. Because I am the head of the NPP campaign team here at Tema Station, he tried to pull me down and get me into problems multiple times (G2, field interview).

G2 is always trying to get more girls to bus them and get them to vote for NPP, which annoyed G1. However, the G1 indicated that he had not been actively involved in politics since he became a chief (NGO1, field interview).

- **MarketSpace**

According to the responses, both the *gatekeepers* and *kayayei* can be sacked from the Tema Station due to misconduct or even disputes regarding space. Despite the numerous layers of informality, the internal periphery demonstrates how space is a very active structure of subjection for those confined to the urban margins (Harvey, 1973 as cited in Bowles, 2011).

Indeed, the gatekeepers are aware of the hierarchies of power and the fact that they are subordinate groups in the urban centres despite their dominant position by gender. They are scared of running risks of losing their space in the market. As a result, they liaise with politicians to prevent losing their space in situations when AMAs are doing checks in the market. E.g. Knowing a big man phenomenon.

During the lockdown, G1 almost got me arrested because NGOs mounted some canopies that he was aware of, and when the Welfare Department asked, he lied that it was me. However, luckily I am NPP, and my party is in power, so the welfare people cannot sack me or arrest me because they are equally under the DCE of Tema station who knows me very well (G2, field interview).

➤ **Higher political positions**

90% of the interview responses suggested that some of the *gatekeepers* want to use the *kayayei* to achieve political legitimacy or a stepping stone to other employment opportunities. This could partly explain why the NGOs spend their time helping these political representatives to achieve their political ambitions.

5.6.6. Kinship Interests: Protection and Wellbeing of the Kayayei

While perceived the gatekeepers as oppressive figures with just self-serving interests, several other reactions suggested differently. Many of the respondents praised the *gatekeepers* simply for being there in their lives and indicated that the consistency of the gatekeepers is one reason why they would not sacrifice their relationship with them for a one-time killing of obtaining benefits from nonprofits. Many examples cited showed that these gatekeepers genuinely cared about the *kayayei* girls because of ethnic proximity. They view the *kayayei* as one of them; after all, they hail from the same region and of the same tribe. The language used by the *gatekeepers* in responses to my questions entails some strong drive to protect them because they are their people. From the above analysis, it is clear that the *gatekeepers* are the real winners because they get to use the *kayayei* to support their businesses and make money through their role as *coordinators* through NGO projects. They determine which *kayayei* takes part in NGO projects.

5.7. Kayayei who go Beyond the Gatekeepers to Operate

5.7.1 Education Level

10% of the respondents indicated that a small number of *kayayei* operate outside of the *gatekeepers* control and these *kayayei* are primarily self-sufficient, educated and less likely to be found sleeping in open market places. Interview responses are consistent with the

investment in the social capital model that suggests that people who are more educated and better off tend to exhibit lesser levels of ethnic identification.

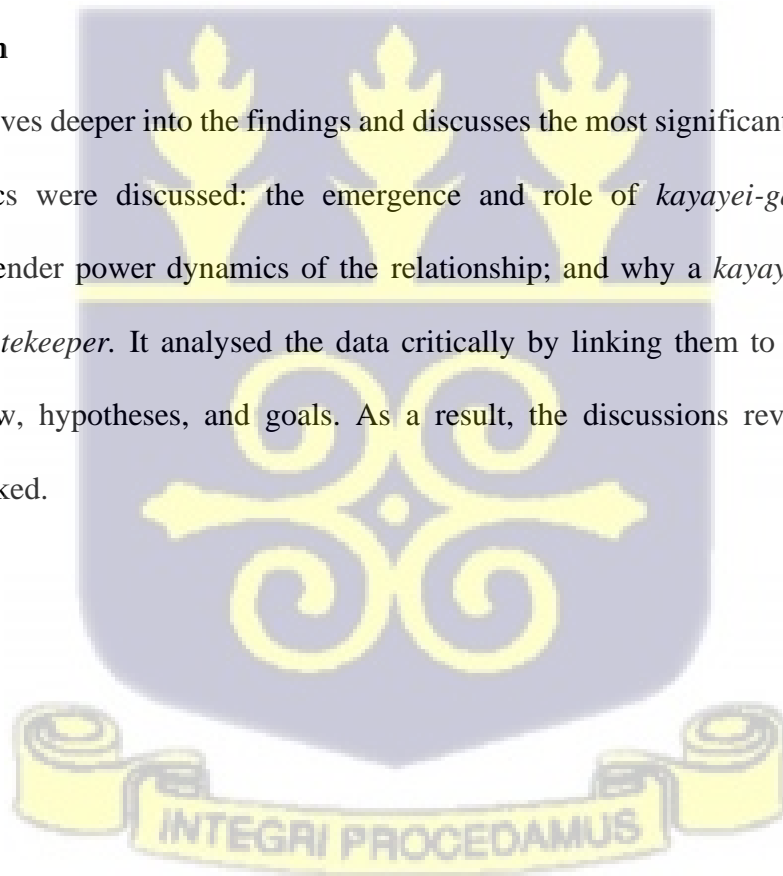
Some of the *kayayei* do not operate under any gatekeeper. They do not go to the chief for any support. I think that has to do with their level of education and exposure. They are on their own, and they do not sleep in the market (NGO2, field interview).

5.7.2 Minority tribes: Acephalous tribes

80% of the respondents indicated that some *kayayei* do not have chiefs and *gatekeepers* because they belong to stateless and acephalous tribes that lack political leaders and hierarchies or to whom chieftaincy is alien. For example, Komkomba. This claim, however, was contradicted by 10% of the responders, who stated that every *kayayei* in urban areas has some form of recognized chiefs or leadership and are less likely to operate without a *gatekeeper*.

5.8. Conclusion

This section delves deeper into the findings and discusses the most significant revelations. The following topics were discussed: the emergence and role of *kayayei-gatekeepers*; their interests; the gender power dynamics of the relationship; and why a *kayayei* might operate outside of a *gatekeeper*. It analysed the data critically by linking them to the introduction, literature review, hypotheses, and goals. As a result, the discussions revealed how these chapters are linked.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter briefly highlights the study's significant findings, provides a conclusion based on the primary findings, and proposes ways for the government and NGOs to better understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon. As a result, the study's objectives were as follows:

- To understand who the *kayayei-gatekeepers* are and the exact role they play in the *kayayei* phenomenon.
- Evaluating the gender-power dynamics of the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships
- Assessing the interests, winners, and losers in the *kayayei-gatekeeper* relationships

To do so, the researcher used purposive, convenient and snowball sampling to interview 21 people - 6 *gatekeepers*, 10 *kayayei*, 2 former *kayayei*, and 3 representatives from two NGOs- to generate novel insights about an understudied phenomenon.

6.1 Summary

The findings revealed that *gatekeepers* play a diverse role in the *kayayei* reality and appear to meet a social need that is not met by female *gatekeepers* or civil society entities. The data show that patriarchy bolstered the gatekeepers' power and justified their grip on the *kayayie* through ethnicity, status, religion, gender, resource, and consensual ideology. Additionally, findings also reveal that depending on the role that is examined, *gatekeeping* may appear seemingly but not real. However, the gatekeeping role is more evident when dealing with NGOs and Politicians. Overall, ethnic identification is salient to whom the *kayayei* recognize as a leader and *gatekeepers* have loyalty based on tribe/ near affinity/ religion.

6.1.1 Summary on the Emergence of the Gatekeepers in the Kaya Industry

The findings revealed that: 4 factors necessitated the emergence and perpetuated the prevalence of the gatekeepers in the kaya industry: **The need for social capital and hierarchy:** People working in precarious situations prefer to accept hierarchy and invest more in ethnic capital with older persons who have already built their networks because they require this information to succeed in these unfamiliar contexts.

The natural leadership phenomenon and proliferation of chieftaincy in many migrant communities in urban centres have contributed to the predominance of gatekeepers in the kayayei community. Their position automatically makes them *gatekeepers* because they function as rulers and control access to the *kayayei* community. **Finally**, the prevalence of the NGO activities has slowly created a gap for the *gatekeeper* phenomenon to perpetuate since NGOs regularly rely on *gatekeepers* to organise the *kayayei* to help them achieve the performance or numbers target

6.1.2. Summary of the Role of the Gatekeepers in the Kayayei Phenomenon

Findings revealed that the gatekeepers play multiple roles in the *kayayei* industry, such as resolving both internal and external conflict between the *kayayei* and market women and vice versa. They also bail the *kayayei* when arrested and make announcements through a network of *gatekeepers* in Accra when a *kayayei* goes missing etc. Additionally, they mobilize the funds internally and externally when a *kayayei* is faced with health emergencies. Furthermore, the *gatekeepers* also mobilize *kayayei* for NGO programs and during elections. They also aid in the burial and removal of the corpse of the *kayayei* from the morgue. Additionally, they serve as guardians and protectors of the *kayayei* from a wide range of issues, including Ponzi schemes/ fraudulent Susu Vendors. In addition, they provide religious counselling.

6.1.3 Summary on the Gender-Power Dynamics of the Kayayei Relationship

It was also found that the dominant groups, that is, the gatekeepers, held an unequal share of positive social value items, like political authority, diverse businesses, superior residences and power and high social standing. In contrast, the subordinate groups (kayayei) absorb a significant share of negative social value goods, such as low-status occupations and gender, no homes. Overall, the *gatekeepers* controlled a good amount of resources which in turn creates an inherent power differential. The result is a hierarchical arrangement where the dominant group is on top and the subordinate group at the bottom (Erika, 2017, P.147).

Additionally, patriarchal family structure, Cultural and religious underpinnings, duration of stay of female *gatekeepers* and political and NGO norms perpetuated the dominance of male *gatekeepers* in the *kaya* industry. Also, age, marital status and gender played a role in why the *gatekeepers* command absolute respect from the *kayayei*.

6.1.4 Summary on the Interest of the Gatekeepers in the Kaya Industry and the Winners and Losers in the Kayayei-Gatekeeper Relationship

Findings revealed that the *gatekeepers* are not mere altruistic leaders but leaders with diverse economic, financial, political, kinship, and status interests. In terms of **economic**, gatekeepers have established business patronized by the kayayei which helps enriches their businesses and strengthens their gains. In terms of **financial interest**, the gatekeepers were observed having monetary interest and were not seen haggling with nonprofits over the kayayei once a fine was paid. Additionally, *gatekeepers* jealously guarded their position because of their desire to increase their prestige and status and expand their existing social network.

Furthermore, the *gatekeepers* belonged to different political parties and sought to pull votes for their political candidates. Others viewed the *gatekeeping* position as means to achieve political legitimacy or a stepping stone to other employment opportunities. The *gatekeepers* used their

position as a means to dominate and control the *kayayei*. Finally, the *gatekeepers* also had kinship interests and genuinely protected the *kayayei* because they felt close to them based on ethnic proximity. Further analysis revealed the *gatekeepers* to be the true winners because they get to use the *kayayei* to support their businesses and make money through their role as *coordinators* through NGO projects. Finally, they determine which *kayayei* takes part in NGO projects.

6.1.5 Summary on the Kayayei who go beyond Gatekeepers to operate

Findings also revealed that *kayayei* who operate beyond these gatekeepers are mostly independent and highly educated *kayayei*. Also, *kayayei* who belonged to stateless tribes or acephalous societies often operated without *gatekeepers*.

6.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that ethnic factors reflected on the gatekeeper reality and factors such as status, gender, resource and consensual ideologies backed by patriarchy amplified the powers of the gatekeepers and justified the hold they have on the *kayayei*. The *kayayei* behaved in ways that helped maintain the status quo because of their limited power position. Additionally, although there were female gatekeepers and other CSOs in the *kayayei* reality, the male *gatekeepers* appeared to meet a social need that they did not meet. Thus, public policy should focus on the management of the *kayayei* phenomenon, and the state must take action and offer guidelines on the phenomenon.

The findings reaffirm the theories of social dominance and intersectionality. The social dominance theory believes that if the four gendered power bases, including resource control, force, social obligations and consensual ideologies tend to favour the dominant group, the result is a hierarchical arrangement in which the dominant group is on top and the subordinate group at the bottom; intersectionality, on the other hand, explains how the complex and intersecting identities shape the experiences of both the *kayayei* and their *gatekeepers*. Overall, this

dissertation is a study of power and power relations, and the study falls squarely in the domain of politics and political science

7.1 Significance and Recommendations

1. Academic Benefit:

- Although thorough investigation has been done on the *kayayei*-phenomenon, little has been done on the *kayayei-gatekeeper* phenomena. The work is a pioneering study that has contributed to the call for knowledge and research by reporting on and generating novel insights about an understudied phenomenon (the *gatekeeper* phenomenon in the *kaya* industry) that has not received enough attention and their significance in the *kaya* industry.

The following are some of the recommendations made by the study:

2. Government & CSOs: Policy

- There is a significant gap on *kayayei* management in terms of public policy, as there is no holistic *kayayei* management strategy focusing on addressing this *phenomenon* except for a few private sector initiatives. Hence, to promote social welfare and gender equity, public policy must address this phenomenon by regulating, creating standards, and offering recommendations on how these *gatekeepers* should operate. Overall, this study has been developed to fill this vacuum by shedding light on the phenomenon and providing policymakers with the focus and direction to address this phenomenon.
- A national consultation should be implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and UNFPA in consultation with all relevant CSOs, the *kayayei*, their *gatekeepers*, and other potential partners. The potential partners such as respected national academics on ways gender equality can be mainstreamed into the *kayayei*

management strategy, will raise awareness, develop critical feedback which will ultimately lead to the development of a gender-sensitive national roadmap on integrating gender equality into the *kayayei* management strategy. Overall, this will strengthen commitment and offer specific input on how gender equality and the social protection strategy may be used in informal contexts like the *kayayei* to improve social protection.

3. Collaborating with the gatekeepers

- The relevant District Assemblies, Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and other CSOs can put in structures during the dry season by working alongside these gatekeepers using them as key informants on the number of underage *kayayei* since their role allows them to control data on the exit and entrance of the *kayayei* in the market to help manage this migration as well as make it safer. These gatekeepers can also serve as checks on these *kayayei* from their places of origin to their destination because of their access and control of transport resources and market spaces that are utilized by the *kayayei*.

4. Establishment of a *kayayei* data management platform and coordinating with *kayayei* - gatekeepers to track and gather data on underage *kayayei*

- Due to limited coordination among the various stakeholders dealing with *kayayei* migration issues, data on *kayayei* is often scattered across various agencies and makes it challenging to access accurate statistics on the phenomenon. The government can improve data collection by operationalizing the national migration data management strategy to include data on internal migration. The IOM Mobile (Migration Information and Data Analysis Software (MIDAS), which supports migration information

management through a digital process, can serve as a model. The MIDAS software has mobile kits which can work offline and allows officials to confirm the travel documents as well as cross-reference people against other similar databases.

A similar system can be created to track the underage *kayayei* using the gatekeepers as key focal points. The features of this software should allow users to track the frequency of migration and the age group of migrants. If this software is created and is functional, this will ensure accurate data as well as an enhanced understanding of the potential benefits of the gatekeepers in ending underage *kayayei*.

5. Capacity Building Programs

- Programs created by the government and the CSOs especially, in response to the *kayayei-phenomenon* should both be catalytic, sustainable, and context-specific, and should take into consideration a number of sensitive factors, such as the type of people and actors participating in such intervention. In different ways, these actors should have a key role in enhancing social protection for female migrants (*kayayei*) in precarious situations in urban centres. For instance, someone of different nationality or ethnicity who has not lived the situation and neither understands the language should not be chosen as a lead implementor of a project that involves the Northern *kayayei* women.
- The study suggests that gatekeepers should be involved in training sessions implemented by both CSOs and the Government with the goal of bridging the gender inequality gap between these gatekeepers and *kayayei*. Capacity-building workshops implemented for *kayayei* should not be limited to income generation but should include

issues such as human rights, sexual rights and how to recognize and report exploitation. including the prevention of SGBV.

- In terms of designing interventions for the *kayayei*, the findings also recommend that NGOs set learning intentions regarding all projects they implement. Often, NGO initiatives are driven by performance goals – numbers and not by impact. It is easy for NGOs to get trapped in setting performance goals, primarily when external sources fund projects. That partly explains why interventions on *kayayei* do not work. I believe in setting learning intentions and realizing that a one-size-fits-all approach cannot solve the *kayayei* phenomenon.

6. Identification and Creation of Dialogue Platforms:

- The study revealed existing grievances and vulnerabilities between the *kayayei* and gatekeepers due to gender and power gaps. Thus, dialogue platforms should be created involving both the *kayayei*, their gatekeepers and other key stakeholders on how to address such grievances, and how projects geared toward managing the phenomenon can be sustained over the short and medium term. Also, there should regular capacity-building platforms in the areas of human rights and gender equality, including the prevention of SGBV. It is worth emphasizing that improving the capacity of such dialogue platforms will improve the ability of both the gatekeepers and *kayayei* to facilitate dialogue among themselves as well as how to address existing vulnerabilities and grievances.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON RESEARCH TOPIC:

This survey is meant to collect data for a study titled: —Assessing the Kayayei -Gatekeeper Relationship: A Case Study from Accra. This research is expected to enable me to fulfil the requirement of completing and submitting a thesis to complete my MPhil. Any information provided will be treated as confidential. I will therefore count on your support and cooperation to answer the questions.

INTERVIEWER.....

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE.....

NAME OF INSTITUTION.....

OFFICIAL POSITION.....

DATE OF INTERVIEW.....

SECTION A: Demographic Characteristics of Respondent

1. Name of respondent (optional).....
2. Sex of respondent (a) Male (b) Female
3. Age of respondent (a) 9-11 (b)12-14 (c) 15-18 (d) 18 - above
4. Religious affiliation of respondent (a) Islam (b) Christianity (c) Others
5. Ethnicity of respondent.....
6. Marital Status (a) Married (b) Single (c) Divorced
7. Number of children if any
8. Age(s) of children
9. Level of Education of respondent (a) Primary (b) JHS (c) SHS (d) None others (specify).....

10. Are you still in School? (a) Yes [] (b) No []

11. If No (school dropout), at what level of education did you leave? (a) Primary [] (b) JHS [] (c) SHS [] (d) Others (specify).....

12. Why did you leave school (explore the possibility of the interplay of several factors)

.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Why were you not enrolled in school

.....
.....
.....
.....

14. How long have you lived in Accra? 1. Less than one year [] 2. Between one and five years [] 3. More than five years []

SECTION B: EMERGENCE OF THE GATEKEEPERS IN THE KAYAYEI INDUSTRY

1. Who are these gatekeepers?
2. What brought about the emergence of the phenomenon gatekeepers?
3. How do they operate: what role do they perform and what don't they perform?
4. Why were these individuals willing to be gatekeepers? Were there some individuals who refused to be gatekeepers?
5. How are these gatekeepers selected?
6. What are some of the basic services provided by the gatekeepers?

7. What are your experiences with the gatekeepers?
8. How did these gatekeepers come to have power and control over you?
9. Is there any form of monetary transaction between you and the gatekeepers
10. Are there cases of women who have gone beyond these *gatekeepers* and operate without them?
11. Have the kayayei ever experienced any or various forms of physical, emotional, and financial abuse from their gatekeepers?

SECTION C: SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

1. What role do the kayayei serve to the gatekeeper
2. How does the role of the gatekeeper affect the kayayei participation in NGO projects
3. How are the gatekeepers rewarded?

SECTION D: ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES

1. Who has the final say over decisions made by the kayayei?
2. What resources do the gatekeepers control and how does this influence their hold on the kayayei?
3. How does this control affect the kayayei in this relationship?

SECTION E: ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND DECISION MAKING

1. Who has more access to the information?
2. How does this information access affect women's ability to participate and benefit from NGO-related projects?
3. Who resolves the conflict between the kayayei?
4. Who can influence the decision-making of the kayayei ?

SECTION F: PRACTICAL NEEDS AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS

1. What are the needs and wishes of the kayayei in the kayayei-gatekeeper relationship?
2. How does the kayayei relate to the gatekeepers?

GATEKEEPERS

SECTION A: THE ROLE OF THE GATEKEEPERS

1. What kind of activities are they involved in outside the role of the gatekeeper?
2. What determines the size of the fees gained by gatekeepers?
3. How are they selected?
4. What kind of relationship exists between them and the kayayei?
5. Why were they willing to be gatekeepers?
6. What are their experiences building trust among the kayayei?
7. What impact do they have on the lives of the kayayei?
8. What are some strategies used by the gatekeepers in selecting the kayayei for NGO programs such as that of the UNFPA?
9. What is the real interest of the gatekeeper in the lives of the kayayei?
10. What do they seek to gain from this relationship?

Organizations

SECTION A: PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS ROLE

1. When it comes to the kayayei-gatekeepers, whose recommendations are considered legitimate by the organizations?
2. What are the biggest challenges in collecting feedback from the kayayei and gatekeepers?
3. How do they deal with large volumes of feedback from the kayayei?

4. Is there any form of female leadership within the kayayei
5. What role do the gatekeepers serve to you?
6. Do you think there is a need to support female leadership among the kayayei?
7. What are some strategies used by the organizations in dealing with the gatekeepers
8. How are the gatekeepers selected
9. How are they rewarded?
10. What are organizations experiences with the gatekeepers
- 11.** Who are these gatekeepers and why were these individuals serving as gatekeepers?
12. What is the real interest of the gatekeeper in the lives and welfare of the kayayei?



APPENDIX 2: RELEVANT DOCUMENTS AND PICTURES OF KAYAYEI AND GATEKEEPERS WHO CONSENTED TO THEIR PHOTOS BEING SHOWN.

Pictorial illustration: Workshop organised by UNFPA and attended by the researcher prior to data collection. Source, field 2021



Tema Station at night



G1 crowned chief of Tema Station, Source: G1, field interview



Gatekeeper at CMB, Source, field interview

