

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES**

**LIVELIHOOD AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF MIGRANT
TRANSPORT APPRENTICES: A CASE STUDY OF 'TRO-TRO'
MATES IN ACCRA.**

BY

**PATIENCE BUCKMAN
(INDEX NO 10268470)**



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GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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DEGREE**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other people's work, which have been duly acknowledged, this is the result of my own research and that it has not been presented elsewhere either in part or in whole for another degree.

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PATIENCE BUCKMAN

(STUDENT)

.....

(DATE)

.....

DR AKOSUA K. DARKWAH

(SUPERVISOR)



.....

(DATE)

DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to Dr. Saka Manful who initiated and saw me through my Master's degree programme. I owe this attainment to you.



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This project would not have been completed without the help, support and contribution of many people.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the livelihood experiences and survival strategies of *tro-tro* driver mates in Tema station, Accra. *Tro-tro driver mates* are teenagers or young men who assist *tro-tro* drivers' enroute short or long distance travels in mini-buses in Ghana. Many of them are migrants who are believed to have come from other regions of Ghana and have come to settle in Accra to find a better life in the city. As migrants, there is the need to study them to understand the nature of their job, livelihoods experiences and how they are able to cope with challenges on their job. The main objective of this study is to find out the livelihood and survival strategies of *tro-tro* driver mates in Accra.

The fieldwork was carried out at the Tema station in Accra. Purposive sampling was used to select 50 participants. Data was collected through the use of quantitative and qualitative research methods that include; Surveys, informal interviews, and observation. The data gathered was discussed and analysed using SPSS and QSR NVivo approach. The study revealed diverse findings that were interesting and significant.

First, it was revealed that, origin of the *tro-tro* driver mates are between the ages of 15 to 17 years and mostly of Akan followed by Ewe origin. They have had some level of basic primary education and work on an average 17 hours a day. The driver mates earn about GH¢20.00 a day and their main motivation for migrating is 'to make money' to continue education, learn how to drive to earn a better livelihood or state up a trade. Finally, it was discovered through the secondary and primary literature(s) that there were significant differences in income patterns between the *kayayei* and the *tro-tro* driver mates but both of them faced a barrage of verbal abuse from their clients; that is buyers or traders and passengers.

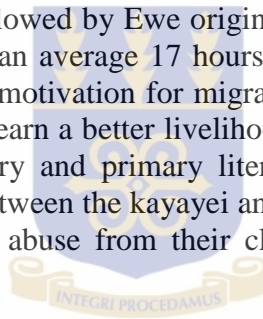


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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Kwame a young boy of 17 years old, from the village of *Pampamwie*- in the Kajebi district of Volta Region in Ghana migrates to Accra after completing Junior Secondary School. His father an illiterate cocoa farmer has no money to enable him continue with his education because there are younger siblings to cater for. One of his uncles in Accra has a sliding door business. He decides to join him to learn how to do the doors. Six months into the trade, there is still not enough money to cater for him. He decides to engage in the *trotro mate* business for two months to make money and then return to learn the trade.

Currently, Kwame has not gone back to learn the sliding door trade he came to Accra for because according to him, the *tro-tro* business is very lucrative and he gets to use his own money for a variety of things.

Stories such as Kwame's are quite common as more rural young men and women in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) migrate to cities to escape poverty (Min-Harris, 2009). His life is reflective of a rural-urban migration stream that is quite different from that of the Kayayei phenomenon- female migrants are migrating independently to seek their own economic gains and to better their livelihoods, from ages as early as eight to twenty-two years (Awumbila 2005 in Awumbila and Ardayfio 2008:171).

In recent years migration of the youth have been on the increase worldwide (Raimundo 2007). Awumbila et al (2011) have established that in many African countries, the emigration of young people reduces the labour force among a highly productive group especially in the sending areas or communities. More importantly, migration provides

risks and opportunities to individuals in both places of origin and places of destination (ibid) and affects young men and women differently.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The causes of youth migration and the vulnerability it entails have been put forward by various researchers. Goldscheider (1983) cited by Awumbila et al (2011: 42) noted that the main motivation for youth migration is to seek jobs and other opportunities to improve their standard of living. Nonetheless, very little is known about the experiences and vulnerabilities of the many young migrants working in different occupations in Accra.

The livelihood strategies of men and women migrants differ immensely in Ghana and other parts of the world. While a large body of literature on internal migration in Ghana has focused much on migrant girls from Northern Ghana (Tanle; 2003, Songsore; 2003, Opare; 2003, Awumbila; 2007, Yeboah; 2008), very little has focused on young male migrants from other regions in Ghana migrating to work as *tro-tro driver mates*.

Prior studies on youth migration in Ghana have focused largely on female migrants from the northern part of the country moving to cities in the South of Ghana. Like the *Kayayo*, *tro-tro driver mates* fit into the social category of urban poor people (Yeboah, 2008) because with little or no education, coupled with little or no workable skills, they migrate from rural parts of Ghana to engage in marginal economic activities (Agwarl et al, 1997; Opare, 2003; Tanle, 2003, Awumbila and Ardayfio Schandorf ,2008).

However, there are many differences between the two. While both are engaged in the transport industry, the *Kayayo* transports goods by carrying it on her head; in shorter

distances from one place to the other, the *tro-tro mate* is engaged in transporting both goods and people with the use of the *tro-tro minibus* in either shorter or longer distances from one place to the other.

On the other hand, the *Kayayo* works independently and her remuneration comes directly to her. Though they are independent in their work, the girl porter (*kayayo*) goes through different kinds of abuses (Awumbila, 2008: 171). Again, Yeboah and Appiah (2008) posited that most of the girls are raped which leads to many teenage pregnancies. In the case of the *tro-tro driver mates*, they work under their drivers and may go through diverse abuses. This research is a comparative study of *kayayei* and *tro-tro driver mates* that intends to explore the the livelihood options, risks and survival strategies of male migrants working as '*tro tro*' mates.

1.3 Objectives of Study

The general objective of the study is to ascertain the livelihood experiences and risks of young migrants entering into the *tro tro mates*' occupation and to find out the survival strategies developed by the migrant *tro-tro driver mates* to deal with the risks in their occupation in Accra.

Specific Objectives:

The study sets out to satisfy the following specific objectives:

1. To examine the socio-demographic characteristics of some selected *tro-tro driver mates* at Tema Station in Accra.
2. To analyze the internal migration trend among *tro-tro driver mates* in Accra.

3. To understand the motivation of the *tro tro* mates for entering into the *tro-tro* occupation
4. To describe the coping strategies developed by migrant *tro-tro driver mates* to deal with risks associated with their work.
5. To examine the *tro-tro driver mates* aspirations for the future.

1.4 The Scope of the Study

This study is restricted to *tro-tro driver mates* who have migrated from other villages and towns of Ghana to Accra; the capital city of Ghana, and are working as transport assistants in one of the largest and busiest *tro-tro* stations in central Accra, Tema station. The study looks at their reasons for choosing this particular occupation. It focuses on the socio-economic as well as the demographic characteristics of the young men and boys, their migration experience and occupational challenges in central Accra. Finally, the study is to find out the future aspirations of these *tro tro* mates.

1.5 Definition of Concepts

Tro-tro industry: intra-city public transport operated by drivers and their assistants- *trotro* mates

Tro-tro driver mates: Boys between the ages of 15 and 29 years

Livelihood: liflad “a way of living”, as to work/job, income one earns to pay for food, a place to live, clothing etc.

Survival Strategy: a devised plan to achieve the goal of livelihood

Tro-tro driver mates’ work: any economic activity undertaken by a *tro-tro* mate which involves collection of transport fares and calling out of passengers to board a *tro-tro* bus.

Youth: people between the ages of 15 to 29 years, Commonwealth (2011)

1.6 Dissertation Outline

This study has been organized into five chapters;

Chapter one is the introduction of the study, highlighting problem statement, objectives of the study, the conceptual framework adopted for the study and the relevance of the study.

Chapter two delves into the review of relevant background literature that is related to the study. It looks at migration issues on the global, regional and national levels. The chapter also reviews the literature of the youth in labour migration in Ghana; migrant arrangements in receiving areas.

Chapter three presents the methodology used for the study, describing the study area, the target population, study population, sampling frame, the sample size, sampling scheme, data collection methods, the data handling and analysis approach as well as ethical issues of the study.

Chapter four presents and discusses findings of the study and lastly; chapter five concludes the study by summarizing the key findings of the study and, drawing conclusions and making recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Literature review demonstrates familiarity with the body of knowledge and to show the path of prior research and how this current project is linked to it (Kreuger and Neuman 2006). The study draws on the Livelihood framework scholarship that provides a useful understanding to evaluate poor people's livelihood strategies and factors that affect these livelihoods and contribute to their vulnerability. This chapter covers Global perspectives on Youth migration, Internal migration in Ghana, Migration as a Coping Strategy and conclude with Subordinate Position of Young Migrants.

2.1.1 Global perspective on Youth migration and Work

In Africa, the legal definition of adulthood specifies the particular age of 21 in many countries and 18 in others (Mkandawire & Chigunta, 1999). Curtin (2001:4) in his submission defined youth as an economic and social concept that refers to a stage in the lifecycle between childhood and adulthood. This period of transition refers to a complex interplay of personal, institutional and macroeconomic changes that most young people have to negotiate through in many societies.

The legal status of a young person for different purposes varies widely. According to Mkandawire,& Chigunta (1999: 3), legal minimum ages often vary not only by gender but also accordingly to the purpose of the age limit - marriage, voting rights, criminal responsibility, military service, access to alcoholic beverage, consent to medical treatment, consent to sexual intercourse etc. For instance in South Africa, a young man or young

woman can legally consent to sexual intercourse at the age of 16, can obtain a driver's licence at the age of 17, can vote at the age of 18 but can only own land at the age of 21.

On another hand, according to Curtin (2001:3) statistical definitions of youth also vary. In recent times, some countries have adopted the United Nations definition of youth of (15 to 24 years) while others use the Commonwealth definition of (15 to 29 years). For policy purposes, the age range can be even wider. In some African countries, such as Kenya and Tanzania, the definition of youth used for policy purposes ranges from 15 years to 35 years. In Nigeria, it ranges from 12 to 30 years and in South Africa's National Youth Policy it is youth as any person between the ages of 14 and 35 years (Mkandawire 2000:3). Ghana's population has been described as a youthful structure with the youth (defined officially as aged 15 –24 years) constituting about one out of every four of the population (Amankwah, 2012).

Regardless of what timeframe one uses, the Youth are an integral component of the migrant population, both in terms of volume, and the effects they have on both their points of origin and destination in migration. Touray (2006) estimates 15 percent (approximately 26 million) of the migrant population are youth. According to Min- Harris (2009: 161), for most of them, migration is not only a coping mechanism to escape poverty, it is an opportunity for rural young people to feel a sense of pride, self-respect, and be viewed as leaders within their family and their broader community. Young people view migration as an avenue to improve their status, learn new skills, and transit into adulthood. As a consequence, migration continues to serve as the means to improve rural livelihoods.

In her submissions, Min-Harris (2009) revealed that rural youth are particularly disadvantaged; with inadequately developed education and skills, many find limited employment opportunities in the cities and as a result, most face a future of low-wage employment, unemployment, underemployment, poverty, drugs, and crime. The arrival of rural migrants worsens the situation by expanding the pool of young urban job seekers.

Migration can be an effective tool for development by enhancing income distribution, promoting productive work for growth in Africa, enhancing women empowerment and gender equality, combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis amongst migrant population and improving partnership amongst the developed and African countries and other stakeholders. However, poverty is one of the main causes of migration. Creating development opportunities in countries of origin would mitigate the main reasons for young people to engage in migration, thereby also dealing with the problem of brain drain (ACPMD Report 2006:4).

A latest World Bank estimates of poverty levels in rural and urban areas of developing countries (for the period 1993 to 2002) indicated that the prevalence of poverty in urban areas remained less than half that of rural areas, and that a substantial majority (about three-fourths) of the world's poor lived in rural areas. However, as the proportion of the population shifted to being more urban, a greater proportion of the poor will be living in urban areas. Urban poverty was thus a significant and growing problem (*United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution, Urbanization, Internal Migration and Development- January, 2008*).

2.1.2 Internal migration in Ghana

According to Oderth (2002) migration has shaped the nature of both receiving and places of origin more than any other phenomenon in human geography. Black et al (2004:12) attests that, internal migration between and within urban and rural areas, account for most migratory movements in West Africa. Demographic literature on internal migration in developing countries is filled with generally accepted ideas about the type of people who are more likely to move, the determinants of moving, and the consequences of mobility (Reed et al, 2005:2). While the interdependence between the rural and urban economies is widely acknowledged in literature, the empirical evidence on which these assumptions are based remains scanty (Portksen, 2010). Four main types of internal migration are identified by Black et al (2004), these are urban-urban, urban-rural, rural-urban and rural-rural types of migration and Ghana has a long history of rural-urban migration. Its dominant trend has been the north-south migration streams (Pellow, 2001; Mensah-Bonsu, 2003; Hashim, 2005; Kwankye et al., 2007).

Rural–urban migration is not only common in Ghana but is a major pattern of flow of migrants in West Africa (Awumbila et al. 2012). This implies that more people are leaving the more agrarian communities and other rural economic engagements in search of jobs in the towns and cities (ibid).

According to Riddell (1980), cited in Yaro (2009:2), a fundamental changing character of rural-urban migration is from one which was circular in nature and male dominated to a now more permanent one and includes a larger number of family units particularly women and children.

Scores of literature on internal migration in Ghana highlights the growing trends of teenage girls and young women migrants principally from the savanna regions of northern Ghana as well as other parts of southern Ghana to engage in the business is referred to as a *kaya*- head portage of other people's loads for a fee in major markets centres of Southern Ghana (Agarwal, et al. 1994 and Apt et al.1992 cited in Adu-Opore, 2003; Alhassan et al, 2004; Awumbila, 2007). While earlier studies (Pool,1972; Sudarkasa, 1977; Oppong and Abu, 1987 all cited by Awumbila et al. 2011: 23) draw attention to the effect of migration on women's lives and reproductive roles, current studies emphasize on their economic and social independence (Tanle, 2003; Wong, 2006; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008 cited by Awumbila et al. 2011: 23).

The decision to migrate in Ghana is usually a response to a combination of many factors (Awumbila et al. 2011:27), from economic, social, and political to environmental factors such as poverty, landlessness and economic dislocation. In addition to this, migrants often move from resource poor to resource rich areas (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003).

In the case of the prominent female migration phenomenon in Ghana- *Kayayo*, one major factor that influence moving is the prevailing poor environmental conditions of rainfall and long periods of drought which lead, in turn, to incessant crop failures with low incomes and poverty, characteristic of the Savannah in northern Ghana (Anamzoya, 2001).

Other causes include factors of historical urban bias as a resulting from British colonial policy where the north was promoted largely as a labour reserve for the south (Awumbila 2007:2) and little investment in infrastructure and services was made in the Northern Territories during the colonial period, through the post- colonial era (Anamzoya, 2001).

According to Anarfi et al (2003), these urban bias policies which included over-valued exchange rates, industrial protection and cheap food policies discriminated against agriculture in particular and rural areas dependent on agriculture in general. These policies suppressed farm prices and rural incomes, encouraging a shift of labour out of agricultural production and a subsequently contributed to increases in rural-urban migration.

Alternatively, Adu- Opare (2011) in his research commented that the *Kayayei* wanted to save money to enter into large-scale trading or other sedentary work because, according to them, the opportunities for building up the necessary capital did not exist in their place of origin. Others he said wanted to save money, not only for investment, but also to buy personal effects in readiness for marriage. They needed items such as clothes, shoes, jewels, kitchenware and other essential items which society expects a newlywed to take to her matrimonial home.

Other scholars have given evidence to indicate that the “bright lights syndrome” of cities and towns lure many young people to migrate. This syndrome imply the promise that Urban centers hold the key of success for individuals and groups who are hungry, jobless, ill, just curious, and so forth (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010; BBC Report, 2007).

The Ghana Statistical Service in the year 2000 reported that more than 80 percent of Ghanaian migrants stay in Ghana and among them, 70 percent go to urban areas. The greater Accra and Ashanti regions according to Ackah and Medvedev (2010:4) attract more than half of all internal migrants and they make up a substantial share of the population in these regions. Consistent with previous studies, Tutu (1995), attests that the southern regions of Ghana including Western, Central, Eastern, greater Accra, Volta, and

Ashanti are the destinations for 88 percent of all internal migrants, while the Northern and the two Upper regions together account for only 5 percent of the total even though more than two-thirds of internal migrants come from the relatively better off southern regions (Ashanti, Central, Eastern, and Greater Accra) according to Ackah and Medvedev (2010:4). They confirmed the common perception in Ghana that a large number of migrants come from the North, the Upper East, Upper West, and Northern regions, stating that only 10 percent of all internal migrants account for those from the North.

Yaro (2009:9) has commented on the fact that the drivers of contemporary migration encapsulate both old tendencies and new aspirations and constraints. While in the past push-pull conceptions of the migration process provided a framework for understanding the motives for movements, He said, today we need to understand the dynamics of globalisation and read different meanings into our old conceptualisations. No West African is insulated from global trends and shocks. Our responses to these trends and shocks in terms of choice of livelihood options detail our aspirations, experiences, constraints and opportunities. While urbanites are seeking opportunities and fleeing abroad to fill labour vacuums, rural dwellers are replacing them and creating new concentrations of populations in globally induced opportunity zones.

There are various reasons why the youth migrate to the urban cities. According to Agyei and Ofori Mensah (2009), the main reasons why people move from rural areas to the cities can be due to economic forces, search for social and cultural facilities freedom from traditional rules from elders. They are of the view that due to the availabilities of industries which have brought about job opportunities in the urban centers such as Accra and Kumasi Sekondi- Tarkoradi among other others have given rise to these movements of people.

According to Abdulai (1999), many of the people living in the rural areas do not earn much income whether in material or monetary terms and as a result cannot live any fulfilling lives. The gap of their standard of living between them and the people living in the cities is very wide and their average wage in the urban areas in Ghana is two or three times the average agricultural income.

Many young people after school do not want to remain in the rural areas because their main occupation is farming. Many of these youth are not ready to engage in the farming activities and even those that are willing sometimes do not get the necessary facilities they need in the farming activities. And during festive occasion, some of these young people display their wealth and this attraction cause others to move to the urban centers. It was noted that as the process of urbanization was driven by transportation infrastructure, suburbs sprawled out from cities along roads, and train stations and airports also affected population clustering.

Another reason why people move from the rural are to the cities is to look for social and cultural facilities such as good drinking water, electricity, medical care facilities, sanitation, and entertainment among others. This is because these facilities are not available in the rural areas. The nature of the family system also work against these young ones: rigid parental control and harsh punishment cause some of these youth to move to the cities.

While some of these young people know the challenges and risk of migration, others do not know what they are getting themselves into and these movements bring about a host of problems to these people.

The urban centres are not fully equipped to accommodate these large numbers of migrants. And a result of this, there is lack of employment opportunities, high cost of living, and scarcity of food and has caused underdevelopment in the rural areas. One of the main forms of vulnerability to urban youth is their participation in the informal economy, a sector which lacks proper regulatory processes (ILO, 2002; Chen, 2004).

The large movement of people has worsened the issue of transportation, accommodation and as a result of these; slums have been developed in the outskirts of cities and large towns. The high population growth in Ghana according to Abdulai (1999), in the last three decades has automatically increased the domestic labour supply in regions like the Upper East put pressure on the farm land thereby encouraging migration. And these factors are a combination of the individual, household, the community and the nation as a whole.

Another factor that has brought about rural- urban migration in Ghana is the macro-economic environment. This has been possible through urban biased policies; rigid terms of trade against agriculture and the rural areas have contributed to wide disparities in income differentials. To a large extent, rural- urban migration has been influenced by the fact that people believe they can have higher wages in the destination area and it is in line with the principle of comparative advantage.

According to Awusi (1986), the main push factor is the depressed conditions at the place of origin for rural people to migrate than economic factors and the pull factor is the economic opportunities in the urban centres. A survey research on internal migration and urbanization revealed that over 80 percent of the people interviewed gave economic reasons for moving from their previous locations and this proves that income disparities contribute significantly to internal migration in the country. The movement of people from

the North to the South is due to the differences in the level of poverty and also their readiness to respond to new economic opportunities. The pattern of socio-economic development in Ghana has created three distinct geographic areas. Nabila, (1986) informs us that these are the coastal zone made up of Accra-Tema and Sekondi- Tarkoradi; a middle zone with Kumasi and its environs; and the Northern Savannah Zone. Since the beginning of the last century, internal migration has been directed towards the coastal zone, as the most industrialized industrial and urbanized are in the country. In 1927, the movement was directed to Sekondi-Takoradi due to the opening of the deep-sea port. And also the setting up of Tema port in the 60s redirected the movement to Accra- Tema metropolitan area. The middle zone, with its forest, mining and agricultural potential was the centre of the old Ashanti Empire. This area with its endowment of natural resources became an area of rapid socio-economic development in the 80s. Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti region became the dominant centre in the country and the focus of migration from the Savannah belt.

Nabila, 1986 also posits that the northern savannah zone which accounted for about half of the land area of Ghana, has until recently been a net migration area. The area has provided labour due to lack of rainfall for the cocoa and the mining industries in the middle zone as well as the developed coastal zone. And the rapid growth of the economy in the 60s also paved way for international migration, first of all to pursue education.

Beside the disparities in wages, how urban centers have been developed and the welfare in towns have made them somehow attractive. Ewusi, 1986 writes that the creation of enterprises such as factories and investment in infrastructure such as water supplies or medical services encouraged rural urban migration. Abdulai,(1999) also informs us that the public corporations in the cities attracted labor from the rural areas. For example, the Greater Accra region, which is the most urbanized region in the, recorded a population

growth rate of 5.6 per cent. However a survey conducted in the 60s revealed that a large proportion of the growth of the population in the 1970 was due to migration from other areas.

In their studies on the determinants of an individual's likelihood to be an internal migrant and their welfare Ackah and Medvedder (2010) used the sample size of 4000 Ghanaian households which took part in the 2005\2006 Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS 5). They found out that the likelihood for an individual to migrate depends on a combination of pull and push characteristics. The income of the people in the locality, the presence of friends or relatives in the destination that is migration networks (cited from Tutu, 1995). Again gender with males are more likely to migrate than females .With regard to the impact of internal migration on household income and consumption, Tutu(1995)—drawing on the 1991 Ghana Migration Survey—found that the migration-induced decline in household labour supply tended to be compensated by the extra effort put forth by the remaining household members, such that 52 percent of households interviewed reported no loss in short-run household output and no expected decrease in the long-run output. Drawing on the same dataset, Asante (1995) highlighted the importance of remittances sent by migrants in the urban areas to the rural origin communities in raising the welfare of households sending migrants and narrowing the welfare gap between rural and urban communities

While the Litchfield and Waddington (2003) study did not control for the selection bias in the migration decision, studies by Tsegai (2005) and Boakye-Yiadom (2008) took explicit account of the non-random selection of migrants. Tsegai (2005) found that incomes of migrant households are higher than those of otherwise comparable non migrant

households, but the coverage of his study was limited to the Volta Basin. Boakye-Yiadom (2008), using data from the 1998/99 round of GLSS (GLLS 4), found that, although some rural-urban migrants experienced welfare losses, on average, rural urban migration significantly enhanced the welfare of internal migrants.

According to the ACPMD Report (2006), Remittances are one of the developmental effects of migration; and such effects are felt most distinctly at the individual or household level but also at the community or national levels. Today, it is widely acknowledged that remittances play a significant financial role in developing nations as they form part of income from services and contribute to the country's balance of payments. Official flows from developed and developing countries combined reach nearly \$100 billion annually and the actual figure (that is, including flows not channelled through formal financial systems) may be as high as twice that amount. Remittances are therefore more sizeable than foreign aid. However, there are difficulties encountered particularly with respect to the high cost of effecting remittances.

2.1.3 Migration as a Coping Strategy

Stark (1991) supports the arguments that migration is not only a consequence of income gap but responds as well to other individual or familial incentives. Individuals are migration actors who search to maximize the expected income of the household and at the same time to minimize risks (strategy of risks pooling).

There is a changing age composition of migrant flows that is reflected in the increasing number of children, adolescent and youth who are migrating independently of parents. Whether migration is forced, as reflected in the very high percentage of children in refugee camps, or voluntary, the special needs of children, adolescent and youth in terms of

providing adequate health care, education, shelter and protection from rights violations, involvement in armed conflicts present special challenges to developing states (ACPM Report 2006:7).

Konseiga (2005:3) in considering household units said the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) shows that the easing of the surplus and risk constraints is a crucial condition for the small farmer to carry out desired technological change. Thus, migration and remittances could increase production output of the migrant household if they release the constraints that are limiting the expansion of their activity. The resulting benefits are expected to be stronger in the case of seasonal migration as opposed to geographically distant and permanent migration.

On the other hand, adhering to the World Bank/IMF dictates, governments have been forced to reduce the size of the public sector, in many developing countries, the leading source of jobs, and the private sector has generally followed suit to drive up rates of unemployment for both family heads and young people. The costs of structural adjustment have reduced access to education, health, food, and social services by removing subsidies, thus reducing the overall welfare of families, particularly the poor (Adepoju 1996). Cost-recovery strategies - a burden that is heaviest for the poor, the region's majority - call for families to pay the full cost of health and education at a time when family heads are increasingly jobless. Parents, unable to pay school fees, grudgingly withdraw their children from school. The cumulative result is that the average African today is probably less well educated, less well fed, less well employed, and less well paid than in the immediate aftermath of independence (Adepoju, 2005). The dismal economic forecasts for the foreseeable future combine to stimulate emigration of especially young persons (Adepoju 2008:6).

Sub Saharan Africa is the region worst affected by poverty (World Bank 2009). Wars, civil and political destabilisation severely erode the developmental progress of the post-independence decades. In spite of the crises, the family remains the primary socialising agent of the society; apart from its basic functions of biological reproduction and intergenerational solidarity, families are the main mechanism for social control and focus of most activities that permeate all aspects of African life, including migration.

According to Adepoyu (2008:7-8), families in SSA have used selective migration and differential investment in education for its various members commonly as a strategy to ensure the survival of its members or to pursue economic mobility to supplement dwindling household resources. In doing so, households generally select and invest in a family member who is viewed to have the greatest potential for generating migrant earnings and sending remittances. Propelled by the economic crisis, migration has become central as a coping mechanism to secure family survival. Decisions about who should migrate, where, and for how long are sanctioned, if not completely controlled, by the family so as to promote inter-generational flows of resources (Adepoyu, 2005). Konseiga (2005:9) in shedding more light on this said the family can play another important role in the migration decisions. If the current generation altruistically values the utility of their offspring, then utility maximizing migration decisions will be dynastic. It may pay the current generation to migrate even if the change in their own wealth is small or negative, because their descendants will be better off in the receiving country. A recent development of the literature on motivations considers migration as a response to the relative deprivation that depends on the relative income position of the migrant in his community as well as on the income distribution in both destinations. Migration is then a means to

achieve a better social status. A person utility then does not depend only on his absolute well-being, but also on his relative standing in the community.

For many families, remittances are a lifeline and the dominant source of income to pay for rent, home construction, medical expenses, school fees, business investment, and a variety of other activities. In some resource-poor African countries, the importance of remittances, especially those in hard foreign currencies, are given considerable attention by governments, which work actively to encourage labour migration.

2.1.4 Subordinate Position of Young Migrants

In economic terms, youth from aged 15 to 30 years old are defined as an economic agent, according to ILO Convention No.138. However according to Esim et al. (1999:3) majority of young people are often denied access to some economic benefits. Like for instance to credit; micro credit schemes require clients to be the legal age (18 or 21 years old) to sign a legal contract.

Curtain (2010), estimates that some 80 per cent of the jobless youth are in developing countries and economies in transition and millions more work fewer hours than they wish, while others work long hours with little gain to show and no social protection in the informal economy. However, governments in developing countries pay little attention to developing and implementing youth employment strategies.

According to EUROPA (2009), If work is performed subject to the employer's authority and control, and usually in return for pay, this constitutes an employment relationship where the worker is in a position of "subordination", *i.e.* is an employee.

Subordination is defined as the consequence of authority on the part of the employer in respect of the employee. The contract of employment postulates authority in the person of the employer, authority that can be given concrete form through the employer's right to direct work (issue instructions) and right to control its performance (supervision).

A driving component when it comes to the subordination of migrant workers has to do with the "illegality" of stay for immigrants in most countries where it is high (Aldana, 2007).

Through legal means, the undocumented immigrant is excluded not only from the privilege or right to remain in the place of destination but also from access to basic social benefits or rights, such as work, health, and education (Marcus, 2006).

Similarly, according to Sargeant (2003), age discrimination which plays a role in subordination has both institutional and individual perspectives and such discriminations are potentially more severe for young workers. An OECD study concluded: *Age has only a marginal effect on industrial productivity and the variations in productivity within a given age group are wider than variations between one age group and another* (EIRO, 1991 as cited in Aldana, 2007).

This chapter has discussed the relevant literature to be used in the case study for this research. The discussion presented in the chapter points out the need to improved institutions concerned with youth migration.

Migration by the youth in Ghana continues exhibits all the characteristics of a developing country. Four of these characteristics are concepts that have been widely debated on and they provide useful background information of the context in which *tro-tro driver mates*

operate. These concepts are the informal sector, rural-urban migration and urbanization. A 2006 UN report, states that at an urbanization rate of 4.0 percent, and a total of 45% of the Ghanaian population are living in urban areas. Rural-urban migration accounts for half of the growth of cities in Ghana. Rural-urban migration rates keep increasing due to lack of infrastructural, unemployment, lack of social services, and removal of subsidies on agriculture products in rural areas (Yeboah, 2008:84) and these factors push rural dwellers to migrate to cities. A peculiar trend of Ghana's internal migration process is the high rates of migration flow a youthful population to cities of southern Ghana (Adejopu, 2004).

Studies show that high rates of urbanization in developing countries like Ghana have its peculiar problems (Rakodi, 1997; Gilbert 1994). Problems of housing, employment, provision of amenities and social services, health, and sanitation and environmental issues face local government and new urban residents.

As proposed by the ILO (1995), the informal sector absorbs most of the annual increase in the urban labor force and contributes 22 percent to total GDP of Ghana (Boeh-Ocansey, 1997). Despite the fact that the informal sector absorbs new migrants, operations in the sector continue to be precarious for most of the young people who engage in it. Most of the activities are marginal with no secure earnings and conditions of service, do not attract credit, and lack infrastructure (Yeboah, 2008). People who operate in the informal sector are often exploited and harassed by their supervisors, patrons and city officials. One of such group of informal operators is the *tro-tro driver mates*, who are the target for this research. The focus of this study is to understand the way mates undertake their activities in the informal sector and how other economic, social, political and environmental factors impact on their activities.

In-depth details of the methods and procedure for conducting this study as well as the research questions are discussed in the next chapter

2.2 The Livelihood Framework and Vulnerability Approach

The concept of livelihoods became prominent in the middle of the 1980s with work done by Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex (Schafer, 2002:22-23). The livelihood framework is an approach that helps us to understand the particular economic strategies of men and women. It is a framework which helps to identify poor people's agency in developing and sustaining their livelihoods (Yeboah, 2008:30). It looks at the diversity of the activities that people use in order to reduce risk, the way people co-insure one another, and the way people manage the investment and distribution of resources to ensure well-being in the present and the foreseeable future (Waddington 2003:5).

The livelihood approaches evolved among geographers, anthropologists, and sociologists conducting micro-research in developing countries (de Haas, 2008:36). It has become increasingly popular in development planning. It addresses 'poverty' and also embodies a number of important elements relevant to social, political, and economic processes in diverse geographical locations and scales (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002; Whitehead, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Beall and Kanji, 1999).

Lieten & Nieuwenhuys (1989) cited in de Haas (2008)'s submission argued that the poor cannot only be seen as passive victims of global capitalist forces but try to actively improve their livelihoods within the constraining conditions.

Carney (1998) defines a *livelihood* to comprise *the capabilities, assets* (including both material and social resources), and *activities* required for a means of living. A livelihood he confirms encompasses not only the households' income generating activities, but also the social institutions, intra household relations, and mechanisms of access to resources through the life cycle (Ellis 2000).

According to scholars like Ellis (2000) and Francis (2000), also cited in Yeboah (2008), the framework is based on ‘assets, mediating processes, and activities’. ‘Assets’ are the different kinds of resources available to individuals or households, ‘Mediating Processes’ are the various intervening factors that impact either positively or negatively on livelihoods whilst ‘Activities’ are the different things people do to sustain themselves. These concepts are developed further in the following paragraphs.

A key factor to consider in the livelihood framework is the mediating processes which affect livelihoods and operate at different levels. It is important to understand the structures or organizations, and the processes such as laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives while dealing on livelihood issues. They influence access to various types of capital, livelihood strategies, decision-making, and terms of exchange between the different types of capital (Ellis, 2000; Francis, 2000). Mediating processes according to Scoones (1998:12) are: Formal and Informal organizations and institutions with regularized practices or patterns of behavior that are structured by rules and norms of societies which have persistence use.

According to Rakodi (2000) and Meikle (2002), there are key policies and structures that affect urban poor people’s livelihood. Such key policies and structures which serve as meditating processes include economic labor market conditions and policies, programs of support for livelihood activities, community development, tenure and shelter policies. Other factors include healthcare and environmental sanitation programs, spatial planning, access and infrastructure policies and arrangements for governance.

The Assets are divided into different capitals. Rakodi (2002), following Chambers & Conway, makes a distinction of five capitals, stating that ‘thinking in terms of strengths or assets is vital as an antidote to the view of poor people as ‘passive’ or ‘deprived’. The five

sets of assets, which are called capitals, are: human, social, physical, financial and natural capital (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998; Bebbington, 1999). According to Ellis (2000:135), these assets are the indispensable building blocks for livelihood strategies. They are described as the stocks of capital used either directly or indirectly to generate a means of survival or growth. (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; DFID, 1999).

Human capital refers to one's skills, knowledge, one's labor, and good health. According to Rakodi (2002), human capital has both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. For instance the quantitative dimension a person's human capital can be the number of members and the time available for them to engage in income-earning activities in a household. The qualitative dimension on the other hand, refers to the levels of education, skills and health status of people that are used to generate income.

Physical capital refers to infrastructure and producer goods that are required to support livelihoods. These according to Rakodi (2002) again include affordable shelter, transportation, clean and affordable energy, access to information, tools and equipment for productive functioning, and adequate water.

Ellis (2000) has also expounded on financial capital which embodies accessibility to cash, or its equivalent, for the pursuit of livelihood strategies. These he said includes available stocks, especially savings that may be held in banks or in liquid assets like jewelry, livestock, or through credit provision and regular flows of money such as earned income, remittances, and social security. Next is the Natural capital available to an individual which are more resource-based activities such as farming, fishing, and gathering as well as land allocation systems, natural resources use patterns, and natural capital stocks. It is usually based on things obtained from the natural environment. Last but not the least is Social capital, the most contentious but important when working with marginalized groups of people; It refers to the social resources on which people draw in pursuit of their

livelihood objectives (Carney, 1998; Rakodi, 2002; Mubabgizu, 2003). This type of capital is developed through the inter-related activities of networking. Such networking may be vertical such as in a patron-client relationship, or horizontal, as with individuals with shared interests, that facilitate working together. It also includes access to institutions; membership of formalized groups with associated rules, norms, and sanctions (Swift, 1998; Ellis, 2000). These kinds of relationships are usually based on trust, reciprocity, and exchange which tend to facilitate co-operation and reduce transaction costs. For migrants, social capital often serves as a basis for informal safety nets (Yeboah, 2008).

Since this research focuses on the lives and livelihoods of migrants in cities it is important to understand the specific characteristics of urban livelihoods. According to van den Berg (2007: 16), many migrants move from the rural areas to the urban area, which is causing major social and behavioural change in both the towns and villages of origin and the places of destination, as well as in the lives of individuals.

In the migration context, a place of origin to an unknown place of destination, all the above- human capital (labour resources—skilled or unskilled), financial capital (savings, remittances, and credit), social capital (networks, kin members, membership of a group, and relationships of trust) and to some extent physical assets (infrastructure like shelter, transport, water, energy, schools, etc.) are important for livelihood strategies (Meikle et al., 2001; Rakodi, 2002). The livelihood of urban people is defined by the opportunities available to people and the constraints under which they operate (Meikle et al., 2001; Meikle, 2002).

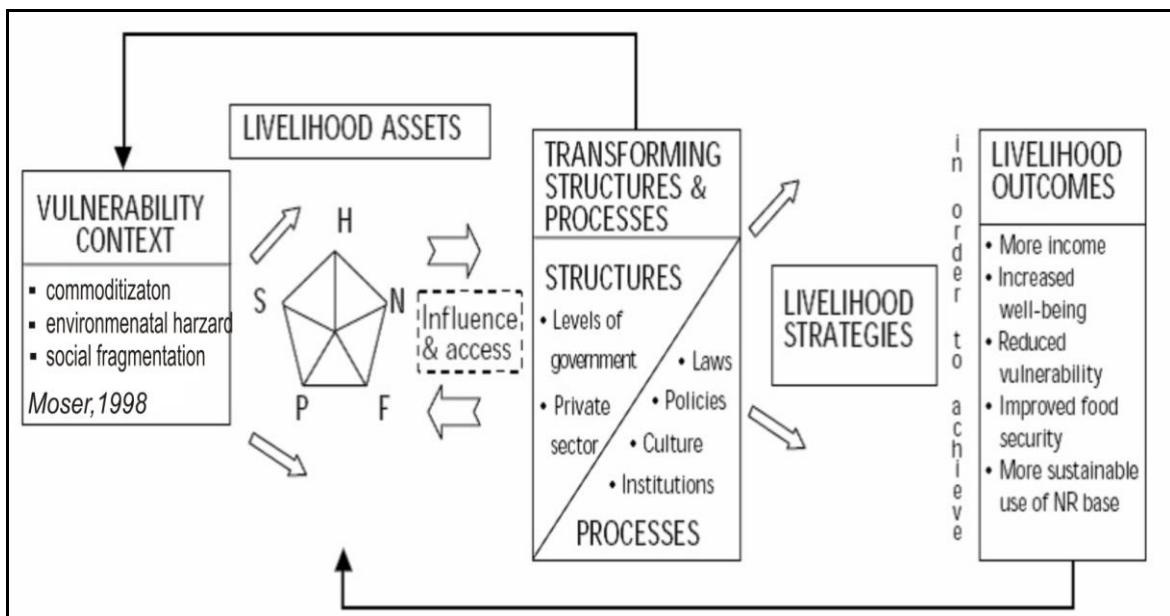
In the Livelihood framework analysis, it is important to distinguish the three characteristics of vulnerability in urban contexts from that in rural contexts. These according to Moser (1998) are commoditization, environmental hazard and social fragmentation.

Commoditization refers to the fact that labour is the urban poor's most important asset, because of the highly 'commoditized' nature of the urban sector. The impact can be seen in two ways: through wage employment there is a direct monetary exchange, and secondly, there is the possibility of production of goods and services which are sold in informal sector self-employment activities. Other aspects of urban commoditization that Moser (1998) indicates are paying for food and shelter rather than relying on own production, dependency upon purchasing services, and access to land and housing.

The environmental hazards that she refers to are the poor quality of housing and inadequate water supplies, sanitation and solid waste disposal. In urban areas people face different environmental hazards than in rural areas. For instance the state of poor sanitation and waste disposal in urban areas that causes severe environmental pollution.

The third aspect of urban vulnerability is closely related to the subject of this study, and is what Moser calls 'social fragmentation'. She relates the community and inter household mechanisms of trust and collaboration to the greater social and economic heterogeneity. Besides her reference to Adams (1993) who argues for policy recommendations to strengthen and extend local systems of mutual insurance, she also refers to the dark side of social fragmentation, namely social exclusion. Social exclusion forms a key indicator in relating social capital with vulnerability. Social exclusion in the context of developing countries has been defined by Breman (2004:1) as the lack of access to full participation in mainstream society in economic, political, social and cultural terms. He explains that exclusion therefore conveys a sense of denial or loss. Finally Moser comes up with a classification of assets that can be applied to identify vulnerability for the urban poor: labour, human capital (health status, skills and education), productive assets, household relations and social capital.

In a concluding submission, Ellis (1998) and Bryceson (2002) in their study confirm how rural households often combine a number of livelihood activities to meet subsistence needs, such as agricultural crop production, wage labour, or forest product collection. Of course, the household's access to different livelihood capitals and opportunities will shape the potential mix of activities, including migration to higher wage earning areas.



N = Natural Capital H = Human Capital P = Physical Capital S = Social Capital F = Financial Capital.

Source: Adapted and Modified from Sustainable Livelihood Guidance Sheet, DFID, 1999

Below are some illustrations of female head porters-*Kayayei* who migrate from northern Ghana and how the livelihood and vulnerability frameworks described above explain their migration experiences in the city of Accra.

Several studies have shown that the *Kayayei* and their engagement in head portage in major markets in the capital show they have very little human capital. For instance, majority of them have had little or no education (Adu-Opore, 2003; Agarwal et al, 1997, Awumbila, 2007) and head portage requires little or no skills at all (Agarwal 1997: 1). According to Yeboah (2008: 123), the main form of human capital that both men and

women porters rely on is their body or their physical strength; the ability for them to use their strength in transporting goods as also argued by Chambers (1989), is that the body is the poor person's greatest uninsured asset. Results from her study confirm that the strategies of *Kayayei* make them eat less and worse in the city basically because of low income.

Woolcock (2001:72) as cited by van dan Berg (2007:52) further highlights the essence of social capital in sustainable urban livelihoods. He makes mention of '*bridging social capital*' as of distant friends, associates and colleagues of the trade that share a peculiar closeness. In an example of women's social capital in Yeboah (2008), it is in the form of information sharing, financial, childcare, accommodation, food, and security which is derived through family, friends and village associate. A network of friends, families, and acquaintances provide support in term of accommodation, protection, the layout of market work space, and also first-hand information on/about the job. The *Kayayei*, van dan Berg (2007) also confirms interact well in the city, since they share common demographic characteristics. This helps them protect the liquid assets of each other as well as from thieves at night as they sleep in open areas around the markets.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The methodology is basically a presentation of how the research was conducted. Methodology is a coherent set of rules and procedures, which is used to investigate a phenomenon or situation (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:6). According to Schwandt (2001:161), methodology is a theory of how inquiry should proceed. According to Shurmer-Smith (2002:95), methodology is not just a matter of practicalities and techniques; it is a matter of marrying up theory with practices. It means when one adopts a particular theoretical position, some methods will suggest themselves and others become inappropriate, for both theoretical and practical reasons. It also forms the actual techniques adopted in the data collection process (Harding, 1987; Fonow and Cook, 1991).

This chapter presents a brief description of the methodology used for the study. The chapter describes the target population, the methods used in data collection, the sampling technique and the procedure used for data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

Mixed methods approach was the most convenient research design for this study. This means the study combined both qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting data. The qualitative approach seeks to investigate individual or situational perspectives and have an in-depth understanding of the experiences of tro-tro driver mates in Accra. It also encourages participants to be active and be part of the research process (Yeboah, 2008:86). The proponents of this approach argue that human behaviour is different in kind from the actions of inanimate objects, and that people are uniquely conscious of their own

behaviour (Cresswell, 2003). Also, it is argued that qualitative approach permits the researcher to have access to the informants' perspectives, experiences and psychological world through detailed, in-depth and intensive interviewing, discussions and observation (ibid).

On the other hand, quantitative studies, allow the researcher to aggregate and summarise data more easily. This opens up possibility of statistical analyses ranging from simple averages to complex formulas and mathematical models (Babbie, 2005). A major distinction between qualitative and quantitative research approaches is that qualitative researchers challenge the assumption that human beings can be studied by social scientists in the same way as natural scientists study things (Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Cresswell 1994).

3.3 Scope of the Study

3.3.1 Greater Accra Region

Accra, the capital and largest city of Ghana is located in the Greater Accra Region. In terms of its size, it has an estimated land area of 185 square kilometer (71.4 square miles). The 2000 national census the city had a population of 1,658,937 with a growth rate of 3.4 percent. This according to Amuzu and Leitman (1994) is expected to grow beyond 4 million by the year 2020.

Accra is the backbone of Ghana's economy. The city has the most diversified economy in Ghana and since the 1970s; it has experienced varying economic fortunes (Yankson, 2000; Grant and Nijman, 2003). In the 1987 industrial census, Accra had 32 percent of Ghana's manufacturing industries situated in the metropolitan Area (Amuzu and Leitmann, 1994). In addition, major financial institutions, government ministries and parastatals, other industries, and many multinational corporations are all concentrated in Accra while it

continues to grow in that direction. In terms of employment, the 1984 national census indicated that 26 percent of its workforce is in the service sector, 24 percent in the wholesale/retail trade, 19 percent in manufacturing, and only 3 percent in agriculture (GSS, 1996).

3.3.2 Tema Station as the Research Site

Tema Station is one of the largest and busiest *tro-tro* stations in Accra. It represents a good deal of diversity in terms of its size and structure, (Kennelly, 2012). Vehicles at the station ply over fifty different routes in Accra and the routes may vary from distances of a few miles within the city to hour-long trips to other cities. It allows passengers to go anywhere in the city of Accra, and get almost anywhere in Ghana. Tema Station is centrally located within the city. It is close to Independence Square, the Ministries, and most importantly Makola Market, Accra's largest and busiest market.

3.3.3 The Tro-tro

Tro-tros, are minibuses that seat 10 to 19 persons and operate along set routes inside the city. It is an essential mode of transport for about 70% of Accra residents traveling to work and shopping, making it the most widely used form of transportation in Ghana (Okoye, 2011).

According to Blaustein (2010), *tro-tro* operations are concentrated on Greater Accra's major roadways, and the minibuses provide service to and from Accra's busiest points. The most frequently used routes within Accra include "Circle" (destined for Kwame Nkrumah Circle, the heart of Accra's central business district and the location of a major *tro-tro* depot and street market), "37" (to 37 Military Hospital, located in north-eastern

Accra, an area with a *tro-tro* station, produce market and shopping center) and “Accra” (bound for Tema Station in Accra, the bus and *tro-tro* depot that serves as the route’s final destination). In Accra, the *tro-tro* serves as the backbone of urban transport operations. It is operated and regulated through unions; *tro-tros* have emerged in recent years as the major private sector contributor to transport service provision within the city. *Tro-tro* is the cheapest way of public transportation in Accra. It is described by Georeiser (2011) as a shared taxi in a minibus on a fixed route and you can get off wherever you want. The vehicles are of all shapes, sizes, colors, brands, and models share a collective identity as *tro-tros*. The Toyota Hiace is the most popular used vehicle, but similar minivans are also used. The car has a driver and a *tro-tro* mate who collects the fare from passengers. A primary job for the *tro-tro* mate is to shout out of the windows to get new customers- this act is termed as *shadowing* and its origin is unknown. There a general perception that most *tro-tro*'s drivers have an aggressive way of driving, and are therefore involved in more traffic accidents in the city than other drivers.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

3.4.1 Target Population

The target population in this study are *tro-tro driver mates* who serve as apprentices for *tro-tro* drivers. The basic tasks of a mate are as follows: to call for passengers, open and close the sliding side door when passengers are getting on or off the vehicle, communicate with the driver and tell him when passengers need to get off, collect fares from passengers, count and organize money, and clean the vehicles in the morning when they get to the station and after each route ends to prepare it for the next run. The study targets those between the ages of 15 to 29 years of age.

Gosah Arya (2002) in his working paper for ILO defined youth as persons age between 15 – 24 years (same as Ghana's official definition for youth as aged 15 –24 years; Amankwah, 2012), broken down into teenagers 15 – 19 years and young adults 20 – 24 years. However for purposes of better analysis of the data, I choose the 2011 Commonwealth definition of youth as young people between the ages of 15-29.

Considering the purpose of this research, I have limited myself to *tro-tro driver mates* between this age brackets operating at the Tema station in Accra.

A face to face interview method was employed to gather information from migrant *tro-tro driver mates*. Correspondingly, officials from the Ministry of Youth and Sports in Accra as well as National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) were included in related interviews to ascertain how far social policies were accessible to the *tro-tro driver mates*.

3.4.2 Sampling Technique and Study Sample

Purposive sampling technique was used to obtain responses from forty (40) participants between the ages of 15 and 29 years interviewed on their livelihood and survival strategies working as tro-tro driver mates at Tema station. The primary consideration in purposive sampling according to Kumar (2005:179) is the judgement of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. He posits that the researcher only goes to those people who in his/her opinion are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it and thus supports this type of sampling as extremely useful when a researcher wants to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon or discover something about which only a little is known. The goal of using this method as Creswell (1997) and Mugendi and Mugendi (1999) maintained, is to focus on obtaining an in-depth knowledge of a phenomenon.

3.4.3 Sampling Size

At the Tema station, 40 *tro-tro driver mates* were surveyed along with key informants in the persons of 2 drivers, an official of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) and 2 officials each from the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) in Accra a total of 45 respondents in all. I also conducted 10 in-depth interviews out of the 40 respondents in all since the study was adopting a mixed method research approach.

3.5 Data Gathering

3.5.1 Procedure of Data Collection

This study was based on the collection of data from both secondary and primary sources. Secondary data sources were collated from relevant books, journals, manuals, libraries, internet sources and other scholarly sites of the internet such as jstor.org and Google advance search.

The techniques used for the primary data collection consisted primarily of a survey using semi- structured interviews. A Survey, In-depth interviews, Photography and Observations were aspects of qualitative research approach employed to allow the researcher insights to access the informants' perspectives and their psychological world through detailed questioning and participant observation of my respondents both at work and home.

The survey was conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire which takes on a middle position between the structured and unstructured types of interviewing. This type of interviewing according to Hay (2000) has some degree of pre-established questions but still ensures some flexibility in the way questions are asked and answered while providing

an in-depth analysis into the experiences of the *tro-tro driver mates* in addition to examining the broader processes affecting their livelihoods (Berg, 2000; Ellis and Freeman, 2002).

3.5.2 Individual Interviews and Survey

According to Silverman and Atkinson (1997) as acknowledged by Yeboah (2008), “we now live in an interview society” because of the extensive use of interviewing is a major technique to acquire information. An interview is basically a data gathering method in which there is an exchange of information (Dunn, 2000). Maccoby and Maccoby (1954), define interview as face-to-face verbal exchange of information in which the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinions and/or belief and further probing into an interviewees experiences.

In this study, a semi structured interview guide for the data collection contained an outline of topics covered during the pre-testing process such as *tro-tro driver mates*’ background characteristics, their ages, their migration history as well as experiences and challenges that comes with the *tro-tro* work. As Kvale and Brinkmann (1996:129) noted, “This type of guide indicates the topics and their sequence in the interview.” The use of the interview guide assisted in keeping interviewees on track where necessary, and made sure important issues were covered. Some of the questions were also open-ended as identified by Fontana and Frey (2005) as vital to generate in-depth discussions, often at the discretion of the interviewer according to Malinowski (1989).

Reaching the respondents at the Tema station was a challenging task however their willingness to be part of the research was quite encouraging as most of them had some time to spare, usually early in the mornings before work commenced and evening time

arranged at their living places. Most of the *tro-tro driver mates* were capable of reading and writing; however, understanding some technical migration questions like for instance, questions about their migration history had to be conducted in the local dialect. Other questions were explained to respondents and answers given were recorded on the questionnaires.

3.5.3 Observation

An observation method was also employed to ascertain some more information since most of the respondents were likely to be evasive about the real issues on the ground. The Oxford English Dictionary (2000) defines observation as “an accurate watching and noting of phenomena as they occur”. According to Alder and Alder (1994), observation is essential as it enables the interviewer to note the body language of the interviewee and to obtain a complete picture of the situation. In this, ‘logging data’ (quoted by Creswell, 1997) referred to by Lofland (1995) in Yeboah (2008) as the recording of events throughout the research process played an important role.

3.5.4 Photography

The taking of still images was used to capture a replica of the real situation in an unmediated and unbiased way (Yeboah 2008: 94). Clancery (2001) observe that it is the best means of recording, keeping and presenting data. He posits that using photographs as a means of presenting data is an important way of trying to depict the data in its natured setting. Still pictures were taken of some *tro-tro driver mates* at work and some coping strategies they adopt.

3.6 Pre-testing

A pretest of the survey was done to ensure its reliability and congruence (Kreuger and Neuman, 2006). This was to give me information on how ambiguous the questions are. I pre-tested interviews with tro-tro mates at the Madina lorry station in Accra. The essence of the pre testing was to assess whether the responses to the open ended questions could be comprehended by the respondents especially as the interviews were conducted in the local dialect of *twi*. Five surveys were conducted and the surveys amended to reflect the feedback indicated that some of the questions were not exhaustive of which I had amended.

3.7 Data Handling and Analysis

Transcripts from the Interviews and the Survey, Key respondent interviews, and field notes were analyzed using the QSR NVivo, a software program for the analysis of qualitative data which used techniques such as the development [and interpretation] of key themes that came up during the research process and SPSS for the quantitative data. Similarly, verbatim transcripts of some individual interviews from the tape recording was used this is noted by Lederem (1989) as standard procedure during qualitative analysis. Pseudonyms were also used to ensure anonymity of respondents.

A thematic analysis was made of each interview. Editing at this stage involved pulling together broken pieces of the interviews and organizing them in order to follow the general chronology of the reviewed literature. This becomes useful to the reader because when events are presented in the order in which they occur, cause and effect becomes clearer. Case study or interpretive human analysis (Tesch 1990:58 cited in Dey, 1993) and narrative analysis defined by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary as ‘a spoken or written account of connected events or a story’ (Soanes & Stevenson, 2004) during analysis was also used.

Analysis and interpretation of the data was aimed at making reading simple by reducing complex human beings to a few identifying words on a page as I often referred to tables and charts during my writings and discussions. Finally, the developed conceptual frame was confirmed according to discussions that were made through case study analysis and relation to existing literature.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

I sought permission from the station master and some drivers of the *tro-tro* buses the respondents worked with at Tema station in Accra before conducting the interviews. In some cases, these leaders arranged the target sample to meet with me and also to take photographs around their place of residence in the market where it was necessary. Some however, especially the drivers were unhappy when the respondents were taking too long a time to answer the questions. They would suggest I either join the vehicle or return the following day.

In some cases, I realized the respondents were uncomfortable and could not respond to some of the questions properly. I informed about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design, as well as their right not to participate in the research project at any point in time when they were not comfortable. For instance, they would be informed about the use of audio recorders, the snapping of photographs and the publishing of their interviews. Nonetheless, anonymity of respondents would be assured.

To further ensure research ethics, pseudonym was used for the respondent's analysis. This is to consider the issue of the anonymity of research participants, concern may be most likely to focus on how it can be maintained, particularly when under pressure from

authorities to divulge identities (Grinyer 2001), which is not so much the case in this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents and discusses the study findings. The discussion will lay special emphasis on migrant transport assistants (*tro-tro driver mates's*) multiple livelihood and survival strategies in Accra. The discussions of data is informed by the theoretical framework and literature reviewed in chapter two. The collection of data was carried out at the research site at Tema station in Accra.

It is presented and analyzed along five dimensions that was generated thematically as follows; the socio-demographic characteristics of the *tro-tro driver mates*, their internal migration histories, coping strategies of *tro-tro driver mates* in Accra, their motivation and expectations for entering into the *tro-tro* business and lastly their aspirations for the future. The next section presents and discusses the findings of the study commencing with the socio-demographic characteristics of the *tro-tro driver mates* (drivers assistants)

4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of the *tro-tro driver mates*

This section presents a brief socio - demographic profile of the study participants, focusing on their, age, educational background, ethnicity, marital status and the number of children they have as well as their religious affiliation. The total sample size was 40 and their age's ranges between 15-29 years. As informed by Arya's (2002) study, the ages of participants of the study are broken down into two age groups as follows; teenagers (15 – 19 years) and young adults (20 – 29 years) (Arya 2002). This is to enhance the presentation and analysis of the study participants' socio-demographics characteristics, thereby offering a better understanding of the data.

Table 1: Age distribution of respondents

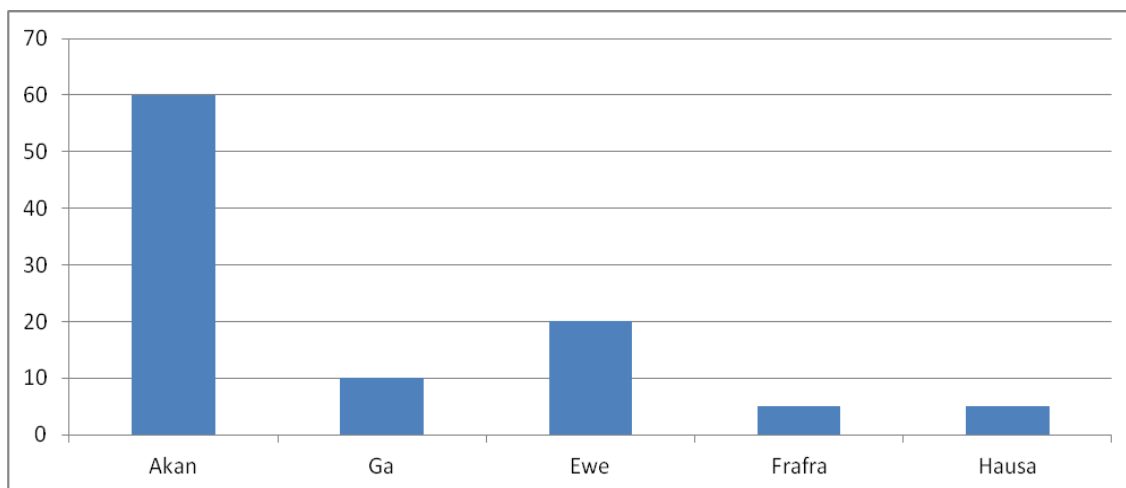
Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
15-17	12	30
18-20	8	20
21-23	10	25
24-26	6	15
27-29	4	10
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The age distribution of respondents ranged from 15 years to 29 years with a third of them falling between 15 and 17 years (Table 4.0). The distribution indicates that over 75 percent fall under Ghana's official definition for youth as aged 15 –24 years (Amankwah, 2012). The remaining 25 percent fall between the ages of 24 years and 29 years old.

Five major ethnic groups were represented in the sample; Akan, Ga, Ewe, Mole-Dagbani and Hausa.

Majority of the respondents were of Akan ethnicity followed by Ewe, Ga, Mole-Dagbani and Hausa.

Figure 2: Ethnicity of Respondents

Source: *Fieldwork, 2013*

The level of education among the respondents who participated in the study is relatively good with 70 percent of them having had some basic primary education as compared to porters (both male and females) from Northern Ghana in Yeboah's (2008:118) study, the majority of whom lacked basic primary education. I gathered from some informants that it was necessary for one to have some basic education in the *tro-tro* business. One would be expected to read road signs as all *tro-tro driver mates* aspire to learn how to drive one day.

'I completed SHS; my parents told me they don't have the means to continue with my education. I decided to join my uncle in Accra. I had always wanted to be a driver. I am a mate now because I am learning how to drive. I have paid my master GH¢200.00 and he is teaching me how to drive. Soon I will be driving my own bus' (*Gideon, 16years*).

In terms of post-basic education, five percent had vocational skills in the form of masonry and carpentry while another five percent had completed Senior High School but could not further it to the Tertiary level.

Table 2: Educational attainment of *Tro-tro* driver mates

Educational Attainment	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Did not complete Primary	4	10
Completed Primary	14	35
Did not complete JHS	10	25
Completed JHS	2	5
Did not complete SHS	5	15
Technical School	1	5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

In the survey, eight religious affiliations (Table 3) were recognized. The highest of 35 percent were of Pentecostal faith, followed by 20 percent who were of the Charismatic faith. The third highest, 12.5 percent were Muslims followed by SDA, 10 percent were Assemblies of God, Catholic and Jehovah's witness with 5 percent for each to represent the religious affiliations of the respondents. Some informants suggested that their religious affiliation sometimes serve as a form of support when one gets into trouble, for instance owing money or when in need for a place of residence. They also preach the assurance of a better life one day, which helps them in not giving up when times are tough.

Table 3: Religious affiliation of Tro-tro driver mates

Religious affiliation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Assemblies of God	2	5
Catholic	2	5
Charismatic	8	20
Jehovah's Witness	2	5
Presbyterian	3	7.5
Pentecost	14	35
SDA	4	10
Moslem	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

4.3 Migration History

The Period of time the informants have been in Accra varies from couple of days to two years (Table 4). However, it should be taken into account that some of the informants have been in Accra or other southern cities before. While the time they have stayed in Accra might not be long in other cases it is not the first time informants stay in the city. Others have not also migrated out of Accra before labelling them as life-time migrants (a person whose area of residence at the census or survey date differs from his area of birth (United Nations,2009). Dzodzi from Lashibi says...

'My parents were not born in Accra but I was and I have lived in Accra all my life, I however know my hometown in Ikpe Bala in the Volta Region and visit there now and then ...' (*Source: Fieldwork, 2013*)

Table 4: Duration of stay in Accra

Stay in Accra	Frequency	Percentage (%)
≤ 1 month	6	15
2,3 months	10	25
4,5 months	4	10
6,7 months	6	15
8,9 months	0	0
10,11 months	3	7.5
≥ 1 year	11	27.5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

In the survey, 27.5 percent of *tro-tro driver mates* reported being in Accra for a period of more than a year. Two non-migrants are captured in this percentage as they are from towns in Accra and have not migrated. 10 percent said they have been in Accra for almost half of the year (Table 4). 25 percent have been in the city between two to three months with 15 percent spending less than a month in the city. It was gathered from the respondents that some have had short and multiple trips to Accra and this can be linked to the socio-economic conditions in their hometowns. Severe economic pressures, coupled with lack of employment compelled majority of them to engage in income generating activities to support their families even those who were still getting an education in their hometowns.

Figure 3: Ariel view of *tro-tro* station



Source: <https://encryptedbn1.gstatic.com/images>

One of the research questions was to find out whether *tro-tro driver mates* had an aim of migrating to Accra. The question which was asked was: why did you migrate to Accra?

Respondents had varied aims of migrating while others indicated they did not have any aim of migrating, but for circumstances in their hometowns. Seventeen year old Ato said:

‘After I completed JSS, I couldn’t find any work to do. Just roaming about in the village and one of my friends nearly put me into trouble. He was selling marijuana and the police almost jailed me as his accomplice. After I managed to escape I came to Accra to stay with a relative. There was no work to do so I started selling Pk (chewing gum) by the roadside and after some time I stopped and decided to be a tro-tro mate.’

(*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

This response explains that the migrant’s aim of migrating was circumstantial. Papa a twenty-eight year old respondent said:

‘My aim of migrating is to get money and go back home to take care of my old father and mother, siblings and child.’
(*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

Another respondent, Hudu says:

‘My aim of migrating was to look for work that makes a ‘man’ and enable me to take care of my mother, siblings in school and my child.’
(*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

From the above, his response was influenced by a household decision and need to take responsibility of the household since his father was now too old to work and take care of the household.

Below are four main categorized reasons offered by *tro-tro driver mates* for entering into the business, as shown in Table 5. From this table it is clear that these teenage boys and young men have good reasons for being in the *tro-tro* business. The majority wanted to save money to enter into large-scale trading or other sedentary work because, according to them, the opportunities for building up the necessary capital did not exist in their place of origin. Some, to save money to learn a trade they earn a livelihood from. Others to genuinely learn this transport trade to drive their own vehicles one day.

Table 5: Reasons for Migrating

Reason	Frequency	Percentage (%)
To earn a livelihood	12	30
To save for future investment	8	20
To save for apprenticeship/education	14	35
To support family	6	15
No definite reason	0	0
Total	40	100

Source: *Field work 2013*

From the reasons offered it can be concluded, as an answer to the research question that the *tro-tro driver mates* were in the business because they needed money for many things, investment being the principal one. On the other hand, the teenage boys among the respondents expressed the need to work to save up for their apprenticeship and education. They had to move down to the city because they had very limited opportunities for realizing their goals in their place of origin. They engaged almost exclusively in the *tro-tro* business because it requires virtually no capital outlay.

Considering the growing autonomy when it comes young to rural migrants (both male and female), almost all the respondents had who had discussed their mission to migrate have had approval from that relative or friend to do so.

4.4 Livelihood Strategies of *tro-tro* driver mates in Accra

The work of the *tro-tro* mate is not easily cut out for him. Mates serve as apprentices for *tro-tro* drivers (Kennelly, 2012). The basic tasks of a mate are as follows: to call for passengers, open and close the sliding side door when passengers are getting on or alighting off the vehicle, communicate with the driver and tell him when passengers need to get off, collect fares from passengers, count up and organize money, and clean the vehicles in the morning when they get to the station and after each route ends to prepare it for the next trip.

On average a *tro-tro* mate is required to work for 17 hours a day (refer to Table 6), from 4am to 8pm. The survey gathered that depending on the age of the *master*- the *tro-tro* driver, some work 20 hours, from 4am to 11pm for a younger driver and 15 hours, from 6am to 8pm for a more elderly *master*.

Seventeen year old Appiah stated that:

I wake up as early as 3am because I have to go and buy water to bath before getting to the station to clean our bus. If you do not clean up, the passengers will be upset, give you some looks, pass comments and even insult you. Cleaning the bus also takes time. In the early mornings those travelling with us are big time workers in the city and you dare let them see a stain in their white shirts...

(Personal Interviews, 2013)

Figure 4: *Tro-tro* driver mates in a group at work



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

None of the respondent earns salaries but daily wages. Their wages depend on the number of trips made in the day and the effort a mate puts in to gather passengers for one trip. Other factors I gathered, that could give a mate more or less wages depends on time spent in traffic and diesel purchased per day.

Table 6: Hours of Work

Hours	Frequency	Percentage (%)
≤ 14 hours	3	7.5
15,16 hours	6	15
17,18 hours	19	37.5
19,20 hours	10	25
≥21 hours	2	5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork 2013

Table 7: Daily Wages

Amount (GH¢)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
≤ 10	3	7.5
11-15	7	17.5
16-20	14	35
21-25	10	25
26-30	6	15
≥ 31	0	0
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Financial capital is an important asset that *tro-tro driver mates* access and utilize as part of their livelihood process. ‘To make money is the first and most important reason all the respondents indicate as explanation for their work and migration to Accra. It is striking that almost all their activities, considerations and statements relate to the urge of making money. An example to illustrate this issue is done below by fifteen year old Kojo...

‘*Is it dangerous to be a tro-tro mate?* Yes it is. *Why is it dangerous?* Well jumping on and off a moving vehicle takes a lot of courage and speed. But holding all that amount of money makes it worth-while.’

(*Personal Interview, 2013*).

4.4.1 Financial Capital

Financial capital is available to people in diverse forms including savings, credit, remittances, and income from work (Rakodi, 2002; Ellis 2000). For the *tro-tro driver mates*, their income are basically derived from their labour though these incomes are not fixed daily. Because of the nature of the work, working on average of 17 hours a day, all the respondents in the survey did not have other means of livelihood. On the average, 35 percent, made between GH¢16.00 to GH¢20.00 daily (Table 7). Those who made more and less of this average confirmed that it was not regularly the stated amount but definitely on a normal good day GH¢20.00 a day.

The amount of money that the respondents indicate to spend in one day varies from GH¢5.00 to GH¢10.00. The money earned is mainly spent on daily necessities, such as food, sanitary facilities and water. The male the *tro-tro driver mates* eat have an average cost of GH¢6.00, in most cases they eat three times a day. A common breakdown is of porridge and bean cake, *hausa koko and koose* early in the morning of GH¢1.50, some

snacks and water at GH¢1.50, rice and beans- waakye or kenkey and fish at GH¢2.00 and some rice and stew at GH¢ 2.00 at evening time. The coping strategy is that they sometimes have to forfeit breakfast and eat a lunch if they mean to save a lot more.

Figure 5: Two tro-tro driver mates having launch at the station



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

At Tema station mates are not required to pay a ticket or fee to allow them to work like head porters (*Kayayei have to buy a ticket and pay a fee to be allowed to carry out their work, the fee is GH¢1.00, (van den berg,2007)*). The tro-tro drivers initially pay GH¢ 4.00 to join a station's union, usually the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU). After this initial union payment, they pay a daily fee of GH¢1.00 to the station's union in order to bring their *tro-tro* into the station to load passengers and goods.

Figure 6: *Tro-tro driver mates* ‘shadowing’



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Extra expenses that the *tro-tro driver mates* have to consider are clothes, sandals, deodorant and soap. With all these expenses, the *tro-tro driver mates* rely on their bonding social capital- where they depend on each other by borrowing money, sharing food and other items like clothes and soap. However, borrowing money or using up savings is a big risk of running out of money. Many *tro-tro driver mates* use an insurance strategy to face the irregularity of the earnings and the risk of running out of money on days that little money is made. This strategy consists of saving, which they do by making use of (informal) saving systems such as the *susu* system- where one to saves part of his earnings daily given to a mobile collector. The income of the mates is not always too low

to deposit a formal banking institution. However, the *susu* system is a convenient alternative to save the money to be large enough to deposit into an account. While they save, *susu* collectors to bring a certain amount of money on a regular interval for their basic use. At the end of this interval, they collect the money and either saves in a bank or remit home. The importance of savings among the mates is highlighted below by twenty-three year old Hamza:

I try to save the bulk of my money because I do not reside permanently here and only come to Accra to work for money and go back to my hometown. Due to this, whatever money I get irrespective of how small or big, I make conscious effort to save some of it to take back home with me. Even when I make just GH¢5.00 a day I want to save half of that money. (*Source: Personal Interviews, 2013*).

Remittance is a huge part of the livelihood strategies of migrants and their family members (Tanle, 2003; Wong, 2006). In the study, all respondents mentioned that they remit to their family members (both extended and nuclear) in their hometowns. Not only in monetary terms but foodstuffs and other material goods like pillows, bowls, carpet etc.

4.4.2 Living Conditions and Health Situation

The livelihoods of many urban individuals are affected severely by their access to adequate shelter, which is regarded as an asset and on which other livelihood options also depend (Wood and Salaway, 2000; Payne, 2002 cited by Yeboah 2008: 177). They attest that for many urban poor people, economic factors outweigh the need for decent accommodation and are the reasons why most of them reside and squatter on restricted spaces.

Tro-tro driver mates, like other presumed poor urban dwellers, live on the margins of the city due to numerous factors, such as their background or social classification, the nature of their migration, employment, and conditions in the urban environment. Besides, these mates need to fulfill their financial obligations first and foremost.

While most of the respondents rent a kiosk for an average of GH¢5.00 a month (refer to Table 8), very few owe some of these kiosks they constructed or purchased themselves at an average of GH¢50.00. Respondents who normally rent a room, I gathered either lives with their *master* (driver of *tro-tro* bus) or a relative upon whose invitation they migrated to the city and usually pay no rent. Others, I gathered sleep in the *tro-tro* bus after work or at the lorry station- in the open space or in front of shops, because it is easier to get to work early. The informants live in places like Teshie Nungua, Ashiaman, Ablekuma, Odorkor, Lashibi and others which would pass *Homeless International (2003)*, definition for slums- as areas that struggle with issues of secure land, poor housing, sanitation, infrastructure, fires and flooding and threats of forced evictions in Accra.

Twenty year old, Okpoti, admitted that their rooms are very crowded:

I live in a rented kiosk owed by a fellow *tro-tro* mate. Our rooms are crowded with about 8 to 10 people sleeping in the small kiosk. He keeps taking in more people because of the money he gets at the end of the month like GH¢5.00 from each one of us. The crowd makes us prone to all kinds of diseases and sickness especially transmittable or communicable diseases. He continues to put more people in. When you complain, he threatens you with eviction (*Personal Interviews, 2013*).

Table 8: Types of Accommodation

Types of Accommodation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Share a kiosk	8	20
Rent a kiosk	14	35
Rent a room	7	17.5
Sleep in Station	6	15
Sleep in Bus	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Source: *Field work 2013*

It was also gathered that wooden structures like the kiosks, had no sanitary facilities and these young men usually either defecate in a nearby bush or have to pay 20.00p or 30.00p to used toilet facilities at the station. Majority of them also use public bathrooms located at the station where they purchase on an average 50.00p for a bucket of water. Twenty-five year old Kwesi response:

‘We start work very early in the morning and are done late at night. I bath once a day, In the morning to look fresh, it isn’t that I cannot afford water...It is the nature of the job.’
(*Personal Interview, 2013*)

Living conditions of the respondents for rented rooms were rated good while those living in Kiosks, the majority of 55 percent rated their conditions average. For those living in the lorry or open space in and around the market in Accra, they said their living condition was not the best yet since it is just a strategy to save money to get a better place.

Issues such as being accused of being criminals came up in this discussion. The respondents say, they themselves are attacked by thieves especially at night. Others blame where they live as the main cause of this problem. Sixteen year old, Kokoui said:

‘The thieves dive in our neighbourhoods with us so we get easily accused by the police, once there was a round up and some of my friends got caught in, if not for the timely intervention of some of us they would have been taken away’ (*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

Regarding their health situation, I gathered ill-health is caused by exposure to extreme temperatures at night. Twenty-five year old Fafa who lives in a kiosk illustrates;

We are exposed to mosquitoes, rain, severe heat, and unsanitary conditions in our living quarters. As a man, how can you sleep with a cloth or in a mosquito net? It shows you are not strong but I know it is stupid. It is not surprising that most of us always buy medicine for fever from drug stores... (*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

Another common condition *tro-tro* mate suffer are cough and cold. They wake up very early in the mornings and have to open the bus’s windows to the cold morning breeze while *shadowing*.

One respondent’s coping strategy is as follows:

‘So I normally put on extra clothing to keep warm in the mornings by mid-morning the weather gets normal that when I take off the extra clothing.’ (*Personal Interviews, 2013*)

In comparing the above finding and discussion with the findings of Yeboah's (2008) study among others done on *Kayayei'*, there appears to be some good fit between her disaggregation of male and female porters from Northern Ghana’s livelihood strategies to that of the *tro-tro driver mates* in Accra.

4.5 Motivation, Challenges and Expectations for entering into the *tro-tro* business

4.5.1 Nature and Challenges of *tro-tro* business

The nature of work as a *tro-tro* mate demands one to be physically strong and very alert at all times. Drivers place emphasis on a smart and pro-active mate with basic accounting skills- the ability to calculate fares collected and change to be given out to passengers as well as spot and *shadow* passengers on time. No technical know-how is required. Except to hold on tight to the sliding door of the minibus and have a loud voice.

Majority of the *tro-tro driver mates* entered the profession by accident. They had no prior knowledge or ambition to do so except circumstances that lead them in. Below is a narrative of how a new entrant gets the job:

Prospective mates have to come to the station in search of work very early in the morning and drivers can select any mate and hire him for the day. At the end of the day, drivers decide if they will keep the mate or not. If the mate did not do an excellent job, drivers will simply give them their daily wage and try to find a suitable mate the next day. But if the driver likes the mate and feels he is a good fit, he will ask him to return and work with him the next day. Each day the mate will learn more about the industry. This training is very informal and one is tested on the job, for instance in collection of fares and right change issued out to passengers, learning all major and minor stops along the routes as quickly as possible as well as how a mate responds to passengers.

4.5.2 Relationship with Drivers

The job also depends greatly on the relationship they have with that driver. Some drivers treat their mates like their sons while others say they are maltreated sometimes. A respondent attests that his master force him to sleep in their *tro-tro* every night to ensure that their vehicle is not stolen when he could be sleeping over at a relatives' rented room.

Similarly, the respondents also testified that some drivers cheat them and accuse them of stealing fares. Others could also be sacked if caught taking a nap. Bad recommendation is bad for business and no driver would want to work with someone with bad recommendation.

During one in-depth interview, I gathered that if a mate pleases his master, he will begin to teach him how to drive little by little. This training is sometimes formal as some drivers charge the mates who wish to learn how to drive in order to have them seriously involved. Lessons take place usually on Sundays or when drivers and mates have some spare time. Mates that are dedicated to their master and work hard get lessons for free and quickly advance to the occupation of a driver after a few years. Their master will recommend them to the owner of a *tro-tro* and their solo career will begin.

4.5.3 Relationship with Passengers

A major challenge that *tro-tro driver mates* face is verbal abuse and physical abuse from passengers. Seventeen year old Bawa illustrates:

‘With no provocation at all, a passenger who might be having a bad day would pounce on you with insults just because you slipped a little and under changed him. If you insult back, they would say you do not respect but we also have feelings. To make it worse your master might join them in the insults and just ruin your whole day!’ (*Personal Interview, 2013*)

Some respondents also claim they have almost faced off in fights with the passengers. Fare increases and ‘under change’ of fares are some of the causes of these fights. It is not all

gloomy to say the least as some said they get ‘goodies’ and money from some passengers.

Nineteen year old Hafiz said:

‘This Immigration woman is very good to me and my driver; she is impressed at how early we are at the station each day. She likes our bus because it is clean and we put the radio on her favorite morning programme. Every day I get something extra to take care of myself...’ (*Personal Interviews, 2013*).

Although work is done individually, activities surrounding the work are much more done in a group. Eating is an important activity that is done together; seated at the stations or in between cars or at the side of the road, taking food bought at the station. Spending time together with other mates is very important to these young men. Sixteen year old Aquaye said:

‘My friends and I discuss issues about the work and advice each other. Say for instance you are having problems with your driver, through talking someone can mention an opening for a mate elsewhere, and this builds trust’
(*Personal Interview, 2013*)

Figure 7: A *tro-tro* mate helping a passenger board a *tro-tro*



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

Figure 8: A *tro-tro* mate helping a passenger alight a *tro-tro*



Source: Fieldwork, 2013

4.5.4 Aspirations for the future

According to van den Berg (2007:78) not only physical and material well-being and economic factors determine the livelihood vulnerability of a person or a group of people. An aspect that is often overlooked in research on livelihoods is the role of psychological factors in migration and in securing a livelihood. She comments that the mental well-being and resilience to the change in circumstances will influence how people respond to risks and insecurity. When people view their lives positively and have aspirations for their future, they can be expected to respond creatively on difficult circumstances and actively look for options to improve their livelihood conditions.

With this, I noticed that the teenagers among the interviewees expressed with so much optimism their ambition to return back to school. A few of them wish to participate in a technical training programme to learn skills like making sliding doors, cement block making, plastering buildings and so on. The discussion reveals that young men on the other hand were more concerned with earning a livelihood than pursuing education.

4.6 Theoretical Contribution

The conceptual framework discussed in chapter two did not only serve as a guide offer an infrastructure for a better examination and analysis of the data collected, but also it grounded the findings in the daily realities of *tro-tro driver mates*. In other words, it provided a people-centred perspective to the phenomenon under study. Again, the conceptual approach allowed for a detailed analysis of the impact of changing macro and micro level socio-economic factors on the strategies of *tro-tro driver mates* compared to female head porters- *Kayayei* in Accra. The framework also provided a basis for exploring and understanding the complexity of livelihoods, as peoples' activities are shaped by assets available to them and how they access these assets (Francis, 2000). Additionally,

the framework provided a space that helped to capture the relational processes such as household, group networking, community and all social processes that informed and affected the different ways the *tro-tro driver mates* studied make their living.

4.7 Field Experiences and Challenges

There is an adage in Akan language that says that if you have not been to somebody's farm, do not think you are the only farmer. My experiences with these *tro-tro driver mates* have thought me that having a 'blue-collar job' do not mean anything. Some of the *tro-tro driver mates* are able to earn as much as GH¢30.00 a day which most civil servants, if one calculates their earnings monthly do not come close to this a day. Some of them have been able to put up houses in their places of origin though their living conditions here are not the best. They are able to remit their families back home. Above all, they have plans of going back to school or securing themselves in a trade which is highly commendable. This research should not give the impression that *tro-tro driver mates* are well to do in the society, however in comparison with female migrants of the popular Kaya phenomenon in Ghana, they seem to be better off.

Alternatively, finding literature on migrant workers and subordination was another challenge. Little work has been done on this topic let alone in Ghana. Much of the literature I gathered related to work in the formal sector than the informal sector.

The major challenge faced by mixed method approach as argued by Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005) is how to come up with the appropriate research questions that can integrate both the quantitative and qualitative data, without going overboard. Initially the researcher

decided to use one approach but it became necessary to do quantitative approach to broaden the scope of the research than initially planned.

In most researches, time and resources are mostly not adequate for all research activities. However, some of these problems are difficult to manage in mixed method researches. In this study, the data collection was exceptionally time consuming, labour intensive and expensive. This is due to the fact that the researcher has to collect the data all by herself; the transportation cost and the motivation offered respondents were very high. As a way of using the limited time wisely, multiple tasks were done in a week.

4.8 Researcher Positionality

Another major problem related to the fieldwork was my positionality in the research process. My positionality as a female researcher with a university degree intimidated some of the participants especially the younger men who have had little education. The respondents referred to me as “madam”, signifying some kind of power relations at work. Part of their calling me “madam” can be explained as at the end of the research I would refresh them with some soft drinks and give them sardines to take home for supper. They really appreciated the fact that someone cared about them and their plight and desperately wanted their stories to be heard.

In conclusion, I have tried to link the livelihood framework and objectives of this study to explore different dimensions of the livelihoods and coping strategies of *tro-tro driver mates*. One of the main forms of vulnerability to urban youth is their participation in the informal economy, a sector which lacks proper regulatory processes (ILO, 2002; Chen, 2004). There is lack of security, no legal protection and no union for the *tro-tro driver*

mates. However, the perception that they make a sizable number of the urban poor is somewhat unconfirmed considering how much they earn daily.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the livelihood and survival strategies of *tro-tro driver mates* in Accra. Using livelihood framework, I have attempted to link concepts in the rural and urban livelihoods with literature on youth migration. Tema Station in Accra is the case study area used to illustrate how *tro-tro driver mates* engage a livelihood within a wider socio-economic context of urban areas.

The chapter also presents a summary and discussion of the findings in this research. It is followed by recommendations as to what measures to put in place to facilitate coping strategies of *tro-tro driver mates* as important agents in urban transportation.

From a livelihood framework perspective, I tried to examine the different lifestyles adopted by *tro-tro driver mates* who work at the Tema station; and also explore their experiences, opportunities and challenges that work brings with their migration. The study combined a Survey with In-depth interviews of *tro-tro driver mates* and key informant interviews with two drivers and an official from GPRTU. The findings from the study are summarized below.

5.2. Summary of Main Findings

The key aspects of the livelihood framework reflected by the data are discussed below.

This research project reveals many dynamic strategies among *tro-tro driver mates* and their livelihoods.

From the livelihood conceptual framework empirical evidence from the Survey and Individual interviews, demonstrate that the livelihood of *tro-tro driver mates* is affected by

a combination of several factors, including economic and social factors such as poverty (Awumbila et al. 2011:27). As a result these young migrants often move from their resource poor hometowns to resource perceived rich cities (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003).

From the Vulnerability context of commoditization, environmental hazard and social fragmentation (Moser, 1998), the *tro-tro* driver mates' work is his most important asset, because of the highly 'commoditized' nature of the ever growing urban transport sector in Ghana. The mates take their work very serious and do all they can to keep it because once you are dismissed a mate can easily be replaced the following day.

Other aspects of urban commoditization that Moser (1998) indicates as paying for food and shelter rather than relying on own production, dependency upon purchasing services, and access to land and housing is affirmed in the case of the *tro-tro* mate in Accra. These young men would rather make capital investments in their hometowns than at the place of destination.

The environmental hazards that she refers to as poor quality of housing and inadequate water supplies, sanitation and solid waste disposal are also affirmed considering the types of accommodation *tro-tro* make choose. They confirmed that their way of living is far better in their hometowns.

The third aspect of urban vulnerability, social fragmentation is illustrated by the absence of trade unions to represent these workers. I gathered they are not fully recognized by the GPRTU because they are viewed in the same light and concerns as their drivers, which this research shows is not the case. With Adams (1993), who argues for policy

recommendations, interviews with officials from the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) confirm government had no information on or of the workings with *tro-tro driver mates*. Social exclusion in the context of developing countries defined by Breman (2004:1) is affirmed here.

Other factors that arose, has to do with the “bright lights syndrome” of cities and towns lure many young people to migrate. It is worthy to note that some of the respondents had options of staying in their hometowns to continue schooling or to learn a trade but choose to come to Accra because those who returned brought back “great stories”, which they later find out for themselves is not true as they state ‘*Accra aabrab*) *y3 den!*’-literally meaning Accra life is difficult. This syndrome imply the promise that Urban centres hold the key of success for individuals and groups who are hungry, jobless, ill, just curious, and so forth (Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2010; BBC Report, 2007). Majority however had no regrets as they said they always feel a sense of pride upon return home.

Alternatively, Social Capital of *tro-tro driver mates* exists of different types of social relations. Woolcock’s (2001:72) ‘*bridging social capital*’ of distant friends, associates and colleagues of the trade that share a peculiar closeness cited by van dan Berg (2007:52). Most of the mates share a close bond with their drivers and fellow *tro-tro driver mates*. The Drivers do not only play employee roles but also mentor most of these young men into becoming prospective drivers in future. Majority of the respondents aspire to learn how to drive and their close affiliations with their bosses the drivers make this possible. This relationship builds trust between drivers and their mates because of the sense of bounded solidarity shared by them.

Portes and Sensenbrenner define “bounded solidarity” as a sense of solidarity shared by members of a particular immigrant community who “find themselves affected by common events in a particular time and place” (1993: 13-27). And this makes it impossible for the mates to steal monies they make in the work. Similarly strong bonds among *tro-tro driver mates* exist of fellow *tro-tro driver mates* living and working at the same station in the city. I realized that the *tro-tro driver mates* look for people who are of the same ethnic group and speak the same language. This is how *tro-tro driver mates* build networks due to their common experiences and it is often quite close knit.

This was evident in the sequence in which my data collection went. Usually I would ask them if there was someone else I could interview and they would go and bring a ‘brother’ who I discovered through the interview either came from the same hometown or spoke the same language as the first interviewee.

Unlike the *Kayayei*, who face work hazards like carrying very heavy load on their heads impacting on their necks all day (Yeboah, 2008), the *tro-tro driver mates* in my interviews face very little risks- at work, although their work is highly competitive. This is because it requires very little skills and these young men say it is very lucrative. Some however expressed the fear of being expelled from their living accommodation. At an individual level *tro-tro driver mates* do not face uncertainty of incomes like the *Kayayei*. They said an opportunity to work on a day’s trip was a surety of a sufficient wage at the end of the day.

On the contrary, age discrimination which plays a role in subordination (Sargeant, 2003) was suffered most by the teenagers working as *tro-tro driver mates*. It is however relevant

to note that if a *tro-tro* mate was smaller in size, the age did not really matter because some drivers were more likely to cheat or verbally abuse them.

The mates use different strategies to cope in the city of Accra. Some of these are repeating clothing and eating once or twice a day. They also use more of the informal way of saving- *Susu* than banks to have easy access to their monies at anytime.

Unexpected costs many respondents said occurred when they had to remit monies back home when they had not planned for it. Like for funerals and other emergencies. They said it was their moral obligation to do so as their families were first to help them come to Accra.

The concept of transforming structures and process of the conceptual framework is evident by the *tro-tro* stations (refer figure 2) and drivers. Stations serve as the lifeblood of various quarters within the city of Accra. They are standardized in terms of their form and function. Formal and Informal organizations and institutions (Scoones 1998:12), I identified here as an official of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU).

In sum, this dissertation has sought to look at a more nuance accounting for migrants who tend to make a lot more money than the existing literature has suggested. However, *tro-tro driver mates* like other urban dwellers are striving to pursue sustainable livelihoods, their wages and the trade-offs they make in relation to consumption and shelter exposes them to some forms of vulnerability with a labelling as being part of the urban poor population which is not completely a fact cause most of these young men are actually well to do in their hometowns while others (the teenage boys on vacation) are working to pay for an education. They use the trade-offs as coping strategies to minimize their spending

since it is difficult for them to spend money adequately for their basic needs and save money as well for future use.

5.3 Conclusions

This dissertation sought to find out the livelihood experiences and coping skills of *tro-tro driver mates* who have migrated to Accra; the capital city of Ghana to seek better life. Recognizing that very little literature existed on *tro tro mates*, the secondary literature on *Kayayei* was reviewed to give a backdrop understanding of the phenomenon under study. A significant finding here is that as most women (*kayayei*) make many contacts before migrating so do men (*tro-tro driver mates*) rely on friends and ethnic group relations when migrating.

One key findings of the study showed that even though most *tro-tro driver mates* migrated due to economic factors, there were positive outcomes that came with migration for both themselves and their households. For example, *tro-tro driver mates* use their earnings to pay up for their apprenticeship and education, the others relatively older save money to enter into large-scale trading or other sedentary work because the opportunities for building up the necessary capital did not exist in their place of origin.

More important theoretical findings were revealed by the study relating to the use of different forms of capital including social and natural capital. This highlighted the importance of ethnic and informal friendship social network in the lives of *tro-tro driver mates*. More specifically the findings of this study has open a space for further research in the precise area of *tro-tro driver mates* as this is a pioneer research studying the livelihood experiences and coping strategies employed by *tro-tro driver mates* on their job .

To conclude, the fate of *tro-tro driver mates* in a city like Accra is not as gloomy as that of the *kayayei* as suggested by the existing literature (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003, 2005; Tanle, 2003).

5.4 What are the policy options?

A combination of policy and practical measures is required to provide viable alternatives to rural-urban migration to ensure the protection and welfare for migrant youth in Accra. One way is to encourage the best use of migrant earnings and learning by rural households and communities how to create viable and sustainable options for return, investments and reintegration.

While governments have a key responsibility for ensuring gender-sensitive migration policies, the engagement of concerned populations and organizations are vital. Below are some specific recommendations:

- Provide core public goods to improve agricultural productivity and incomes in rural areas, and also reduce inequalities in access to productive resources. It is vital to stimulate rural employment creation and entrepreneurship with specific incentives to encourage youth employment as well as facilitate access to water, fuel, markets and other social necessities.
- Invest in education and vocational training with equal opportunities for boys and girls to give them more employment options at home (and to strengthen work skills of potential migrants).

- Promote migrant associations, youth membership in mixed associations and migrants' membership in trade or workers' unions like NGOs and driving unions like the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) and Progressive Transport Owners Association (PROTA) who help standardize the industry's fare prices and organize stations. This can facilitate access to information on the migration process (risks, immigration policies, working conditions and rights in urban areas), legal and social assistance, and health care.
- Stimulate discussions between governments, social partners (drivers and trade unions), civil society and migrant communities so that the contributions of migrants are recognized.
- Introduce national labour and migration legislation that enshrines international standards for the legal protection of migrants (particularly the youth), and international labour standards to ensure decent work conditions for migrants and national workers alike. The ILO Multilateral Framework for Labour Migration provides a comprehensive, gender-sensitive guide to the principles, international standards, institutional measures, and practical actions.

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APPENDIX A

LIVELIHOOD AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF MIGRANT TRANSPORT

ASSISTANTS: A CASE STUDY OF 'TRO-TRO' MATES IN ACCRA

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student of University of Ghana, Legon. I am undertaking a research project as part of the requirements for my course work in Migration Studies. The study aims to investigate Livelihood and Survival Strategies of Migrant Transport Assistants: A Case Study of 'Tro-Tro' Mates In Accra. I humbly crave your audience for an interview lasting about an hour. Your participation is very important for the success of this research. If at any point in the interview, you need clarifications, please let me know. This is divided into five (5) sections and will be treated confidentially and is purely for academic work; none of the information you give will be passed on to a third party, and the information will be used only for purposes of this research.

Thank you very much

1. To examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the *tro-tro* driver mates.

What is your age?

- a. 15-17 b. 18-20 c. 21-23 d. 24-26 e. 27-29

What is your highest level of education?.....

What is your marital status?

- a. Married b. Single c. Cohabitation

How many children do you have?.....

What is your ethnic background?.....

Religious

affiliation?.....

What is/are parent(s) education, occupation?.....

Do you have other siblings/educational back ground/current occupation?.....

2. To examine the internal migration trend among *tro-tro driver mates* in Accra.

Where is your birth place?.....

Where did you come from before migrating/how did you migrate to Accra?.....

Is it your first time coming to Accra? a. Yes b. No

Why did you migrate to Accra?.....

Did you discuss your intention to migrate with anyone? a. Yes b. No

Did the person approve? a. Yes b. No

3. To analyze coping strategies of *tro-tro driver mates* who are migrants in Accra.

How many hours do you work as a *trotro mate* in a day?

a. \leq 1month b. 2,3 months c. 4,5 months d. 6,7 months e. 8,9 months f. 10,11 months g. \geq 1 year

Do you earn daily wages or monthly salary?.....

How much do you earn a day/month?.....

Where do you stay in Accra?/ How are the conditions where you live?.....

Do you live alone/with friends/family/relatives?.....

How much do you spend on rent?.....

How much do you spend on food daily?.....

How do you deal with ill-health?.....

Do you save money? a. Yes b. No

If Yes, how do you save? a. Bank b. Susu c. Self d. others specify.....

What do you do when family back home request for money/how do you remit?.....

4. To understand the motivation and expectations for entering into the *tro-tro* business.

What made you to become *tro-tro* mate/ How did you end up as a *tro-tro* mate?

What did you want to be as a child, how has that changed over time till present?

What challenges do you face with the work?

How are you dealing with these challenges?

Have your expectations for migrating to Accra being met?

What have you done since you came to Accra?

What are your other current sources of livelihood?

5. To understand the *tro-tro* driver mates aspirations for the future.

What opportunities have migration brought to you and the wellbeing of your family?

What other plans do you have and how will you achieve that?

Do you have any recommendations for me?

Thank you for your participation in this research.

APPENDIX B:

In-depth Interview Guide

Note: This must be read before each discussion session

My name is Patience Buckman, an M.A Student from the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana. I am collecting data for my dissertation research which tries to explore Livelihood and Survival Strategies among *tro-tro driver mates* in Tema Station, Accra.

This is to help provide a better understanding of the ways tro-tro mate who are migrants live and work in the city of Accra. The discussions will be recorded on a tape and will not be altered. The information you give here will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will not be linked to you in any way.

Check List of Items for Discussion

Lead question: How do you manage your livelihoods in Accra and what challenges do you face with work?

A. Resources – how is your saving affected by the way you live in Accra?

B. Activities – Can you tell me about your activities, what are some of your vulnerabilities?

C. Living Arrangement – Respondents to discuss the various residential options available to them

D. Problems and Challenges with work, driver (*master*), passengers – respondents to discuss issues that pertain to their work?

F. Future Aspirations – find out from respondents the plans they have for themselves and their families.