

**KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,  
KUMASI, GHANA**

**KNUST**

**THE MISSING LINK IN HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT:  
THE CASE OF FEMALE HEADPORTERS (*KAYAYEI*) IN GHANA**

**BY**

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# KNUST



## DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that this Thesis is my brain child towards the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree in Management Studies and as much as I know, not whole or part of this piece of work has been submitted and accepted for the award of any other degree by the University and for works cited, they have been duly acknowledged.

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## DEDICATION

To the children and especially young girls of school going age who for no fault of their, are subsisting on the streets of Ghana.



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**AND TO GOD BE THE GLORY.**



## ABSTRACT

The consequences of uneven economic development in Ghana have made the major cities in the south a destination for internal migrants from other areas in the country. One such migrant group is the female adolescents, averaged between 8 and 22 years of age who migrate to the cities of Accra and Kumasi independent of family. They are known as *kayayei* (female head porters) who do commercial load carrying as a means of livelihood while in the city. These *kayayei* forgo opportunities afforded by the supposedly free formal education and training in that part of the country where they come from and migrate to the city. This raises legitimate questions about the effectiveness of human resource development policies in the country. A pertinent question is, why would girls of school going age be living on the streets of cities when the country is pursuing the MDG of universal basic education? The research sought to investigate the causes and effects of their migration; their level of education and skills acquired; views of stakeholders on improving their livelihood; and the existing National Human Resource Development (NHRD) policies which are relevant to improving their employability. Themes in the Urban Livelihood Framework have been linked to HRD policy to provide the conceptual background to the study. 156 respondents comprising 101 female head-porters, 50 members of civil society organizations and 5 state officials were purposely sampled to participate in individual in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and survey. The female porters were reached using the snowball style of purposive sampling. Participants were interviewed at the central business districts and slum areas in Accra and Kumasi, the two major cities of Ghana. Using the content analysis approach, thematic analysis was employed to analyze the qualitative data to arrive at a storyline. Subsequently, a survey was conducted to determine the frequencies of some major findings from the qualitative data. Hence, simple frequency distributions were used to analyze the data collected with questionnaire to determine the percentage ratings of the issues on five point likert type scales. Generally, analysis of data indicated that current livelihood of the female porters is explained by several factors which are classified into socio-cultural, human development and some general factors operating in their home communities and the destination cities where they ply their trade. Among the policies on national human resource development explored, Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) has been found to contain policy elements relevant to addressing the plight of the female porters as a vulnerable group. However, inadequate formal infrastructure; generic training methodology which does not consider individual needs assessment; and non-syllabibased and long period of training duration in the informal apprenticeship system were found to be challenges confronting policy implementation in the TVET sector. The policy related issues were under-funding, inadequate infrastructure and nonresponsiveness of skills to labour market demands. The findings would be relevant in increasing consciousness among state agencies, civil society actors and researchers on the critical socio-cultural issues confronting education including technical and vocational training in Ghana as well as the current organization of the school and vocational skills training systems which is failing to enhance educational development of girl-children in rural Ghana. Advocacy, education, law and policy enforcement, social protection and reorganization of the school system in rural home communities of the female porters have been recommended as the means for reversing their migration to the south at the expense of their educational development.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADF	Africa Development Fund
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
APEC	Asian-Pacific Economic Corporation
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BED	Basic Education Department
CBD	Central Business District



CBE	Complementary Basic Education
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CGAP	Consultative Group to Assist the Poor
CEPA	Centre for Policy Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CREATE	Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DFID	Department for International Development
EFA	Education for All
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EQUIP	Education Quality Improvement Project
ESP	Education Sector Plan
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GES	Ghana Education Service
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GoG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service



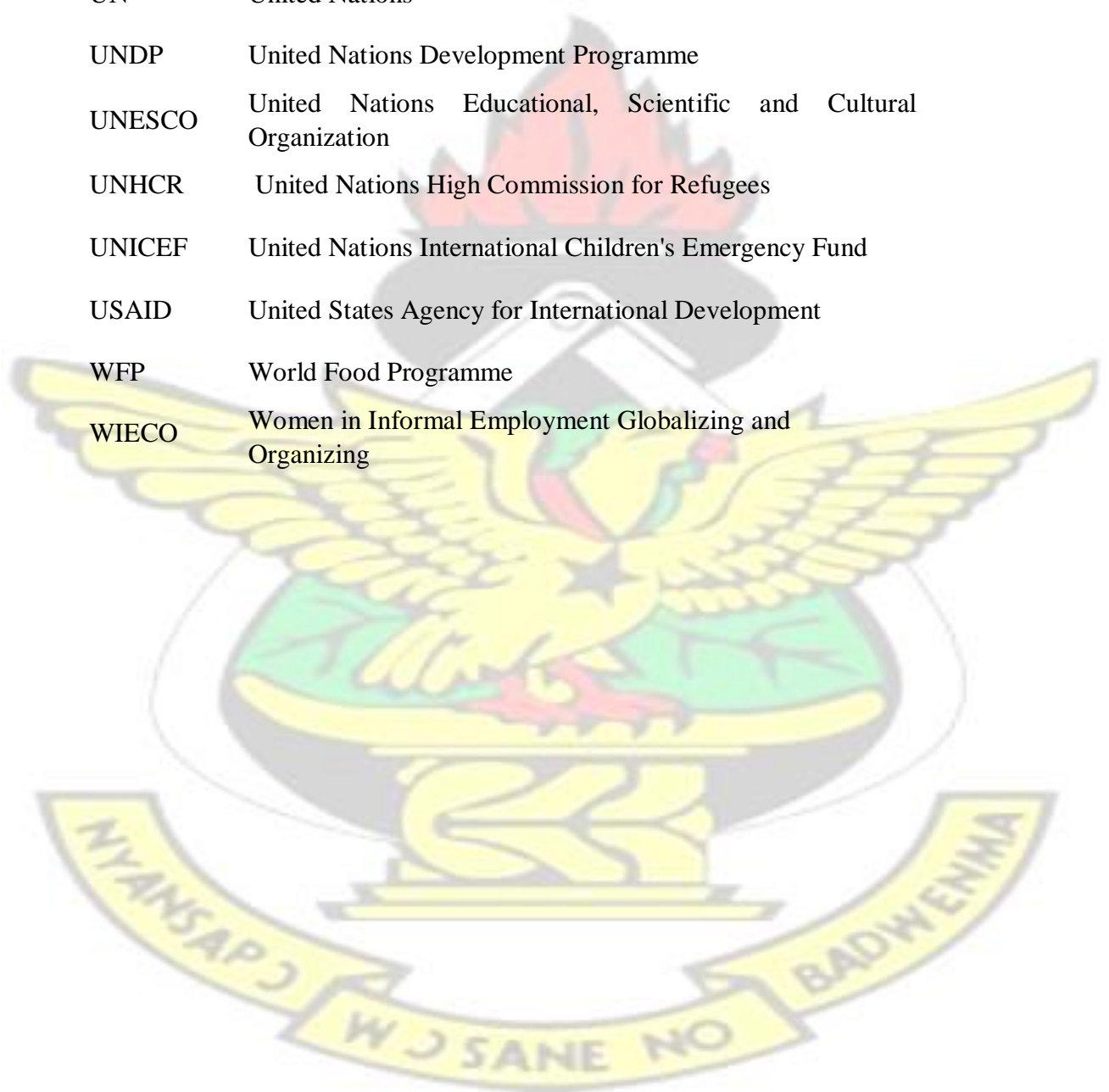
GYEEDA	Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency
HLS	Household Livelihood Security
HOSS	Hecksher-Ohlin-Samuelson
HR	Human Resource
HRD	Human Resource Development
HRDS-SA	Human Resource Development Strategy of South Africa
HRM	Human Resource Management
ICCES	Integrated Community Centres for Employable Skills
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSER	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research
JHS	Junior High School
JSS	Junior Secondary School
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MASLOC	Microfinance and Small Loans Centre
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoESS	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports
MoMYE	Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children





MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NFED	Non-Formal Education Department
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NHRD	National Human Resource Development
NIPF	National Industrial Policy Framework
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
NTU	Nephelometric Turbidity Unit
NVTI	National Vocational and Technical Institutes
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
ODI	Overseas Direct Investment
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAMSCAD Adjustment	Programme of Action to Mitigate Social Cost of Adjustment
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PSIs	Presidential Special Initiatives
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SHS	Senior High School
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SPF	Social Protection Floor
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STEP	Skills Training and Entrepreneurial Programme
SWAA	Society for Women and AIDS in Africa
TAT	Traditional Apprenticeship Training

TSP	Transforming Structures and Processes
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UA	United Emirates
UER	Upper East Region
UKFIET	United Kingdom Forum for International Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WIECO	Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

It is now an accepted view that it is the human resources of a nation, not its capital or natural resources that ultimately determine the character and pace of its economic and social development (Todaro, 1997). Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production while human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build socio- economic and political organizations and carry forward the mantle of development. It is largely incontestable to say, therefore, that a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and create a productive culture that utilizes such skills and knowledge effectively would remain incapable of developing anything else (Harbison and Meyers, 1964). In this light all industrial democracies have come to appreciate the wisdom of Ray Marshall's observation that "developed, educated, motivated people are an unlimited resource . . . [while] undeveloped, uneducated, unmotivated people are a monumental drag on an economy in the internationalized information era of contemporary times" (1986, p. 1.).

In developing countries and more specifically in Africa, this realization still remains elusive to many governments. For instance, the *kayayei* phenomenon as one of the many cases of streetism in Ghana appears to constitute such monumental drag on the national economy as described by Ray Marshall (1986). Their sources of livelihood raise questions relating to National Human Resource Development (NHRD). The *kayayei* phenomenon is characterised by children, teenagers and young women walking the streets and market centres of the major cities of Ghana soliciting to carry people's load at a fee. The phenomenon has been recognised and acknowledged as an

extreme case of exposure of young women and children to unimaginable vulnerability. There is indeed evidence of their vulnerability (Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) as substantiated by the stories of child labour and exploitation, human trafficking, and sexual servitude (Logan, Walker, and Hunt, 2009) that have characterised their ranks over the years. The best way to protect people against vulnerability is to prevent the circumstances leading to it (Connelly, Sankaran, Swift-Morgan, and Tengfei, 2004). To do this, Mace et al. (2012) suggest that prevention efforts must focus on increased education and training through the lens of HRD to build strong discerning communities, less susceptible to activities and engagements likely to impugn human dignity and hence national development. The focus of this research is to explore HRD from the national context as a platform for advancing employability of marginal workers using the *kayayei*.

The study, thus, focuses on people as a critical resource for the survival and development of the national economy. The „people resource“, however, like any other resource must be processed for it to be productive and complementary in its combination with other resources. Given the competitive challenges for any level of organization, whether a business entity or a nation, survival depends on quality of human resources as driver to circumvent the three challenges that confront socioeconomic organizations today: the sustainability challenge; the global challenge; and the technology challenge (Noe et al., 2010). Globalization, the emergence of the knowledge economy, and the adoption of new technologies by organizations and nations have brought more focus on the contribution of human resources to competitiveness and performance. Human resources are increasingly considered to have the potential to provide sustainable competitive advantage to nations and, especially so for an emerging economy like Ghana (Noe et al., 2010).



Competitive advantage is not an ideal desired only by corporate entities and hence from the national context, the perspectives of Noe et al., (2010) find expression in the planning and developing of Human Resources (HR) as the most appropriate step to position a country strategically for global competition. In line with this argument, McLean (2004) sees an “emerging emphasis” on defining HRD as a national well-planned investment that has the potential to enhance the human capital of a country.

National Human Resources Development (NHRD) as a theory is a framework for the expansion of capital within an economy through the development of the individual to achieve work-base competencies for improved performance and productivity (Lynham and Cunningham, 2006). The capacities of individuals to be productive depend on their access to education, given that the principal institutional mechanism for developing skills and knowledge are both the formal and informal educational systems (Todaro, 1997). Many nations have come to believe that rapid quantitative expansion of educational opportunities is the key to national development, because, education largely affects the character of economic growth, domestic inequality and poverty, gender inequality, rural-urban migration and urban unemployment among other factors (Todaro, 1997).

However, where education, training and development are abysmal or poorly delivered and embraced, disparities emerge among individuals, communities, and nations. Some of these disparities would often include wealth, education, infrastructure, technology, safety, and employment (Mace et al., 2012), which to a large extent, determine the vulnerability of people as they seek better economic opportunities of life. The idea of NHRD has been espoused as an effective approach to reduce disparities among individuals and communities in order for countries to reach the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (McLean, 2006). Consistent with the

recognition and acknowledgement of HRD as a means to addressing societal and national issues (Cho and McLean, 2004; McLean and McLean, 2001), this research intends to explore its integration in reducing vulnerability among marginal groups using the *kayayei* as a case in point.

### **1.1 Background**

There is a growing desire to move beyond the traditional view of Human Resource Development (HRD) as a function in individual organizations and as micro entities in an economy, to a view that allows HRD to be examined in a broader national context. For example, Cho and McLean (2004) advocate for research on HRD to focus on greater pursuit of larger issues that affect entire countries. In this regard, they pose the question, “Why should we dream for less for our nations, our regions, and our common humanity than what we dream for individuals and organizations?” (Cho and McLean, 2004, p. 391.). Even though these authors appreciate the traditional definitions of HRD which emphasize HRD in the context of the individual organization, work-team or work process, they acknowledge the emerging emphasis on HRD as a national agenda (McLean, 2004).

National Human Resource Development (NHRD) is perhaps a rebranding of the terms „Manpower Planning“ and „Human Capital Investment“ even though McLean (2004) views them as limiting and narrow when compared with the scope of NHRD.

For instance, NHRD is seen to embody not just employment and preparation (acquisition of skills and knowledge) for employment but includes issues of health, culture, safety, community (McLean, Bartlett, and Cho, 2003; McLean, 2004) and a host of other considerations which traditionally did not form part of manpower

planning and human capital investment. Consistent with that view, Lynham and Cunningham (2006) discussed the significance of NHRD focusing on developing human expertise to improve the health, wealth, and well-being of global communities. Cross country evidence also abound for the increased focus on workforce development as Government initiative within HRM (Holton and Naquin, 2002). For instance, HRD in Singapore referred to as Human Capital Development (HCD) constitute such a top priority strategic planning issue to the Government in its national development efforts. Also, the renaming of the Korean Ministry of Education as Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development (Cho and McLean, 2002; Moon and McLean, 2003) is indicative of the importance now attached to HRD as a specific Government policy. Besides, the emergence of the HRD working group of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), a group considered as one of the most dynamic groups in that region is a case which further signifies HRD as a priority in both country and regional development policy (Zanko and Ngui, 2003b). The Department of Human Resource, Science and Technology's division of Human Resource and Youth of the African Union has been working out a strategy to revitalize Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in Africa. The main purpose of which is to define strategies and policies to revitalize formal and non-formal TVET in Africa in the light of the socio-economic needs of the continent to address youth unemployment, build human capacity and contribute to poverty eradication. This is a continental HRD strategy which further illuminates the significance of it as a policy issue across countries on the continent. Severe poverty has been identified as the single most dominant factor that perpetuates vulnerability and makes especially women and children susceptible to harm including becoming a target of human trafficking (Logan, Walker and Hunt, 2009). The *kayayei*



phenomenon in Ghana has been recognised and acknowledged as an extreme case of exposure of young women to unimaginable vulnerability (Whithead and Hashim, 2005; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Agarwal et al., 1994; Apt et al., 1992; Opare, 2003; van der Geest, 2007; Awumbila, 2007; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser and Yeboah, 2011). The best way to protect people against vulnerability is to prevent the circumstances leading to it (Connelly, Sankaran, Swift-Morgan, and Tengfei, 2004). It is thus the posit of this research to explore HRD from a national context as one of the important means for building people's capacities and enhancing employment opportunities of marginal urban workers like the female porters.

The question is why is NHRD the panacea to vulnerability? Why is it such an important policy issue especially across developing and emerging economies? McLean (2004) identifies among others the following reasons: first, he argues that for many countries or communities, Human Resources are their primary resource. Without natural resources, countries and communities must look to their human resources to meet the needs of their people. Secondly, Human Resources are critical for national and local stability. Countries and regions that do not have sustainable development and have had high unemployment rates leading to high levels of poverty are places that reflect a lack of stability. Developing human resources is one approach to alleviating these conditions. In a similar vein, Briggs (1987) concluded that "while economists in general and policymakers in particular have focused upon physical capital as the explanation for long-term economic growth, it has actually been human resource development that has been the major contributor" (p. 1213). For obvious reasons, therefore, HRD is growing beyond the traditional consideration of it as a function limited to the corporate organization and engendering debate at national



policy circles. Across national boundaries, McLean and McLean (2001) view HRD as any process or activity that, either initially or over the long term, has the potential to develop work-based knowledge, expertise, productivity and satisfaction, whether for personal or group/team gain, or for the benefit of an organization, community, nation, or, ultimately, the whole of humanity. Their workbased expertise and productivity oriented theorization of HRD is quite striking in raising relevant questions pertaining to how efforts are directed both in terms of policy and implementation towards equipping and engaging people in productive employment.

Education reforms which started in Ghana in the 1980s, established basic education to provide the essential building blocks for pupils to continue to higher levels of education. For those who do not continue beyond the basic level, the policy made provision for work-related (employable skills) skills to be acquired. After three decades and half since the reforms began, however, many of the products from the basic level do not possess skills requisite for employment (either as employees or self-employed). For instance, 82 percent of the registered unemployed in 2001 were said to have obtained basic education either at the primary or Junior High School (JSS), 10 percent did not have any formal education while just 6 percent had Senior High School education. Yet, further analysis showed nearly 80 per cent of these registered unemployed had no employable skills (Debrah, 2007).

The negative effect of this failure in the educational system in offering work-based training at the dawn of the millennium was very clear: youth unemployment assumed unimaginable proportion and became a source of extreme pressure on Governments and the state (MESW, 2012) as streetism and increased crime wave became an albatross on the administration of the state. Governments had to adapt some knee-jerk reactions both as means of giving some hope to the unemployed and also for political expediency. The

National registration of job seekers, the establishment of Presidential Special Initiatives (PSIs), the Skills Training and Employment Programme (STEP), the Integrated Community Centres for Employable Skills (ICCES), and the National Vocational, Technical Institutes (NVTIs) and the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) among others were all efforts initiated by various Governments in Ghana to stem the problems of unemployment particularly among the youth (Palmer, 2009). The STEP, for example, by the end of 2003 had turned out 3,500 people (ISSER, 2004) and by the end of 2011, the NYEP had offered jobs to about 108,000 Ghanaians (Attipoe-Fitz, 2010), an impact on unemployment which appears negligible in the face of the daunting 250,000 young people who enter the labour market annually (Debrah, 2007).

Against this backdrop of systemic failure in the implementation of the good intentions of the reforms, majority of the youth are now displaced/homeless or unemployed, live, sleep and barely survive on the streets of cities, especially the two major cities (Accra and Kumasi). Rural-Urban migration is, therefore, rife in the country as the jobless youth find the urban environment as area of potential job opportunities and survival. One typical case is the migration of teenage girls and young women, virtually uneducated and unskilled, from the northern regions to leading market centres in the south in search of avenues for livelihood (Whithead and Hashim, 2005, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). The *Kayaye* (female head porters) is a dominant group who provide micro-logistic services to shoppers, travellers and shop owners among others in the Central Business Districts (CBD) of the major cities of Ghana.

## 1.2 Problem Statement

The problem of unemployment in Ghana appears to be two dimensional: the issue of inadequate economic growth to accelerate job generation; and the skills gap in the population especially among the youth. For instance, about 3.2 million (20.5%) persons 15 years and older are economically not active, citing education or training (54.5%) as being the main reason for inactivity (GLSS 6, GSS, 2014). Hence, whilst governments make efforts to promote economic growth, there is an urgent need to examine the problem of lack of employable skills among the youth who are overrepresented in the number of job seekers in the Ghanaian society. This research is intended to explore the *kayayei* as one such youth group. The *kayayei* phenomenon is a livelihood adaptation which raises questions of human resource development given the empirical evidence (Awumbila, and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) about their vulnerability in the urban setting. The dynamics of their encounter with the urban social processes expose them to human trafficking, child labour and sexual servitude. Given this background, the problem is whether their current livelihood is sustainable. Sustainable livelihoods are those which can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance their capabilities and assets, and provide livelihood opportunities for the next generation (DFID, 1999). Does the *kayayei*'s livelihood adaptation meet these criteria? The search for answers to this question among others provides an opportunity for research on the female porter phenomenon.

This is because the evidence available (Agarwal et al., 1994; Apt et al., 1992; Opare, 2003; van der Geest, 2007; Awumbila, 2007; Awumbila, and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) suggest various instances of vulnerability of the *kayayei* in their livelihood



adaptation including prostitution and its associated ills, abduction and murder among others. Beyond the empirical evidence, the *kayayei* phenomenon has attracted a lot of public concern. The tremendous disquiet which triggered hot political debates on the phenomenon especially in the run-up to the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections is still fresh in the minds of the public. Hence, investigating a problem that appears to be a national ridicule particularly for young girls working as head-porters instead of schooling is the basis of this research.

Statistics indicate that in spite of the FCUBE and the feeding grant for SHSs in northern Ghana, issues of exclusion still linger (Akyeampong et al., 2007). Hence the *kayayei* phenomenon could much be a symptom of this scenario. Evidence abound that full access to basic education in Northern Ghana after decades of supposedly free education remains elusive to the government as the main provider of education (CREATE, 2010). For instance, according to the Ghana Living Standards survey round 6 (GLSS 6, GSS, 2014), school attendance rate by age, locality and sex indicates that national attendance for the age 6-25 is 93.4 and 90.6 for males and females respectively. For rural savannah, where the three northern regions are located, attendance rate is comparatively lower at 79.5 and 73.3 for males and females respectively. In the Northern Region, Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) is 92% while the completion rate is 69.2% and at the Junior High School (JHS) level, GER is reported as 66.4%, while completion rate is 55% (MOE, 2008). This is an indication that about 8% of children do not have access to school at all in the Northern Region and more than a third of those who are enrolled do not complete basic education (CREATE, 2010). Does this raise questions of missing links in national human resource development? If so, what is happening with NHRD?



There is some discourse that links the problems of vulnerable groups such as the *kayayei* to NHRD (Mace et al., 2012, Cho and McLean, 2004; Connelly, Sankaran, Swift-Morgan, and Tengfei, 2004, McLean and McLean, 2001) as an approach to incorporating training and development for individuals and communities at risk. This research explores NHRD policy to locate the elements which leverage the employability of the vulnerable and the excluded.

### 1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

The general objective of this study is to determine how NHRD policy/strategy affects the employability of marginal groups like the *kayayei*. Based on this, the following more specific research objectives and questions have been identified.

#### Research Objectives

1. To investigate the causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon and its effects on both the individuals involved and the nation as a whole.
2. To assess the level of education and kind of appropriate skills acquired by the *kayayei*.
3. To assess the views of stakeholders on ways of improving the livelihood of the *kayayei*.
4. To explore existing Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policy pertaining to marginal groups including informal sector actors such as the *kayayei*.
5. To investigate the challenges to the implementation of Government TVET policy on marginal groups at the community level in Ghana.

## Research Questions

1. What are the causes and effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon on both the individuals involved and the nation as a whole?
2. Have the *kayayei* acquired the appropriate skills and education for livelihood?
3. What are the views of stakeholders on ways of improving the livelihood of the *kayayei*?
4. Does existing Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policy cover marginal groups including informal sector actors such as the *kayayei*?
5. What are the challenges to the implementation of Government TVET policy on marginal groups at the community level in Ghana?

### 1. 4 Scope of the Study

The scope of this research is viewed in the context of geographical space, units of analysis, and conceptual basis. In spatial context, the research explored the phenomenon of the *kayayei* in the Accra and Kumasi Metropolitan areas where they are predominantly present. The female head-porters were chosen as a case study by virtue of the fact that they constitute arguably a good representation of a single group around which questions can be raised in relation to National Human Resource Development (NHRD). There is significant empirical evidence (Agarwal et al.,

1994; Apt et al., 1992; Opare, 2003; van der Geest, 2007; Awumbila, 2007;

Awumbila, and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) which suggests that the *kayayei* is among the most vulnerable groups in the cities of Ghana. Given that they migrate from

areas that benefit from not only free compulsory basic education but significantly free education at the Senior High School (SHS) level, raising questions of NHRD with particular reference to this group is exemplifying for a myriad of other groups which are less homogenous but engage in similar livelihood adaptation. Besides, people use various survival strategies in the cities of Ghana, but the focus on females engaged in load carrying popularly known as *kayayoo* is in view of the fact that they constitute the most predominant group that has its members engaged in a single livelihood adaptation. Thus, the general objective of this study which is to determine how NHRD policy or strategy affects the employability of marginal groups resonates well with the *kayayei*, obviously because, over 80 percent of their ranks are said to have neither formal education nor employable skills (Appiah and Appiah-Yeboah, 2009). Also, because NHRD is influenced by economic, social, political and cultural factors (McLean and McLean, 2001), it makes good logically to study a population that is quite homogeneous in character so that context specific factors can be analysed through the lens of NHRD. Even though NHRD has been understood to encompass education and training, health care, nutrition, population policies and employment (Muqtada and Hildeman 1993; the Working Group on HRD Strategies, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1993), this study limits its scope to education and training aspect of NHRD in relation to employment/unemployment of marginal groups using the *kayayei* as a case.

The study explored livelihood and NHRD literature; using the former to conceptualize the livelihood assets and strategies of the *kayayei*; their vulnerability context; and their livelihood outcomes in the urban setting and the role of the latter as a means of transforming the livelihood assets of the poor. The livelihood literature provided a basis for understanding the causes, consequences and effects of the survival



strategies adapted by the *kayayei*. However, because livelihood assets are influenced by some transforming structures and processes (levels of government, private and public sector institutions, laws, policies, and culture), NHRD was explored as a body of structures and processes to determine how it affects the employability of marginal groups like the *kayayei*. This was precipitated by the fact that efforts at NHRD have implications on the social and economic survival of the individual, communities and the nation as a whole (Abdullah, 2009). Hence, examining people's employability within a context of NHRD policy/strategy constitutes a critical approach to understanding the *kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana.

### **1.5 Research Rationale**

National Human Resource Development (NHRD) has been espoused as an effective approach to reduce disparities around the world and to reach the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (McLean, 2006). Many of these goals, such as eradicating extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education, and promoting gender equality, are directly related to the conditions propelling the *kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana. The vulnerability of the female porters is grounded in the structural and systematic issues which make women generally more vulnerable, with significant disadvantages in terms of poverty, education, and employment (Samarasinghe and Burton, 2007). The fundamental role that NHRD plays in addressing the vulnerability of women and children motivates an empirical exploration of its tenets at the community level.

Besides, there is a critical relationship between community development and NHRD. In developing countries, NHRD initiatives have been utilized for community



development and nation building purposes and recognised for their utility to address social concerns and societal factors (Cho and McLean, 2004) including training to promote literacy, leadership development, and the strengthening of community ties (Midgley and Livermore, 2005). This relationship is further supported by the ideas of the UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda which considers education, or the transmission, acquisition, creation and adaptation of information, knowledge, skills and values as key levers of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2012). The findings of this research would, thus, enable greater understanding and a larger knowledge-base of the vulnerability of marginal groups and its implications for training and development efforts. This would propel state agencies and private organizations to realize the urgent need to facilitate the acquisition of appropriate skills, tools, and techniques to address human susceptibility to dehumanizing economic activities. Relevant development agencies at the community level including Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and HRD practitioners would find the results of this study useful in their activities and practices going forward. Besides, this research would make a contribution to theory building in the emerging area of NHRD especially in the domain of human trafficking (Mace et al., 2012) to include the different dimensions of vulnerability associated with the kind of livelihoods that the poor like the *kayayei* engage themselves in. Traversing NHRD in a Sub-Saharan African (SSA) country given the paucity of literature would, therefore, provide new perspectives in terms of how it relates to the issues of employment/unemployment. For instance, by focusing on the comparison of commonalities and differences in NHRD policies in the developing world, this research would be significant in contributing to NHRD policies through researchbased policy recommendations.

Finally, there is a fresh awareness among policy makers in many African countries and the international donor community of the critical role that Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) can play in national development. This is demonstrated by the importance African governments now attach to TVET in the various Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) developed in collaboration with the World Bank. The efforts at TVET over the years in Ghana have been quite patchy and in some cases not driven by national consensus but rather a jerky move to fulfil electoral promises of the government of the day (Botchie and Ahadzie, 2004 cites the STEP programme as an example). Also, a growing perception of politically motivated targeting is rife. For example, the Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Agency (GYEEDA) and its predecessor the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) have been openly criticised as conduit for giving jobs to only supporters of the ruling Government's party (Modern Ghana, 2011). This reinforces Donato's (2007) view that despite significant achievements in economic growth, there is a growing perception that some groups of people are not benefiting from this growth and are thus, socially excluded. This research is relevant as it seeks empirical explanations to issues relating to the structure and coordination of TVET as a national agenda and how marginal groups at the community level like the *kayaye* have been benefiting. Issues of this nature are particularly critical to pave way for TVET engendered as a national strategy tailored on well placed delivery systems. A strategy that responds to the different training needs of people and creates gainful employment and sustainable livelihoods through linkage with industry.

## 1.6 Methodology

The research adopted the mix method approach which allowed for the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. The Female porter phenomenon was explored as a case to investigate the issues projected in the research questions. Some state officials and members of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) participated in the study. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews of purposely (judgementally) selected individuals or groups expected to have relevant and useful insights (information) that could answer the research questions. Information from policy and institutional documents was content analysed based on the objectives of the research to complement the data collected through interviews and observation. The study subsequently involved a survey of female porters and some members of CSOs most of whom had participated in individual interviews to triangulate the findings which emerged from the qualitative data analysis. The emerged sample comprised 101 female porters, 50 members of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and 5 state officials. The survey was limited to the female porters and members of CSOs. The CSOs from which respondents were purposely sampled were selected on the basis of their engagement with the female porters in various interventions.

The qualitative data was collected through individual in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation. The key themes which emerged from the qualitative data analysis were employed as basis for the design of a questionnaire which sought to determine the frequency of those key issues which were dominant across the interviews. The questionnaire contained items on the socio-cultural, human development and general causes of the female porter phenomenon; the effects of the



phenomenon and the views of stakeholders on how to enhance the livelihood of the female porters. These headings or categorizations of issues emerged from the qualitative data analysis and the items of the questionnaire constituted under each heading generated data to determine the percentage distribution of the issues mentioned in these broad categorizations.

Consistent with Miles and Huberman's (1994) concept of data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing, the major issues from the qualitative data were drawn onto Text Tables. The headings developed for the Text Tables were drawn from the conceptual framework namely: the vulnerability context of the female porters; the female porters' livelihood assets; the female porters' livelihood strategies; and the female porters' livelihood transforming structures and processes. Based on these broad codes from the conceptual framework, more specific themes or codes were developed and further refined to major or key themes. Conclusions or verifications were then made on the key themes for their validity through reference to the interview transcripts, documents and the field notes or further data collection. The data collected using the survey method was meant to determine the frequencies of some major findings from the qualitative data. The causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon for instance were categorized into socio-cultural, human development and general causes; while the effects of the phenomenon were analyzed in terms its positive and negative effects. A five point rating scale (of the likert type) ranging from *not important at all* to *very important* for the causes and *not significant at all* to being *extremely significant* for the effects (see Tables at appendix) were employed to rate the views of the respondents on the issues reported as the causes and effects of the female porter phenomenon. The data collected with these measurement scales were analysed using simple frequency



distributions to determine the percentage levels at which respondents aligned themselves to the issues that emerged from the qualitative data.

### **1.7 Outline of the Thesis**

The research document is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one is the introduction and it comprises the background, the problem statement, the research questions and objectives, the significance and scope of the study as well as outline of the thesis. Chapter two presents a report on the study context (Ghana) and discusses issues relating to development in what has become known as the „Golden Triangle“ in the development history of Ghana. Beyond that, the chapter looks at issues relating to the division of the space economy of Ghana into centre and periphery, the economy in the immediate post-independence period, the consequences of liberalization in post colonial Ghana, rural-urban migration, and the genesis of head load carrying as a livelihood adaptation among females in the cities of Ghana.

Chapter three presents review of Literature on people’s livelihood resources, strategies, and vulnerability in the urban environment. The chapter is categorised into five sections: the introduction; livelihoods in the urban informal sector; the use of urban public space in the cities of Ghana; the sustainable livelihood framework; and conclusion. Chapter four presents a theoretical background of NHRD which is categorized into sections namely: HRD from the national perspective; the education sector plan; efforts at national NHRD; strategizing NHRD in Africa: lessons from South Africa; social protection and HRD; the conceptual framework and its relevance to the study; and conclusion.

The fifth chapter presents the methodology of the research and highlights sections on the research strategy, the case study approach, sampling technique, data collection methods and analysis techniques. The chapter also discusses observations of a familiarization visit to operational centres of the female porters including their areas of abode. Issues of validity and reliability of the data, field experiences, limitation and summary are also presented in this chapter. Data analysis and presentation are discussed in chapter six. Findings on the causes and effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon, earning and savings of the *kayayei*, their arrival and integration into the destination cities among others are presented in this chapter.

In chapter seven the research findings are staged in the context of the conceptual framework by relating the livelihood processes of the *kayayei* to the relevant transforming structures and processes. The chapter highlights issues of the *kayayei*'s vulnerability both at home and in the urban setting. It also examines their access to livelihood assets and their adaptive livelihood strategies in relation to the relevant policies of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) over the years.

The final chapter provides summary of the findings, the study's contribution to knowledge, policy and research recommendations, limitations of the study and conclusion.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE STUDY CONTEXT

#### 2.0 Introduction

Understanding the context in which a given social reality emerges is a critical ingredient in appreciating the genesis and trend of social actions and inactions that shape its construct. The chapter examines the socio-economic and political development within the space economy of Ghana. It makes an overview of the impact of colonial and postcolonial dispensations on that space by offering a discourse of its relevance in shaping the kind of livelihood choices available to the poor. The chapter, thus, presents analysis of the historical, national and global factors that shape socio-economic and spatial development across the country and how they impact the employability of the poor and the marginalized.

The chapter is categorized into seven sections. Section one is the introduction and two examines the genesis of commercial load carrying by girls and women in the cities of Ghana. Section three discusses socio-economic and political development in what has become known as the „Golden Triangle“ in the economic history of Ghana. The section also looks at the influence of cities in the Golden Triangle as centres of robust socio-economic activity in the aftermath of the colonial administration on population movement and general development of the country. Section four discusses the consequences of economic and trade liberalization on the space economy in the post colonial period. Section five looks at urbanization as a nexus of the informal sector whilst section six examines rural-urban migration.



## **2.1 The *Kayayei* (female porters): Who are they?**

Female porters known in local parlance as *kayayei* refer to young women and girls who carry people's items from one place to another at a fee. It is a livelihood niche of teenage girls and young women migrants from the northern parts of Ghana and adjoining areas in Burkina Faso and Togo who ply their trade in the southern cities of Ghana (Opare, 2003). Female porters are thus "carriers" who cart people's items at negotiated fees. They are predominantly found in the Kumasi and Accra Metropolitan areas. *Kaya* is a term in the Hausa language which means luggage, load or goods. *Yoo* in *Ga*, the language of the indigenes of Accra, the capital town of Ghana means woman. *Kayayoo* thus, means a young woman or a teenage girl who transports other people's load on her head for a fee (Opare, 2003). The plural of *yoo* is *yei*, hence, *kayayei* are women head-porters.

This livelihood adaptation has its roots in ancient traditional mode of transport of goods in West Africa (Ade and Crowder, 1985). In Ghana, portering has been a means of transporting goods from farm gates to communities and to market centres particularly in rural areas (Agarwal et al., 1997). In the urban areas, portering is an alternative way of moving goods in the absence of modern means of transport. Even, with the advent of intermediate means of transport such as draught animals and others, portering is still popular with people in West Africa (McPhee, 1971). According to Agarwal et al. (1997), commercial head-load carrying by girls and women is to be understood within the frame of economic activity of women in the informal sector, and the importance of petty trading as primarily the occupation province of women. The *kayayei* form part of the transport structure of the city.



Certain transport functions which are performed by technology in other parts of the world are performed by human energy in some „third world“ countries (Agarwal et al., 1997, p. 2) exemplified by the trade of the *kayayei*.

Besides, against the background of poverty and other related difficulties confronting communities and homes of these women and girls, they end up in the cities, living and working under extremely deplorable conditions (Van der Geest, 2007). They engage in this rather gruelling task which not only exposes them to physical strains but reproductive health risks, especially, sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS (Awumbila, 2008; Agarwal et al., 1997; Opare, 2003; Yeboah, 2008). In terms of their Socio-demographic Profile, Appiah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) studied porters in general but if the data were to be disaggregated in terms of gender, 82 per cent of female porters fall in the age of 35 years or less, with very few in their late 40s or 50s. 52 per cent were found to be married but many of whom did not stay with their spouses or nuclear family in Accra. The high number of married women with families left behind reflects the temporary nature of their stay and likelihood of back and forth movement between destination and origin. The young and the unmarried female porters on the other hand, work continuously for years to accumulate some resources to be able to learn a trade and acquire some skills (Awumbila, 2008). Those who are unable to learn a trade and change livelihood adaptation, however, continue to engage in the trade (Agarwal et al., 1994; Apt et al., 1992; Opare, 2003; van der Geest, 2007; Awumbila, and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011). According to Appiah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009; pp. 6-9), 83 percent of female porters interviewed had never been to school while just 17 percent had 1 to 9 years of formal education. This finding is indicative of the fact that female porters do not have

education and or skills to compete for decent jobs in the formal and the informal sectors. The only livelihood asset they possess on arrival in the city is their physical strength (labour).

Head portering has been found to be a livelihood niche of females from four ethnic groups from the North: the Dagomba; the Mamprusi; the Gonja; and the Wala (Yeboah, 2011). A question arises as to why females from these ethnic groups engage in this trade. Perhaps, the general causal factors are lack of education, poverty and culture as discussed early on, but one dimension of culture could be at play here. The communities of these ethnic groups in the north are to a large extent characterized by settlements which are far from farms and water sources compared to other areas such as the Upper East Region (UER) where the settlement is quite dense (due to land scarcity) with farming activities largely conducted around the houses (compound farming). Women from the named communities are thus predisposed to carrying load over long distances; farm gates, markets and water sources. Hence given the exigencies of city life, they find carrying as most available, rewarding and also familiar. Women migrants from other ethnic groups in the north engage in other menial jobs but may not be comfortable (or even capable) with load carrying because it is not a culture they are predisposed to.

Female Porters undertake multiple activities concurrently in their daily struggles for survival in the cities either by investing their accumulated savings in different kinds of trading activity or by further selling their labour as shop assistants, house maids, and farmers (Yeboah, 2008). The porters are thus ingenious in their quest to make money for survival and other reasons which pushed them into the city. For instance, tradition requires parents (particularly mothers) to provide their daughters with marital

accessories (cooking utensils and clothing) during marriage. This, among other reasons, pushes young women and girls into the cities (UNICEF 2000, p. 136).

## **2.2 The Use of Urban Public Space and the Context of the *Kayayei* Trade**

The growth of the urban informal economy discussed in the previous section comes with some implications for the use of urban public space. In fact, the urban public space has become a backbone of the informal economy in the major cities of Ghana. The urban public spaces such as open spaces, nature reserves and right of ways have become assets for livelihood in the urban setting. Urban public spaces are crucial physical assets utilized by the poor to sustain livelihoods. The use of public spaces has been widely studied (Brown, 2006; Ayeh et al., 1996; Harrison and McVey, 1997; Yankson, 2000; ILO, 2002; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008). This interest has largely been motivated by the notorious multiplication of vendors on the streets of cities across the world and more so in the third world, and the problems emanating from their activities and the resultant conflicts with relevant city authorities (Nduna, 1990; Jimu, 2005; May, 2005). Urban public space is the physical space and the social relations that determine the use of space within the non-private realms of cities (Ayeh et al., 1996). This space constitutes such an important element in the street economy, which usually consists of many lowincome generating activities, basically thriving on innovative use of any available economic space to survive and flourish.

The street economy does not emerge haphazardly but strategically in areas where actors can interface with passers-by and where the possibility exist for them to appeal to people's sense of unplanned purchases but which eventually is mutually benefiting to both parties. Brown (2006) explores the concept of urban public space and its significance to the street economy. She argues that the urban public space is a common property resource but which shifts boundaries over time as a result of social



negotiation. Lynch (1981) holds a similar view that everyone has equal and free right of access to it but adds that in many instances, access is very competitive and characterized by intricate social engineering. For instance, the competition for public space by vendors in the cities of Accra and Kumasi is so intense because certain areas offer greater location advantages than others (Harrison and McVey, 1997; Yankson, 2000). According to Brown (2006), in reality there is no shortage of public space for street economy actors, but the most profitable locations to trade are at the city centres, where there is acute competition for space.

In the Accra and Kumasi Metropolis, the street economy is in its full activation. Street vendors operate in pedestrian walkways and on the streets, thereby, creating the ugliest scenes of vehicular and human congestion with worst of scenes in the city centres (Yankson, 2007). The competition for space is so intense that there is a rapid movement of vendors back and forth as they give way for passing vehicles and reoccupy the very spaces. This exacerbates the already existing access difficulties created by unplanned development of buildings and markets, and multiplication of unauthorised structures which largely stifle motorised traffic. Even the few who are lucky to secure stalls in the market are in competition with street vendors who with impunity display their wares on the pavements (Yankson, 2007) thereby creating scenes in the city centres which could be best described as „chaotic“.

The Accra and Kumasi Metropolitan Assemblies have been confronted with the problems of eliminating street hawking over the years; however, the efforts are yet to yield the desired results. The deployment of metropolitan task forces has not been sustainable as the street is becoming busier than ever before. In fact, the ILO recognizes this as a global problem, as expectation of the emergence of department stores and malls to eliminate street vending has become a wild goose chase in many



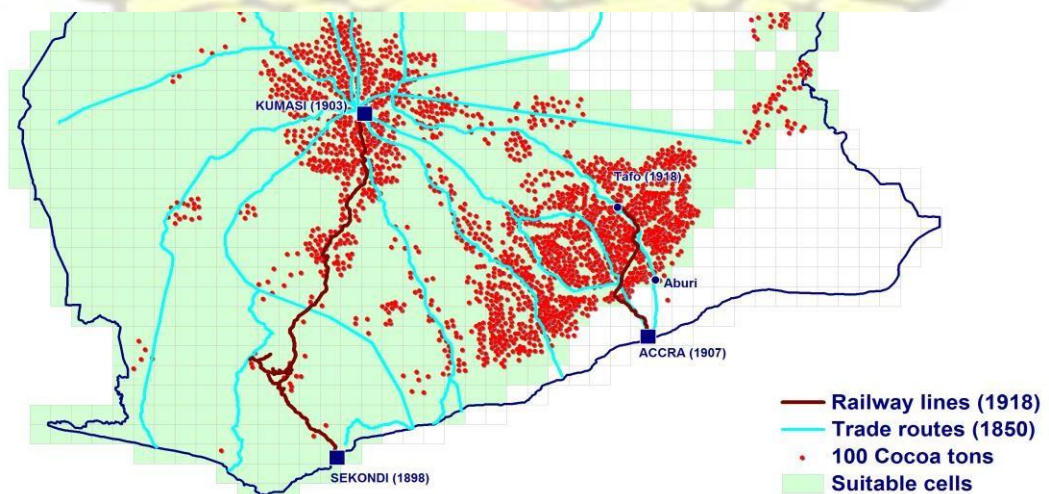
countries (ILO, 2002). Besides, anecdotal evidence tend to suggest that the street economy cannot longer be described as small-scale or marginal, as it has become a major source of employment for diverse and mobile populations (Brown, 2005). The very nature of use made of urban spaces creates opportunity for the value of some assets of the poor to be appropriated. In the particular case of the *kayayei*, the increasing presence of vendors on the streets and the inability of metropolitan authorities to eliminate them are conditions for the thriving of their trade. The carrying of goods on their heads and manoeuvring through the congested city centres, lorry parks and markets serve to smooth the movement of their patrons (Agarwal et al., 1997). The porters, thus, transport goods of their patrons (store owners, shoppers, travellers and so on) over distances which hitherto were traversed by vehicles but for the traffic congestion precipitated by the presence of vendors.

The opportunity for the poor to appropriate their most valuable and available asset (physical strength) leverages them to acquire other assets such as financial, social and some other dimensions of human capital beyond physical labouring. The discussion in this section, to some extent, illuminates the livelihood scenario of the female porters but because the foundation of their livelihood is influenced by other factors, any meaningful analysis of their livelihood dynamics could be appropriately linked to NHRD policy/strategy which is the thrust of this research.

### **2.3 Development in the “Golden Triangle”: Colonial Ghana**

The years of British administration of the Gold Coast, now Ghana, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century witnessed significant progress in social, economic, and educational development. Communication was greatly

improved and between 1898 and 1923, a number of railway lines were built which connected the Gold Coast colony to Ashanti (Jedwab and Moradi, 2011; Luntinen, 1996; Tsey, 1986; Dickson, 1969; Chandler, 1965; Gould, 1960). The British exported a variety of natural resources such as gold, metal ores, diamonds, ivory, pepper, timber, grain and cocoa from the catchment area of the railway infrastructure. Spatially, the towns connected by railroads formed a near-perfect triangle and having become not only the basis for the transport infrastructure in modern-day Ghana but also centres of socio-economic and political development in post colonial administration of the country, historians and development analysts see this space as the „Golden Triangle” of Ghana’s development (Songsore, 1979b, p. 9; Songsore, 1989). Perhaps, this description emerged out of the fact that the areas connected by railway lines were areas of significant mineral deposit which obviously was a colonial interest. Figure 2.1 depicts the concentration of economic activities in the Golden Triangle (the vertices of the Triangle being Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi).



**Figure 2.1: Map of southern Ghana showing Railway Lines in 1918 and Historical Trade Routes in 1850: (Source: Jedwab and Moradi, 2011)**

Traditionally, railways have been considered to be dynamic forces in economic development. While Weber (1927) called them “the greatest innovation in history”,

Schumpeter (1939) argued that American economic history in the second half of the nineteenth century could be treated solely in terms of railway construction and its effects. Writing earlier in the 1850s, Karl Marx had predicted that the construction of railways in India would automatically result in industrialization. Consistent with these arguments, railway development in the Gold Coast spurred rapid development in the areas that benefited, which undoubtedly constitute the urban enclave in modern day Ghana.

### **2.3.1 Division of the Space-Economy into Centre and Periphery**

Construction work and Cocoa production in the Golden Triangle as discussed in the previous section triggered a high demand for labour and became a source of attraction to people all over the country. This was particularly the case for people from areas that lacked the cocoa growing climate and soils who migrated into the Golden Triangle to seek greener pastures. Indeed, the railways did provide significant forward linkages for the local economy; nevertheless, its distribution was not without some negative effects on the growth pattern of the Colonial economy. Railways facilitated the development of regional economic inequalities. For instance, the £10 million budget for a northern rail project by Cabinet in 1951 under the Ten Year Development Plan which was not to be (Kuusaana, 2009) denied the northern territories the needed impetus for development. Hence, the dichotomy between the forest area and the coastal belt on the one hand and the savannah areas on the other existed as noticeable divisions. Not only did the former become source of attraction to foreign traders from the north and south (both attracted by the resources of the forest: gold, kola nuts, slaves, palm produce and rubber), but the forest states of Ashanti, Akyem and Fante had also drawn upon northern labour for the mining and the agriculture industries in



the south (Roger, 1973). Hence, a spiral of development disparity between the two divisions was set forth and institutionalized by the revolution that the rail transport and for that matter colonialism brought to the forest and coastal belts (Fage, 1961; Kuusaana, 2009; Tsey, 1986).

The labour demand in the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti became such a pressing issue that the colonial government became strategic in pursuing its exploitative agenda. To maintain the supply of labour (for government public works, the mining companies and so on), the colonial authorities came to regard the underdevelopment of the semi-arid savannah regions of the Volta and the Northern Territories as a means of maintaining a permanent cheap labour reserve (Roger, 1973, pp. 79-103). This labour reserve was to feed both expatriate and indigenous industries in the forest south and the developed coastal belt. Thus in 1902, Governor Nathan (the colonial Governor at the time) decided against the construction of a Volta district railway line because “labour would be deflected from the mines and the Kumasi railway extension”.

In the period between 1906 and the late 1920s, the Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast was an example of a source of British administration’s forced labour recruitment not just for Government purposes but for privately owned mines. Kuusaana (2008, p. 37) provides an instance of a forced recruitment of 540 strong men from the northern territories who were bound to work in the Tarkwa mines but 200 of whom escaped before the gang reached Tamale. By the 1922-3, the northern territories annual report recorded 16, 816 men crossing by a single ferry while that of 1924-5 states that 33,111 men went south in that year (Roger, 1973, pp. 79-103).

The method of forced labour recruitment was also employed to obtain troops for the Gold Coast Regiment in the Second World War. The history of the Northern



Territories was thus characterized by a failure to develop significantly the production of export commodities which was largely a deliberate restrictive attitude of the Colonial administration to social change defined basically in terms of education and missionary activity.

Indeed, some of the ironies of the Guggisberg administration's policy regarding the economic development of the Northern Territories occurred for strategic reasons. More especially, the governor's decision against the construction of a northern railway line which had been intended to promote the diversification of agricultural exports is to be explained by a concern to protect an important source of cheap labour for the mines and the cocoa industry. In fact this led to a „balkanization“ in which the „recipient“ micro-regions (crafted as the Golden Triangle) had no „interest“ in „sharing“ the crumbs of the colonial cake with their labour reserves“ (Amin, 1972, p. 117).

These measures were thus responsible to a large extent for the evolution of an uneven lopsided monocultural colonial economy heavily dependent on cocoa exports but to a lesser extent on gold, manganese and diamonds (Tsey, 1986). This lingered the whole of the twentieth century and created an urban enclave (Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi) that constitutes the economic „heart-beat“ of the Ghanaian economy today. Jacob Songsore says it all when he stated;

*“Development within the emerging colonial economy was uneven. The sectors of the economy and the regions which were integrated as capitalist enclaves – engaged in production for the world markets or more specifically for the metropolitan economy of Britain were qualitatively different from the pre-capitalist peasant sectors and regions which were the „labour reserves“ of the export enclaves. A simple centre-periphery structure emerged over the colonial spaceeconomy” (Songsore, 1983a, p.18).*

The centre consisted of the forest belt where cocoa, timber, gold, diamond and manganese production were concentrated. The generalized periphery consisted of areas outside the forest belt and coastal port towns with neither the relevant potentials for cocoa, timber and mineral production nor the ability of functioning as centres for the articulation of the outward-directed national space-economy as did by port towns (Songsore, 2003a). The periphery consisted of the large land area of Northern Ghana (then known as the Northern Territories) which was not viewed in terms of its agricultural potential but rather as a labour reserve for the growth region.

It is, therefore, not accidental that the three administrative regions of Northern Ghana constitute the poorest and the least urbanized today. The pattern of population movement is thus one of north-south directed and the *kayaye* is one of such groups of migrants from the north.

#### **2.4 The Economy in the Immediate Post-independence Period**

Towards the end of the colonial rule, the economy was adjudged the most prosperous in Sub-Saharan Africa. Not only did the country record the highest per capita income but had the lowest inflation in the region (Assefa, 1983). The country's foreign reserve position was very healthy due to huge earning from cocoa exports (Hamid, 1986), boosting export earning with the economy's gross domestic investment growing at 8.9 percent per annum. Hence growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was generally led by growth in the Agricultural sector. The weakness of the economy however, was its overdependence on primary products, significantly cocoa as the major foreign exchange earner.

The preoccupation of the immediate post-independence government was to boost the resilience of the economy through an import substitution industrialization strategy (Quartey, 2006; Traub-Merz and Jauch, 2006). This was intended to diversify the export base in order to reduce the overdependence of the economy on few primary export commodities such as cocoa, coffee, and timber. This strategy took some attention away from cocoa production leading to a reduction in cocoa output in the post-1960 era (Fitch et al., 1966).

These challenges grew and became pervasive towards the late 1960s, and the otherwise buoyant economy started experiencing negative growth rates in its main economic indicators by the 1970s. According to Assefa (1983), cocoa recorded an average of -0.2 growth in output; -1.2 increase in exports while gross domestic investment stood at an average of -3.2 between 1960 and 1970. The decline became quite prodigious by the early 1980s when per capita income had fallen by 30 percent (World Bank, 1985). The literature generally indicates that the production base of the economy had eroded and emigration of skilled labour became a serious setback. The economy became vulnerable to declining primary commodity prices, increasing import volumes, rising world interest rates and increasing oil price shocks in 1973 and 1979. Hence, the economy was virtually brought to its knees by 1982 when its external debt to GDP ratio stood at 105.7 percent (World Bank, 1985). Against this background, the government was found on a crossroad, finding it difficult to decide whether to adopt IMF-World Bank initiated economic reforms or to continue the failing economic policies. Against the odds of opposition, the government adopted the IMF and World Bank's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).



Opting for these programmes meant further opening of the economy to global market forces which had implications for the country's competitiveness in the global market place. The urban enclaves such as Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi benefited as centres of economic activities. Communities far removed from market centres (trading activities) were, however, largely disadvantaged. Hence, deregulation of the economy as a contingent condition to the ERP/SAP had implications for the rural economy of Ghana. Northern Ghana because of its large rurality suffered a brunt of the baggage of conditionalities that came with the ERP/SAP.

## **2.5 Consequences of Liberalization**

Faced with the situation described in the preceding section, Ghana became a passenger in the Structural Adjustment bandwagon. The SAP was a body of policies implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in developing countries particularly Africa in the early 1980s. These policy changes were conditions for getting new loans from the IMF or the World Bank. It was also contingent for obtaining lower interest rates on existing loans following Africa's economic crisis which brought in its wake decline in the average per capita income as well as the average per capita food production.

Conditionalities were implemented to ensure that the money lent was spent in accordance with the overall goals of the loan. The SAPs were created with the goal of reducing the borrowing country's fiscal imbalances and to allow the economies of developing countries to become more market oriented (World Bank, 1985, p. 25).

Thus, SAPs generally implemented "free market" programs and policy which



mandated internal changes in the economy (notably privatization and deregulation) as well as external ones, especially the reduction of trade barriers (Aryeetey et al., 2000).

The initial years of adjustment in Ghana involved macroeconomic stabilization and appeared successful. Output began to revive, with an annual growth of about 5% between 1984 and 1989. From 1986 the budget started showing surpluses, although these were partly illusory since they included increased foreign aid. Nevertheless the progress made by Ghana was applauded by the World Bank and the IMF among many other bilateral donors as being a success story. In spite of the wide endorsement of Ghana's successes, however, some scholars have argued that, the improvements were measured only at the macro-level without recourse to replication of such measurement at the micro-level (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Barwa, 1995; Manuh, 1994).

Besides, the impact of the SAPs on the poor and vulnerable groups in both rural and urban areas in Ghana is widely debated in the literature with significant research evidence pointing to a disturbing trend. For instance, studies conducted independently by Non-governmental Organizations and some scholars have highlighted the impact of SAPs on social welfare, the environment, gender, and spatial development. A study conducted in 1989 by ILO on SAP and employment generation in Ghana indicated that there was about 4 percent growth rate between 1980 and 1984 of which 90 percent of the growth was in the informal sector, especially, in the agricultural and commercial sectors. The increased employment in these sectors could be attributed to the loss (retrenchments) of formal sector employment.

The implementation of SAPs resulted in the retrenchment of over 300,000 public sector workers (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Aryeetey et al., 2000; Manuh, 1994 in Yeboah, 2008), leading to the reduction of public sector employment and cuts in

formal wages. According to Yeboah (2008), statistics available indicate that the civil service retrenched 10,500 workers in 1987, 11,000 workers in 1988, and 12,000 workers in 1989 (ILO, 1989). Also, 39,800 out of the 320,000 employees in stateowned enterprises (an equivalent of about 13%), were retrenched. In addition to cuts in formal employment, there was a freeze on recruitments into the public service (Manuah, 1994).

Besides, there was a mandatory withdrawal of government subsidies on basic social services (education and health). Hence, the conditionalities of SAPs further deepened the woes of the poor and retrenched workers. In fact, spending on both the health and the education sectors in Ghana was reduced to less than 5 percent.

Education's share of the national budget allocation fell drastically from 4.3 percent of GDP in 1982 to less than 1 percent in both 1996 and 1997 (ISSER, 1995; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). The health sector's allocation of government funds also fell from 7 and 10 percent in 1980 and 1982 respectively to 1.16 percent of the national budget in 1996 (ISSER, 1995). This created a phenomenon that became popularly known as „cash and carry“ in the administration of health services in Ghana.

The impact of SAPs on women in particular has been extensively empirically established (Pearson, 2000; Sparr, 1994; Manuh, 1994; Bortey-Doku, 2000; ElaborIdemudia, 1994; Clark and Manuh, 1991; Hatem, 1994). Sparr (1994) makes an enumeration of 18 instances in which women in developing countries have had their livelihood strategies reconditioned as a result of SAPs. His view has been that SAPs had increased the number of women seeking income-generating work as a compensation for their husband's retrenchment. Even though only 25% of the civil servants were female, those with the least education and seniority were laid off first and women constituted 35% of the retrenched (Alderman et al., 1996, p. 218).

The urban informal sector became the last resort of some retrenched workers with their small businesses leveraging on the urban offshoot of the Golden Triangle. The Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi urban enclave attracted job-losers who had to survive through variety of activity including petty trading. The female porters and their male counterparts appear in the marketplaces (Clark and Manuh 1991, p. 228) in the Golden Triangle as reforms under SAPs lowered subsidies on farm inputs leading to declines in Agriculture livelihoods in areas where they come from. It would thus, amount to not an overstatement to say that the current expanded informal sectors in Africa and particularly Ghana is partly explained by the economic reforms implemented decades ago and which still exist but manifest in different forms with similar effects. People must survive through every creative means possible. No doubt, today, across Africa, corner shops multiply on daily basis with some over-zealous traders who must survive in an intractable unemployment and underemployment-ridden local economies, doing brisk business on the streets. In fact, survival of the fittest in over-congested and chaotic city centres (particularly Accra and Kumasi) is apparently a feature of a fast expanding informal sector in Ghana. In congested city centres where motorized traffic is slow and uneconomical, other micro-logistic services involving direct use of human labour such as commercial head-load carrying (*kayayoo*) become survival opportunities for the female porters.

## **2.6 Urbanization: A nexus of the Informal sector**

It has been established in the preceding discourse that the poor would most likely survive in the informal sector. Urbanization is one of the several causes and effects of informal sector activities and a setting which is one of the most attractive destinations for many



people including the female porters. For instance, the twentieth century was characterized by great rapidity in urban growth as the global proportion of urban population increased from a mere 13 percent in 1900 to 29 percent in 1950 and reached 49 percent in 2005 (UN, 2005 in Gundogan et al., 2009). It is further predicted that by 2030, close to 60 percent of the population of the developing world would have been living in urban areas. Consistent with observed trends in the rest of Africa, Ghana's population is becoming increasingly urbanized. Whereas only 9.4% of the total population lived in urban settlements in 1931, this figure increased to 13.9% in 1948, 23% in 1960, 28.9% in 1970, 31.3% in 1984 and 43.9% in 2000 (Sangsore, 2003a ) and by 2007 it had jumped to 49% (World Bank, 2009). According to Nabila (1988) "If current trends continue, by the year 2020 more than half of all Ghanaians will live in urban areas" (Nabila, 1988, p. 1). From the literature there is an apparent link though not a perfect correlation between the growth in the informal economy and urbanization. Perhaps the initial perspective on the informal sector as mainly composed of the urban "working poor" migrants from rural areas in search of work is not totally misplaced when viewed in the context of the concurrency of growth in the informal economy and urbanization. There have been various positions regarding the appropriate definition for the informal sector. While Hart (1973) views the informal sector as comprising "unregulated economic enterprises or activities", the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 1993 defines the informal sector as "all unregistered enterprises below a certain size, including microenterprises owned by informal employers who hire one or more employees in a continuing basis; and own-account operations owned by individuals who may employ family workers and employees on occasional basis" (ILO, 2002, p. 2). Many other perspectives on the

definition of the informal economy exist but the difference lie more in semantics than substance.

More critical to this discourse is the analysis of factors that underpin the rapid expansion in informal sector activities. Bercker (2004) explains the growth scenario of the informal economy in the developing world:

1. The limited capacity of agriculture and the formal economy to absorb surplus labour, together with increasing numbers of job seekers, has boosted the size of the informal economy. In countries with high rates of population growth or urbanisation, the informal economy tends to absorb most of the growing labour force in the urban areas when the manufacturing industry and off-farm activities in general do not grow at the same pace.
2. Barriers of entry into the formal economy: Excessive costs and government regulations as well as corruption in areas such as business start-up, granting of business permits and land.
3. Weak institutions: The weak capability of formal institutions to provide education, training and infrastructure as well as other incentives for structural reforms.
4. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) during the eighties and nineties which fuelled the growth of the informal economy in developing countries through the disappearance of public sector jobs and the closure of uncompetitive businesses which forced many laid-off workers to find other ways to survive.
5. Demand for low-cost goods and services – the informal economy has been boosted by rural-urban migration in conjunction with the demand for low-

cost goods and services from those employed in the formal and informal economies.

6. Economic hardship and poverty.

These factors are quite consistent with the situation in Ghana. The 2000 census of Ghana reveals 83 percent of Ghanaians work in the informal sector (GSS, 2000). The ILO (1995) claims that the sector absorbs most of the annual increase in the urban labour force and contributes 22 percent to total GDP (Boeh- Ocansey, 1995) and 72 percent of households' income (GSS, 1996). These figures indicate that the sector provides jobs to many Ghanaians. Consistent with Bercker (2004), growth in the informal sector in Ghana is attributable to rural-urban migration due to declining agricultural employment, over liberalization leading to a defined role of Ghana as a distribution outlet (import and sell economy) in the global economy. The once industrial enclave (Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi) has become increasingly a gateway for transiting imports from the west and the emerging economic giants in Asia to the West African region and beyond. These cities in Ghana have, therefore, become migrant destinations by virtue of the variety of livelihood opportunities that exist, especially for the poor. The subsequent section examines what can be gleaned from the literature as the reasons for the presence of the female porters in the major cities of Ghana.

## **2.7 Internal Migration Pattern in Ghana**

Human beings by virtue of their agency are predisposed to migration. Migration is a flexible and dynamic phenomenon that encompasses territorial mobility of people and involves movements like commuting, absence from home for periods of days to



several years (Banglapedia, 2006 in Yeboah, 2008). Migration has been described as a socio-economic phenomenon resulting among others from complex mechanisms involving social, psychological, economic, political and institutional determinants (GSS, 2013). The migration literature embodies among others the „laws of migration“ (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889; Bähr, 2004). These include the push-pull models, where pull and push factors initiating migration are present in the source as well as in the receiving regions of migrants (Lee, 1966) and the Neoclassical economic models which analyse migration as individual decision for income maximization (Lewis 1952; Todaro, 1969; Borjas, 1989).

In Ghana, 48.6 percent of the population is on record to have migrated. By locality of residence, Accra (GAMA) has the highest proportion of migrants (60.3%) followed by the rural forest (51.6%). The other urban area has 46.7 percent of migrants while rural coastal has 44.6 percent. Rural savannah (37.5%) has the least proportion of the migrant population (GLSS 6, GSS, 2014, p. 66). In all 51.4 percent of the Ghanaian population is non-migrant, 17.1 percent are in-migrants while 31.5 percent are return migrants.

Consistent with the national statistic, non-migrant population constitutes the majority in all the regions of the country, with the three northern regions having proportions above 60 percent and Greater Accra region with the least of 40.4% (GLSS 6, GSS, 2014, pp. 66-67). The statistics on internal migration indicate a north-south directed migration pattern to the extent that the three northern regions have the lowest immigration (5.8 percent for the Northern, 5.4 percent for Upper East and 4.5 percent for the Upper West regions) while the The Greater Accra Region records the highest in-migration of 38.9 percent.

The next section examines internal north-south migration in Ghana in the context of the colonial modelled economy discussed in the beginning sections of this chapter and the modern day disparity in development between the north and the south.

### **2.7.1 Recent Trends in North-South Migration: Push and Pull factors**

„Migratory movement within Ghana has usually been from the north to the south and from the less developed rural areas to the relatively developed urban areas, serving as growth poles“ (GLSS 6, GSS, 2014, p. 66). Migration from the north to the south is not a new phenomenon in Ghana. Historically, as a legacy of British colonial policy, the north was promoted largely as a labour reserve for the south (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Shandorf, 2008; Adepoju, 2004; Zaami, 2010; Kuusaana, 2009; Chambers 1980; Songsore and Denkabe 1995; Iman, 2007; Yaro, 2004). Today, poverty is acute in the three regions of the north (the northern, upper east and west regions) and some areas of the rural coastal belt, spurring all manner of adaptive strategies including migration to areas perceived to have greener pastures. In the aftermath of decolonization, regional inequalities in development did not change much. Large number of households in the Savannah and Sahel belts on one the hand and the rural coastal zones on the other appeared to have remained in a situation of chronic or persistent poverty, owing to their relative isolation from markets. There remain significant disparities in household access to health, education and water by localities (World Bank, 2004). Table 2.1 provides information on adult school experience in 2014.

**Table 2.1: The percentage of adults 15 years and older who have ever attended school by region, locality and sex**

Region	Both sexes	Male	Female
Western	84.3	90.4	78.6
Central	79.1	89.6	70.7
Greater Accra	90.4	95.2	86.2
Volta	74.1	82.4	67.3
Eastern	83.9	90.9	78.0
Ashanti	84.7	90.0	80.2
Brong Ahafo	72.7	79.4	67.0
Northern	<b>38.2</b>	<b>49.2</b>	<b>28.6</b>
Upper East	<b>50.4</b>	<b>59.4</b>	<b>42.6</b>
Upper West	<b>51.7</b>	<b>61.8</b>	<b>42.6</b>
Total	76.5	83.5	70.4

**Excerpted from GLSS 6 report by GSS (2014, p.15)**

While Accra and the urban coastal and forest zones have enjoyed significant improvement in their living standards, with even the poorest groups in these areas appearing to benefit, the savannah and the rural coastal areas have seen very little improvement in economic well-being (Awumbila, 2008). Households in the savannah and rural coastal areas have remained largely disconnected from economic growth taking place in the rest of the country, with limited opportunities to escape from poverty because of their limited access to education, markets and public services (World Bank, 2004). For instance, from Table 2.1, national average school attendance for adults aged 15 and older is 83.5% and 70.4% for male and female respectively while it is 49.2% and 28.6% for the northern region; 59.4% and 42.6% for the upper east region; and 61.8% and 42.6% for upper west region (GLSS 6 by



GSS, 2014, p. 15) . In terms of percentage of women age 15-49 years currently pregnant or pregnant during the last 12 months who received pre-natal care, it is 88.4% for the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA); 83.7% for other urban areas; 77.9% for the rural forest while rural coastal area and rural Savannah have low figures of 74.1% and 73.8%. (GLSS 6 by GSS, 2014, p. 31)

The consequence of this uneven development has been that the north has constituted a major source of labour supply for industry, agriculture and the urban informal sector in the south, reflecting the impoverishment in the north and the relative buoyant economy in the south (Awumbila. 2008). The trend of migration which was male-dominated has changed. In recent times, a dominant migration stream from the north to the south has been that of female adolescents averaged between 8 and 22 years, moving independent of family, largely towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi to work as *kayayei* (girl porters), who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee (Awumbila, 2008). The critical questions that keep boggling the minds of people who observe the activities of this group of migrants in the study cities of this research would, among others, be; what push and or pull factors explain the decisions to move?

### **2.7.2 Push and pull Factors**

Diversification into non- farm or non-crop income-generating activities constitutes such a critical livelihood strategy for rural households, particularly in Africa (Barret et al. 2001) and marked in the arid and semi-arid zones where desertification is a bane on agriculture income. The pursuance of diversification in livelihood endeavours of rural households is thus on the basis of necessity and choice (Ellis 2000). Migration represents one diversification strategy, and the mobility of rural dwellers is often explained as being the result of push and/or pull factors (Bigsten

1996; Ravenstein, 1889; Lee, 1966; Langenheder, 1968). Push factors refer to the forces that induce desperation and trigger involuntary migration (for example, land scarcity, irregular rainfall and conflict), while pull factors refer to those that trigger proactive, voluntary migration (for example, high urban wages and other attractions) [Bigsten 1996]. In the context of the north-south migration in Ghana, the critical push and pull factors fall into the broad spectrum of social services; spatial effects of liberalization; natural endowment; agricultural incomes; culture and conflicts; and social capital.

#### **2.7.1.1 Social Services**

The tendency to migrate southwards is precipitated by the unbalance social services provision in favour of most part of the south, especially urban districts (GLSS 6 by GSS, 2014). The urban bias thesis (Lipton, 1977) provides a fair explanation of the disparity between rural and urban development at all levels. Most investments, both public and private in Ghana are made in big cities to the relative neglect of not only rural areas but also the northern regions over the decades (Songsore, 1983 and 1989, Ewusi, 1976 and Dickson, 1968). This spatially skewed investment pattern results in urban areas being more developed than rural areas in terms of provision of amenities, maintenance of law and order, and availability of diverse means of sustenance. The consequence of this disparity is the creation of urban magnetic points and repulsive rural environments. Neglected rural areas are, therefore, replete with push forces while urban areas experiencing a concentration of investments and development activity are imbued with pull forces of development. In terms of education, attendance rates are generally high in all localities except in the savannah (area largely occupied by the three northern regions) and even more so in rural savannah where the migration wave is strong (Shepherd et al., 2004). While over 80 percent of children aged 6 to 11 attend

school in other regions, less than 70 percent attend school in the three northern regions (Northern, Upper East and West). Among persons aged 19 to 25, the picture is almost the same, with a higher attendance rate of 80 percent in the southern sector and only 50 percent in the northern sector. For aged 6-25, attendance is 86.1 percent at the national level juxtaposed with 63.5 percent for males and 56.6 percent for females in rural savannah (GLSS 5 by GSS, 2008). From the statistics, school dropout rate for the northern regions is high, thus creating a mass of unskilled youth who, coupled with other factors, consider migration to the south a critical livelihood strategy.

Besides, access barriers to critical health services by families and communities due to long distances to health facilities and low literacy especially among women as well as poor health-seeking behaviours and inadequate financial capabilities create unhealthy communities, the consequence of which is an exacerbation of the poverty of the people. For instance, the regions of the south namely Greater and Ashanti have maternal mortality figures of 355 and 421 per 100,000 live births. These figures are worse for the three northern regions – 531 for the northern region; 466 for the upper west region and 802 for the upper east region (population and housing census, 2010). Rural women thus, have limited access to health care services resulting in a high rate of pregnancy-related deaths.

In terms of access to potable water for domestic purposes, the rural areas are significantly disadvantaged. The percentage of households with access to potable water stands at urban highest and lowest of 99% and 82% respectively while the highest and lowest for rural households are 88% and 71% respectively (GLSS 6 by GSS, 2014). The three northern regions with rurality of 69.7%, 79% and 83.7% for the northern, upper east and upper west regions respectively against national rurality of 49.1% (population and housing census, 2010) are thus relatively deprived in potable



water supply. The local surface waters on which communities depend have Turbidities of >200 NTU and high microbial contamination and as a consequence, each day 15-25 percent of children younger than five suffer from diarrheal diseases (GSS, 2003). Women spend hours each day at local dugouts collecting highlycontaminated drinking water for their families at the expense of economic activities (CWS, 2009). Under these hash conditions, the tendency to seek better livelihood elsewhere is high and increasing.

Among several factors, it is clear in the discourse that inadequate and poor social services administration tend to serve as push factors of migration from the three northern regions while availability of quality social services form the pull factors in some of the receiving regions of the south.

#### **2.7.1.2 Spatial Effects of Liberalization**

Openness of an economy brings to the fore a myriad of effects socially and spatially. In the wake of reform in Ghana, openness to trade had risen steeply from an index of 0.11 in 1984 to 0.34 in 1987, 0.36 in 1992, and 0.57 in 1998 and further to 0.78 in 2001 (Aryeetey and Fosu, 2003). Economic reforms that focus considerably on opening the economy to greater and freer external trade bring a country and its people into the global realm. Liberalization of an economy thus, creates opportunities for various parts of the economy to gain access to larger pools of resources as well as markets. The argument which arises, however, is whether openness of an economy is generally beneficial to all people in developing countries, socially and spatially.

International trade theorists advocate quite strongly that increased openness to trade and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) per their effects on economic growth should create more equitable income distribution and thereby reduce poverty in developing

countries. This argument takes its roots from the Heckscher-Ohlin-Stopler Samuelson (HOSS) model (Aryeetey and Fosu, 2003). This model by its basic interpretation espouses that for comparative advantage purposes, developing countries would tend to export low-skill intensive products (based on the utilization of abundant low-skill labour) and import skill-intensive products from developed countries. This exchange according to the model increases the real returns of the abundant low-skill labour force and at the same time reduces the returns to the relatively skill-intensive labour force thereby reducing income inequality in developing countries.

Empirical evidence, however, suggest that trade liberalization has consequentially affected the poor and has led to deterioration in equality in income distribution in developing countries. Evidence of any positive correlation between trade liberalization and income distribution is said to be weak and even in Asian countries where openness to trade has led to significant expansion in labour intensive manufactured exports, no strong evidence exist to point at (Dollar and Kraay, 2001; Bourguignon et al., 2002).

In Ghana, trade liberalization made some significant impact between 1991/1992 and 1998/1999 on export farmers (not necessarily the poorest) in terms of reductions in their Poverty levels (i.e. from about 64% to 39%) (Aryeetey and Fosu, 2003).

However, food crop farmers among whom northern farmers are over-represented, experienced the least reduction in poverty (i.e. 68% to 59%) (Aryeetey and Fosu, 2003). Exchange rate devaluations, the opening of domestic markets, and changes in the structure of production that were engineered by trade liberalization only led to shifts in income distribution where producers of tradable goods (mostly exportable) benefited. The main source of growth and poverty reduction in the liberalization regime in Ghana during the 1990s was expanded trade. However, Northern Ghana did

not benefit from this growth and poverty reduction because of the low representation of the region's production in international trade (Al-Hassan, 2007; ODI and CEPA; 2005, Aryeetey; McKay, 2000). Two-fifths of the population who were food-crop farmers and of whom about two-thirds were poor in the early 1990s, therefore, did not benefit directly from liberalization.

Aryeetey and Fosu (2003) allude to the facts that unlike the export farming sector which had governmental support in terms of technical training and other export promotion packages, the self-employed in both food and non-farm sectors were, and are the least beneficiaries of public investment and subsidies. Indeed, the food sector was one of the hardest hit sectors when agricultural subsidies were removed as part of the reforms (e.g, SAP).

According to Christiaensen, Demery and Paternostro (2002) the potential pathways through which trade openness impacts on poverty reduction include rural labour markets, where higher export crop prices stimulate export crop production leading to increased demand for agricultural wage labour, and ultimately higher agricultural real wages. Consistent with this view, the people of northern Ghana who are predominantly crop-farmers only benefited from trade liberalization through offering their labour in the export-crop sector in the south. Thus, in 1998, poverty fell among food-crop producers perhaps through returns for their labour as wage workers, but the decline was not as great as that experienced by export crop producers. Declining Agricultural incomes precipitated by removal of subsidies coupled with increased cost of social services due to implementation of full cost recovery strategies under the reforms constituted push factors. Besides, attractive wages in the export-crop sector and the expansion in the urban informal sector and its diverse opportunities for self-employment exerted pull effects on northern migrants. There is, therefore, a strong



representation in the discourse that, the north-south migration stream is a natural response to the impoverishment created in the north by trade liberalization among other factors.

### **2.7.1.3 Natural Endowment**

Ghana is one of the countries in Africa that is quite endowed with natural resources. According to the CIA World Fact Book (2012); Gold, timber, industrial diamonds, bauxite, manganese, fish, rubber, hydropower, petroleum, silver, salt, and limestone are available in Ghana. Most of these resources are discovered and harnessed in the southern part of Ghana and even though the north has its share of resource strength (such as the vast agricultural land) they are currently not explored let alone exploited.

This scenario allows some „naturalistic“ arguments to be traded into the search for explanations to the underdevelopment of the north which underscores the north-south migration. The „natural“ conditions of soil, climate and even population have been used by several anthropologists and historians (Bourret, 1960; Dickson, 1968; Szereszewski, 1965; Laboucer, 1973; and Nabila, 1972) to explain the underdevelopment of the north during the colonial period and its aftermath. For these authors, poor nature's endowment is the propelling factor for north-south migration.

The other form of explanation which has been variously used is what Plange, (1979) considers the „geography of activity“ argument. In this argument, regional climatic differences are held to be favourable to and encourage migration from the north to the south. Beals and Menzes (1970) in Plange (1979) for example, state that regional variation in farming calendars provides the basis for seasonal migration. In a view consistent with Beals and Menzes, Berg (1965) espouses that the Savannah zones are areas of relatively dense population and men and women are underemployed during

the dry season. Hence, the tendency is for them to migrate to the south to seek wage employment in the rather robust forest and coastal zones where conditions are favourable for the growth of export crops and in recent decades, a rapidly expanding informal urban sector that offers variety of opportunities for livelihood. Climatic zones in West Africa are also quite ordered, thereby, offering opportunity for people in the north to migrate to the south since the slack season in the savannah zone coincides with the busy season in the forest south. Thus, there is a seasonal dovetailing; the period of inactivity in the savannah regions corresponds to the time of peak agricultural labour demand in the cocoa and coffee regions of the forest zones. Short term movement from the savannah belt to the forest belt was thus a natural adaptation (Bergs, 1965). Migration is, therefore, identified among the northerners as part of a pattern of labour circulation between the north and south. The female porters (*kayayei*) for instance have worked in markets in Accra and Kumasi and made several back and forth movement after their first migration (Awumbila, 2008).

#### **2.7.1.4 Agricultural Incomes**

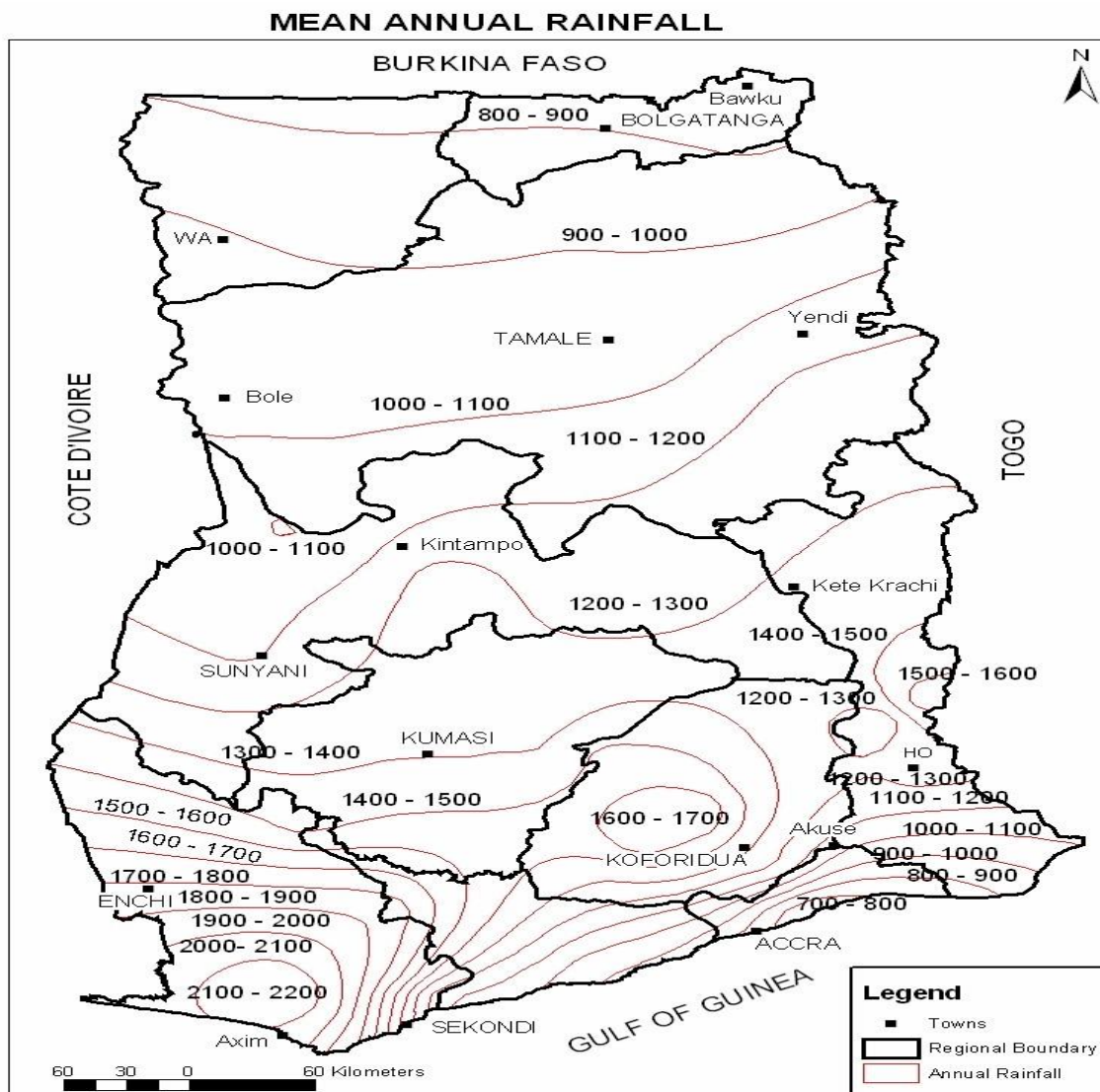
Agriculture which was a major contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Ghana for several years now contributes just 22% while the services sector contributes 49% (GLSS 6 by GSS, 2014). Growth of the economy has been significantly driven by the Services sector since overtaking the Agriculture sector in 2006. Importance of agriculture as a source of many livelihoods in Ghana though unquestionable, is increasingly dwindling and anything which affects agriculture threatens the very survival of many people especially the rural poor.

Conditions which promote agricultural production in many parts of northern Ghana are hostile, particularly when compared to the south. Rainfall levels are lower (depicted in figure 2.2), soils are poor in organic matter, and runoffs are high because of concentration of rains in short periods (torrential rains) [Al-Hassan, 2007]. While there is variation occasioned by both natural factors such as soil and topography, as well as human factors, such as land use practices, the general trend is a south-to-north agro-climatic gradient corresponding with increasingly arid environments offering fewer production potentials (Chamberlin, 2005).

The major part of northern Ghana including the Upper East Region (UER) belongs to the West African semi-arid savannah belt (Adu, 1972) with erratic rainfall pattern.

For instance, the standard „climatic year“ can be divided into two seasons; the dry season from November to April/May with only marginal rainfalls and the wet season from June to October. Amount of rainfall in northern Ghana varies according to the location as figure 2.2 indicates. For decades, the rainy season has been shifting from late April to early May to June or in very extreme case even up to early July (Laube, 2007) leaving farmers with barely three months of rainfall. The increasing variability in rainfall patterns is a serious problem for farmers as it creates considerable uncertainty on the right time to start sowing. Seeds sown sometimes do not get enough rainfall and perish even before they reach full blossom. Probability of crop failure is very high and increasing food insecurity is a yearly ritual. Climatic models for the region indicate that the already experienced shifting in the onset of the raining season will further increase in the decades to come. It could, therefore, turn out to be normal in northern Ghana that rains will not set in until June/July, thereby, shortening the season for effective agriculture activities (Kunstmann, 2007).





**Figure 2.2: Map of Ghana showing mean annual rainfall of regions of Ghana: (Source: Centre for Geographic Information Systems, University of Ghana, Legon).**

Besides the variability in the onset of rains, the decrease rate of mean annual rainfall ranges from 30 percent for sahelian zone and 10 percent for the wet tropical zone (Niasse, 2005). This does not only make farmers in the sahelian zone vulnerable to crop failure but unable to cultivate some kind of crops such as rice which require heavy rains. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) estimates that about 35 percent of Ghana's land area and the north in particular already are or will be affected by severe soil degradation processes to different degrees. Per the EPA's estimation,

the UER is expected to be one of the affected areas with conceivably catastrophic impacts on the local population (EPA, 2002, pp. 26-28).

In the absence of irrigation infrastructure in many parts of the north in the mid of deteriorating climate and soils, underdevelopment and poverty pose a high tendency for the population to further destroy the environment through survival strategies such as charcoal and fuel wood production for sale. Hence a poverty-environment scenario where the former propels the deterioration of the latter emerges with devastating effects on posterity. This scenario having occurred for a while now makes agriculture incomes less promising and non-farm activities more attractive. Migration in search of greener pastures for those who can afford is a valuable coping and adaptation strategy in times of extreme events such as epidemics, droughts, food shortages, conflict and so on.

The poor are often the hardest hit of land degradation, desertification and soil erosion and because poverty is gendered in its predisposing factors, women and children tend to be the most vulnerable. The increasing trend of women's migration southwards including those who work as head-porters (*kayayei*) is a reflection of deteriorating agriculture incomes which are the mainstay of the people in the north.

#### **2.7.1.5 Conflicts**

Northern Ghana in the last three decades has experienced violent conflicts which include inter-ethnic conflicts, mostly centred on control over land and other resources and sovereignty issues; intra-ethnic conflicts around land ownership, competing uses of land and the siting of institutions and services, but mostly about chieftaincy succession (Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Jönsson, 2007; Aganah, 2008; Brukum, 1995).

The proneness to conflicts of the northern regions has been linked to the absence of

economic opportunity in an area dominated by subsistence agriculture and limited non-farm employment opportunities (Shepherd et al., 2004; Tsikata and Seini 2004; Nnoli 2001; van der Linde and Naylor, 1999). Scholarships on the basis of northern conflicts are quite unanimous on the absolute deprivation caused by underdevelopment: a cause of increased perception of inter-ethnic group inequality and suspicion which tends to make inter-group relations more hostile.

As in the words of Nicolas Stern, a former vice-president of the World Bank, conflict or war, „is development in reverse“ (Collier, 2003, p. 9). This was indeed the situation in Salaga, Yendi, Bimbila and Kpandae where over 150 villages were destroyed and over 1,000 people killed during fighting between Konkombas on the one hand and Gonjas, Nanumbas and Dagombas on the other hand in 1994

(Akwetey, 1996, p. 102). The repercussion has been that, up till today, long after the cessation of open hostilities, a number of civil servants including teachers and nurses are refusing posting to settlements in the former theatre of conflict in the eastern parts of the northern region. The same can be said about Bawku in the upper east region following the protracted conflict between the Mamprusis and Kusasis. Kusimi et al. (2006) in a paper on conflicts in Northern Ghana, have expressed the view that violent clashes in that part of the country affect economic development viz. destruction of farms and farm produce; prevention from cultivation of lands; disruption of economic activities; discouragement of investment; labour flow; and tourism.

Against this backdrop, out-migration from both urban and rural settlements in the conflict areas of the north has been quite enormous (Zaami, 2010). Conflicts are antecedents to poor economic conditions and people displaced in regions of conflicts who are unable to make a living in the presence of chaos and insecurity see migration as a strategic option.



Besides, conflicts are sources of economic unfreedom which causes hunger and famine, vital signs of economic push forces.

#### **2.7.1.6 Social Capital and Enhanced Communication**

Several allusions have been made in the discourse about the colonial masters' deliberate imperialist interest which manifested in the preservation of the then northern territories now northern Ghana as centre of labour recruitment both for building imperialist infrastructure and exploitation of resources of interest to the imperialist. This propelled a mass movement of energetic men and later women from the north to the south. Obviously, a number of northerners remained in the south as permanent migrants while others moved back and forth. Northern societies emerged in the south creating strong social capital assets that facilitate subsequent migration southwards using the existing social networks or ties as springboards.

Social networks as linkage structures between social spaces and indeed the backbone of contemporary community life are well espoused by Hanson, (2005). Consistent with Hanson, Woolcock (2001) points to the importance of social networks as assets that can be called upon in hard times, enjoyed for its own sake or used for material gain. Friends and family are often considered to be one's „social safety net“, and keeping these networks inure to the benefit of players in the network. On the flip side, the absence of social networks could have negative impact on life of people, and „being vulnerable and poor“ could partly be explained as being the consequence of or lack of necessary membership and protection of certain networks and institutions (Vandenberg, 2007).

Social networks constitute such critical sources of social capital. Putnam (1995) categorizes social capital into bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social

capital relates to relations between family members, close friends and neighbours (Woolcock, 2001; Narayan, 1999) while bridging social capital refers to more distant friends, associates and colleagues (Woolcock, 2001).

Social capital is a key livelihood asset and functions in varied ways to mitigate vulnerability. Social capital as in social networks has been a critical factor that facilitates north-south migration as people seek to minimise poverty and vulnerability. Family-oriented factors contribute significantly to rural-urban migration in Ghana. The Ghana Statistical Service's national survey of 1995 revealed that about 64 percent of rural-urban migrants moved to join their families. Data from the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) of 1997/1998 also show that 60 percent of migrants reported marriage and other family reasons as the cause of their migration. The GLSS 4 shows a similar trend of 66 percent of migrants reporting marriage and family reasons as the cause of their migration. These are indications that family-oriented reasons continue to be part of Ghana's rural-urban migration in which north-south migration is a major component.

In the particular case of the female porters (*kayayei*), social relationships have had significant influence on their migration decisions and life after migration. „Peer pressure“ has been taunted as a very important factor in the migration decisions of the *kayayei* women and girls. According to Vandenberg (2001), when they are still in their hometowns, returned peers who have either worked as *kayayoo* or worked in some other activity in the city motivate other girls to go as well. The stories they hear about the city from their returned peers and also via cell phones from those resident in the city, the well dressed and differently looking their returned peers are, and the items they bring home all serve to influence the decision to migrate. On arrival in the city,

they join friends, relatives or ethnic groups, living in the same places and working in the same market centres as the new arrivals warm themselves into the occupation.

The fear of the „unknown“ in the migration decision making process is totally demystified and the principle of „continuous causation“ takes a centre stage in the migration phenomenon. The resource sense made of social capital goes beyond just support and reciprocity that exist between individuals, families and ethnic groups to include the systemic opportunities that facilitate bonding among people such as enhanced communication, and convenient spaces in the cities that make squatting possible. For instance, improvements in transportation which include provision of good roads and the decline in the cost of transportation and communication contribute to rural-urban migration in Ghana (Anarfi et al., 2003). For instance, the extension of road networks into rural areas significantly decreases the cost of movement and provides easy flow of people. Hence, migrants are not faced with an unknown destination. The easy flow of people and information between rural and urban areas serves to lower the risk of movement and increases the chance of rural residents“ migration (Abdulai, 1999).

Carney (1998) puts social support into two categories; personal social resources discussed above and public goods social capital. Public goods social capital allows other resources to be utilized in the community. In the case of the *kayayei*, the existence of slums in the destination cities and the rather relaxed metropolitan byelaws that permit people to live in open spaces constitute strong motivation for migration into such cities. Even where bye-laws are effectively operational, one component of the public goods social capital such as community-based organizations and human rights advocacy institutions serve as sources of social protection. Recent trends tend to suggest a growing „politico-social capital“ in the form of political expediency



(protecting votes from slum dwellers and squatters) through antidemolition campaigns by political parties which serve to broaden the public goods social capital at the disposal of vulnerable migrant populations in the cities. For instance, Harrison and McVey's (1997) study of street trading in Mexico City paints a picture where after months of dialogue following conflict over the right to occupy trading sites in urban areas, the leaders of the traders secured the right of traders to rent land in the centre in exchange for political support to the authorities.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

In the discourse, a strong argument is made that infrastructure development facilitated Cocoa production in the „Golden Triangle“ which attracted people all over the country, especially people from areas that lack the cocoa growing climate and soils into the growth regions. The Golden Triangle which was an industrial enclave created for imperialist interest had to face labour shortages as leading government public works, the mining companies as well as cocoa farmers depended on external sources of labour supply (Kuusaana, 2009). The semi-arid savannah regions of the Volta and the Northern Territories which were of less interest to the colonial authority in terms of resources needed by the metropolitan economy became useful only as permanent cheap labour reserve for both expatriate and indigenous employers in the forest south and the developed coastal belt (Songsore, 1983a). This created a balkanization, in which the „recipient“ micro-regions of colonial investment (crafted as the Golden Triangle) had no `interest“ in `sharing“ the crumbs of the colonial cake with their labour reserves (Amin, 1972, p. 117).

This dichotomy after the demise of the colonial regime became even marked as the development gap between northern Ghana and southern Ghana continue to widen. Particularly, the implementation of trade liberalization policies following the paradigm shift from socialism to more of capitalism in the 1980s deepened the uneven regional penetration of capital. The north which did not produce internationally tradable goods (cocoa, timber, gold, diamond and manganese and so on) did not benefit from the opening of the economy and that further increased the gap, creating more or less a centre and periphery relationship between the south and the north. The centre consisted of the forest belt where cocoa, timber, gold, diamond and manganese production were concentrated while the generalized periphery consisted of areas outside the forest belt and coastal port towns without any relevant potential for cocoa, timber and mineral production.

The conditionalities which underpinned the Economic Recovery and the Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1980s brought in its wake a mass layoff of public sector workers (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Aryeetey et al., 2000; Manuh, 1994 in Yeboah, 2008). The frustrated ex-workers had basically two options; to go into agriculture or buying and selling (loosely referred to as „business“ in Ghana). Unfortunately, subsidies on agricultural inputs were removed as required by the SAP, thereby, increasing the cost of agriculture ventureship. Agriculture became less lucrative compared with buying and selling and so the urban informal sector grew faster and had women as major actors given that 35% of the retrenched workers were women (Alderman et al., 1996, p. 218). With rapid urbanization, population moved more southwards especially to the Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi metropolitan industrial and trade enclaves which constitute the vertices of the

„Golden Triangle“.

In conclusion, internal population movement in Ghana tend to be in the southwards direction owing to the concentration of development in that part of the country and the *kayayei*, like many migrants, move into major urban centres where systemic opportunities seem to pave way for their kind of livelihood adaptation.





## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LIVELIHOOD RESOURCES, STRATEGIES, AND VULNERABILITY IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews livelihood literature and other theoretical perspectives that are extant to the objectives of the study. The discussion focuses on the nature of informal employment in the cities studied, the use of public spaces and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) as a theoretical basis for understanding the livelihoods or employment of the female porters.

#### **3.1 Livelihoods in the Urban Informal Sector**

The burgeoning literature on informal Employment dates back to Keith Hart's ground breaking research on income earning strategies of the urban sub-proletariat (poor city dwellers) in the early 1970s in Accra, Ghana. The contribution of this British anthropologist to knowledge has been huge; impacting greatly not only on the conceptualization of informal employment but the approach to its research and policy discourse across several disciplines especially in the areas of development studies and economics. The concept of informal employment attracted a myriad of labels in the 1970s and 1980s following the views of Hart (1973). It has been labelled the irregular economy (Ferman and Ferman, 1973), the subterranean economy (Gutmann, 1977), the underground economy (Simon and Witte, 1982;

Houston, 1987), the black economy (Dilnot and Morris, 1981), the shadow economy (Frey, Weck and Pommerehne, 1982; Cassel and Cichy, 1986) and the informal economy (McCrohan and Smith, 1986).

In the 1990s, the focus had shifted from contestation of labels to how the informal economy debate could be leveraged to make it more relevant to policy formulation for poverty alleviation. This led undoubtedly to the emergence of major approaches, perspectives and themes. Building on the thesis of Hart (1973) which viewed informal employment as comprising the strategies adopted by the poor to supplement their incomes, various perspectives emerged and aggregated into the marginalist and the structuralist schools of thought.

The marginalists view informal employment as peripheral to mainstream economic development. According to Meagher (1995), the perspectives of the marginalist find their basis from the early neo-liberal and Marxist scholars. In their view, the informal sector consisted of nothing more than traditional activities that existed on the margins of the economy and only serve as sources of survival to the marginalized. The survivalist theory of the informal sector came under criticism after several years of economic recovery saw no decline in informal work and employment whether in Latin America, India or Sub-Saharan African. Meagher (1995) argues that the non-disappearance of informal employment even in countries that have witnessed massive economic transformation shows it does not just consist of marginal activities but a sector that is equally dynamic and robust.

The structuralists, however, contend that the informal sector comprises employment activities created by choice and hence are alternatives which are vibrant, dynamic and enduring form of economic activities on their own right (Leonard, 2000). The Structuralists (Castells and Portes, 1989; Roberts, 1991; Centeno et al., 2003) reject

the simplistic argument that informality is the result of excess labour supply and or over-regulation by the state. They argue that informality is rather in essence an alternative form of labour utilization (and often exploitation) by capitalists (Yusuff, 2011; Rakowski, 1994; Maloney, 2000). Critics of this theory contend that informal work and employment are always associated with marginal behaviour and the survival strategies of the poor (Fashoyin, 1993; Lubell, 1991; Nigam, 1987). Hence, beyond being marginal, the informal sector appears as an alternative to the formal only because it epitomizes a recreation and intensive utilization of informal labour relations by formal capitalist firms.

In what was described as the „lost decade“ of the 1980s, informal work and selfemployment emerged as the most prevalent forms of work throughout Latin America (Biles, 2009). Countries throughout this region experienced a profound economic crisis as incomes declined drastically, inflation skyrocketed, and unemployment increased by nearly 50% (Franko, 1999) in Biles (2009). Informal work however, grew more than 30% during the decade, accounting for more than 40% of the economically active population by 1990 (ILO, 2005) reinforcing the argument of the structuralists that the informal sector is a dynamic contributor to employment and economic development.

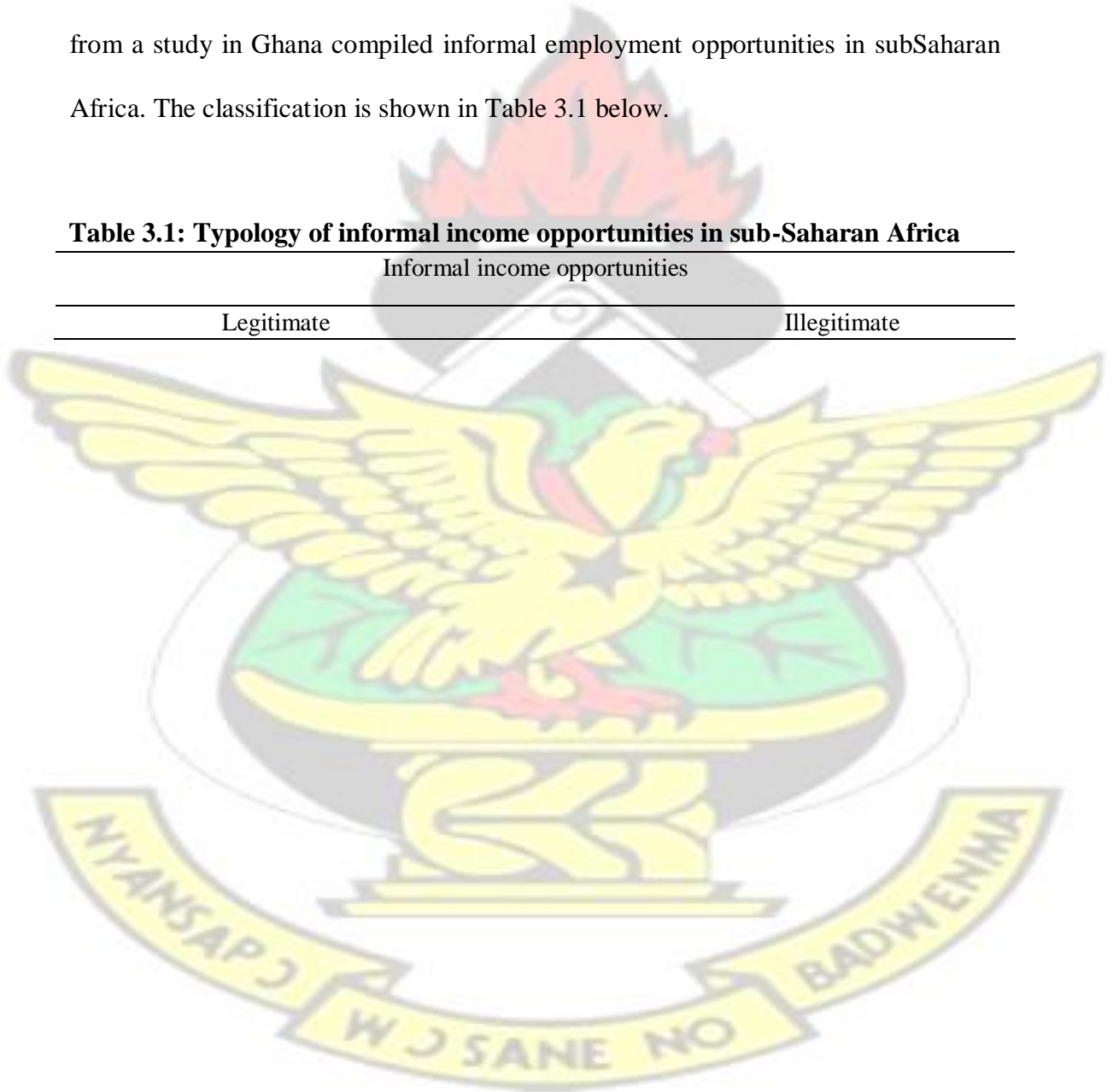
In Africa and especially Sub-Saharan Africa, vast majority of working people earn their living in the informal sector (ILO, 2002; Johanson, 2002; World Bank, 1994, 2002) as self-employees or wage workers. The informal sector has indeed grown tremendously in Ghana since the classification of informal work and employment made by Hart (1973). The informal sector employs 86.1% of persons aged 15 years and older (population and housing census, 2010) and consist of complex network of activities. Charmes (1999) defines informal sector as comprising informal selfowned



enterprises that may employ family workers and one or more employees on an occasional or continuous basis with classification into (i) „family enterprise“ (own account informal enterprises) without permanent employees and (ii) „micro7enterprises“ (informal employers) with permanent employees (Debrah, 2004). Debrah (2004) drawing on Charmes’s views and the classifications done by Hart (1973), Tripp (1997), and Adu-Amankwah (2000) and using his own fieldwork notes from a study in Ghana compiled informal employment opportunities in subSaharan Africa. The classification is shown in Table 3.1 below.

**Table 3.1: Typology of informal income opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa**

Informal income opportunities	
Legitimate	Illegitimate



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### Services

- Traditional healers/herbalists ☐
  - Spiritualists/diviners ☐
  - Salvationists and pastors of independent churches ☐ ☐ charismatic
  - Operators of restaurants and bars ☐
  - Hairdressers/barbers ☐
  - Sign writers and shoe shiners
  - Drivers and porters
  - Domestic workers
  - Prostitution
  - Armed robbery
  - Money doubling
  - Smuggling
  - Black market currency exchange
  - Drugs peddling
- ☐ Prostitution
  - Armed robbery
  - Money doubling
  - Smuggling
  - Black market currency exchange
  - Drugs peddling

### Retail/trading

- Shops and kiosk operators
- Street vendors/traders
- Home veranda traders
- Market/foodstuff traders
- Bakers
- Chemical sellers

### Trade, craft and manufacturing

- Tailors and seamstresses
  - Auto mechanics/repairers/electricians and other related workers
  - Artisanal construction workers
- 
- Blacksmiths/Metal workers
  - Wood processors
  - Weavers/carvers/embroiderers/ornamental and jewellery crafts workers
  - Food processors
  - Producers of beverages (beer, liquor, palm

### Agricultural production, animal husbandry and fishing

- Keepers of poultry/goats/sheep/pigs □ Producers of grains/vegetables/fruits/etc.
- Fishermen and fish processors

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**Source: Debrah (2004, pp. 65-66)**

In Ghana, the informal sector in the urban setting is an embodiment of a variety of activities some of which are captured in Table 3.1 with concentration of it in the city centres. This has created complexity in the use of public space in the cities and given the dynamics of urban livelihoods, head-porterage can be classified as a form of informal sector activity. Hart (1973) called this activity “small-scale distribution”. The female head-porters (*kayayei*) form part of the distribution system serving as load carriers due to opportunities offered by changes in the use of urban public spaces, details of which are discussed in the following section.

### **3.2 The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)**

The Sustainable Livelihood (SL) concept emerged from the search for a more embracing definition of poverty when the conventional definitions and approaches to poverty analysis and eradication appeared to have left out important images in its snapshot. Conventional definitions were found to have focused rather narrowly on certain factor manifestations of poverty, such as low income, and did not consider other crucial dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability and social exclusion (Krantz, 2001). Against this backdrop, it became recognizable that more attention needed to be paid to other factors and processes which either constrain or enhance poor people’s ability to make a living in economically, ecologically, and socially sustainable manner.



According to Kanzt (2001), the sustainable livelihoods idea was first introduced by the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development, and was expanded by the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. These conferences advocated for the achievement of sustainable livelihoods as a broad goal for poverty eradication. Following this debate, one of the sharpest conceptualization of livelihood to have emerged in 1992 came from Chambers and Conway (1992);

*A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term” (Chambers and Conway (1992, p.7).*

In the view of these authors, the most complex of all the livelihood components is the portfolio of assets out of which people construct their living, which includes both tangible assets and resources, and intangible assets such as claims and access. Any definition of livelihood sustainability, therefore, the authors argue, has to include the ability to avoid, or more usually to withstand and recover from stresses and shocks which define the vulnerability context of poor people’s livelihood. Chambers (1999, p. 33) defines vulnerability as „defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress“. The vulnerability context is thus critically linked to the

Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP) that either reduce or increase people’s livelihood opportunities; and in the case of the *kayayei*, how NHRD policy/strategy, especially in the areas of education and skill training affects their livelihood requires interrogation.

The discourse on Sustainable Livelihood (SL) has evolved and more recently the Institute for Development Studies (IDS)’s [at the University of Sussex, Brighton] version of SL has been operationalized, modified, and propagated by the British

Department for International Development (DFID) in its poverty reduction activities since the 1990s. UNDP, for instance, uses the SL approach primarily as a programming framework to devise a set of integrated support activities to improve the sustainability of livelihoods among poor and vulnerable groups. It does this by strengthening the resilience of their coping and adaptive strategies. Besides, since 1994, CARE International as an NGO has used Household Livelihood Security (HLS) as a framework for programme analysis, design, monitoring, and evaluation (Meikle et al., 2001).

The concept of HLS derives from the classic definition of livelihoods developed by Chambers and Conway (1992). The SL approach is equally quite synonymous with the DFID's approach aimed at increasing the agency's effectiveness in poverty reduction. A central element of DFID's approach is the SL Framework, an analytical structure to facilitate a broad and systematic understanding of the various factors and their relationships that either constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities. This research whilst drawing on livelihood literature in general, concentrates quite heavily on the DFID's version of the SL approach as contained in its Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets (DFID, 1999) to facilitate emergence of a conceptual framework.

### **3.2.1 Structural Components**

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is a tool to improve understanding of livelihoods, especially that of the poor. It provides a checklist of important issues and sketches out the way these connect to each other and also draws attention to some core influences and processes. It also emphasises the multiple interactions between the various factors which affect livelihoods. The framework, thus, demonstrates a people-centred, participatory and flexible approach; an approach that allows for stakeholders

to engage in a structured and coherent debate that affects livelihoods. The core mission of the framework is to help in the identification of the appropriate entry points for intervening and supporting livelihoods.

The framework summarises the main components of livelihood, and the relationships and influences among the components. It provides not an exhaustive list but important likely feedback between Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP) on the one hand and the Vulnerability Context on the other, and also between Livelihood Assets and Livelihood Outcomes given the ambience of the mediating processes. The framework provides structured and systematic approach for identifying survival strategies of people and for that matter helps to identify poor people's agency in developing and sustaining their livelihoods (Rakodi and Loyd 2002; Whitehead, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Beall and Kanji, 1999).

The mix of strategies that female porters employ to earn income and the influences of their livelihood environment (the vulnerability context) on their livelihood outcomes, are quite examinable within the flexible perimeters of this framework, especially their livelihood outcomes defined and influenced by their vulnerability context relate to their human capital which is an important output of NHRD policy and strategy. The SL framework, thus, provides impetus to notice the critical role of HRD as leverage for human capital development for people with little or no formal education. Human capital in the view of the researcher has the capacity to influence access to the rest of the assets in the assets pentagon in the SL framework. HRD at the community and national levels are important means for investing in human capital. Quality stock of human capital delivered through well fashioned HRD strategy is a platform for eradicating vulnerability such as human trafficking (Mace et al., 2012)



which is often hidden from sight and invisible to the public (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2006), a threat the *Kayayei* are extremely exposed to.

### **3.2.1.1 Vulnerability Context**

The evidence of vulnerability (Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) substantiated by the stories of child labour and exploitation, human trafficking, and sexual servitude (Logan, Walker and Hunt, 2009) revealed by previous researches and the media on the *kayayei* make a theoretical understanding of their vulnerability context critical to this research. The Vulnerability Context is a component of the SL framework that depicts the external environment in which people exist (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998). These scholars posit that livelihoods are pursued within vulnerability contexts and structural processes that influence livelihood outcomes. In other words, people's livelihoods, especially the poor as determined by the availability of assets, are fundamentally affected by critical trends, predictable or unpredictable, often in the form of shocks and seasonality, over which they have limited or no control. In fact, the world's poorest people are defined not only by their lack of wealth but by their insecure and precarious position in terms of coping with stresses and shocks more generally

(Chambers, 1995; Moser, 1996; Carney, 1998; Watkins, 1995; UNCHS, 1996; Beall, 1999; Wratten, 1995). What is the concept „vulnerability“? According to the World Bank (2001, p. 139),

*“Vulnerability measures the resilience against shocks or stresses – the likelihood that a shock will result in a decline in well-being. ... Vulnerability is primarily a function of a household's asset endowments and insurance mechanisms – and of the characteristics (severity, frequency) of the shock...”*

Others conceive vulnerability as the insecurity or the well-being of individuals and communities in the face of changing environments (ecological, social, economic, and political) in the form of sudden shock, long-term trends, or seasonal cycles (Moser, 1996). Vulnerability is said to have two dimensions (Meikle, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Moser, 1998; Chambers, 1995). First, the degree or scale of response of people's livelihood adaptation to external shocks and second, the resilience or the survivability level of individuals and households, measured by the despatch with which their technical livelihood tactics recover from a given shock or set of shocks. The variance between rural and urban livelihoods would mandate differences in vulnerability. Analysis of vulnerability in the urban context requires the identification of possible threats to individual's livelihood and also an assessment of the resilience of individuals in exploiting opportunities (Carney, 1998; Meike et al., 2001 in Yeboah, 2008). Resilience is the ability of a livelihood system to „bounce back“ from stress or a shock (Ellis, 2000) which in itself depends on the diversity, access, and control over assets by individuals in any given ecological, social, economic, and political environment.

The main means of resilience are assets which act as a buffer against vulnerability (Moser, 1998 Carney, 1998). Vulnerability is, therefore, quite correlated to accessibility, and control over assets by individuals, groups or communities. Suffice it to say the access and control over assets may largely be a question of the quality of the human resource base of the community or nation, a condition which in itself is a critical function of HRD.

Because vulnerability itself is an offspring of conditions and trends occasioned by historical, political, economic, agro-ecology, demographic and social processes within the community, national and international arenas, its context is bound to exhibit some

variance. However, the literature tends to gravitate towards certain common elements of vulnerability confronting many urban poor residents like the female head-porters of Ghana. These include: the informal legal status of many of the urban poor (Potter and Lloyd, 1998; Wratten, 1995; Harris et al., 1993); the local environment (Satterthwaite, 1997; Beall and Kanji, 1999) and the dependence upon the cash economy (Moser, 1998). The views of these authors are summarised by Meikle et al. (2001, p. 16) in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2: Vulnerabilities common among the urban poor**

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## **Legal status**

### **Informal employment:**

Those in informal employment generally lack labour rights. They are therefore susceptible to sudden unemployment, and the dangers accruing to unprotected working conditions (long hours, poor pay, insanitary or unsafe conditions) (Potter and Lloyd, 1998)

### **Shelter and Land:**

Urban residents living on illegally occupied land or in informal low cost rental housing lack legal tenure rights. As such they experience poor housing quality and face the threat of summary eviction. Linked to housing rights, those residents undertaking urban agriculture may also lack legal tenure, and risk losing their land and crops. Political Rights:

Informal residents lacking legal registration may be disenfranchised and excluded from political decision making and, in addition, may suffer from police harassment and bureaucracy (Wratten, 1995)

### **Services and Infrastructure:**

Lack of legal status may also limit the access of informal residents to basic social services (health and education), or financial services (e.g. bank loans) (Harris et al., 1993). In addition, the prevalence of illegal connections to infrastructure (such as electricity or water) mean that many informal residents are vulnerable to the sudden withdrawal of key services, and may also be fined or punished in some way for illegal use of these services

## **The local environment**

### **Physical Environment:**

Poor living environments often endanger the lives and health of the urban poor, especially where they are forced to live and work in marginal areas through lack of cheap alternatives. This creates further vulnerability, as ill health undermines one of the chief assets of the urban poor; their labour (Satterthwaite, 1997)

The social context in cities may be characterised by crime, fragmentation and other social problems which will reduce the ability of households to support one another in order to further their livelihood strategies (Wratten, 1995). In addition, poor men and women may be excluded from livelihood opportunities due to differences such as culture/ethnicity which result in their exclusion from social networks (Beall and Kanji, 1999)

**Dependence on the cash economy** „Free“ goods and services, such as common land, clean water and fuel, are rare in cities. Most of the basic living needs of urban residents

must be paid for in cash-making the urban poor particularly vulnerable to market vagaries such as inflation, and the removal of governments' subsidies (Moser, 1998). In addition, dependence on the cash economy frequently means that poor households are vulnerable to debt (especially where they cannot rely on informal social networks for loans). Borrowing, normally at usurious rates, may lead to long term indebtedness with disastrous results such as bonded child labour.

(Source: Meikle et al., 2001, p. 16)

The views expressed above were successive and quite consistent with those espoused by Satterthwaite (1992). He identified the core issues challenging urban livelihood endeavours of the poor to include: inadequate and unstable incomes which lead to inadequate consumption; inadequate or risky asset base of both material and non-material resources; and limited or no rights to make demands in the political or legal system. The lack of leverage to make such demands is often linked to the illegal residential status of poor people in the urban setting. For instance, it may appear absurd for residents of old *Fadama* also known as "Sodom and Gomorra" (a notorious slum in Accra) to make demands for such services as electricity, education, health, potable water and roads given their predicament of constant eviction threats by metropolitan authorities.

Adding to the debate, Wood and Salway (2000) espouse that vulnerability of urban poor residents is one of exclusion defined in terms of class, ethnicity and gender. This often manifests in socio-geographical exclusion such as marginalization of poor people from safer, high valued sites in the cities to the more precarious sites. Sites characterised by fragile embankments, garbage dumps and areas where affluent people's residual is deposited. Such places expose poor people to diseases and create not only lack of privacy (for instance, female head porters of Ghana are often seen drying their clothes on pavements and walkways in the cities), but also lack of opportunities for self-improvement and social networking with the non-poor. This comes with a total sum effect of a complex of inferiority and the feeling of less human,

dangerous build-up of inertia and total indifference among many of the poor. Poverty is thus defined not by the mere lack of wealth but by the insecurity and precariousness of the poor's position in society in terms of coping with stresses and shocks (Chambers, 1995; Moser, 1996; Carney, 1998; Watkins, 1995; UNCHS, 1996; Beall, 1999; Wratten, 1995).

Fundamental to addressing the vulnerability of women and children as in the case of the *kayayei* is a focus on prevention strategies (Mace et al., 2012) aimed at raising awareness as well as generating opportunity for a better quality of life. HRD principles, including universal education and vocational programs, can be leveraged to reduce vulnerability of girls and young women. HRD strengthens people's human capital which, in most cases, constitutes the precursor to assessing other livelihood resources, the details of which are discussed in the following section.

### **3.2.1.2 Livelihood Assets**

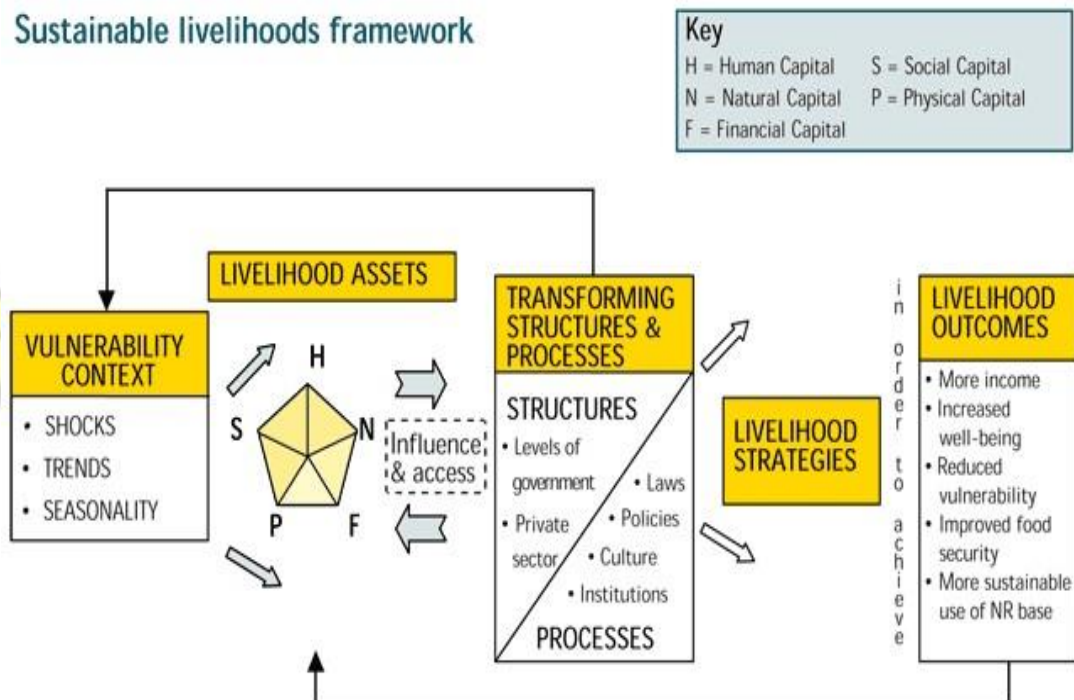
The preceding section discussed the vulnerability context of the poor in general and the urban poor in particular. This however, is critically linked to the asset endowment of people and hence, the SLF considers people's survivability as its central philosophy. It is a tool that can be used to seek and gain accurate and realistic comprehension of people's strengths (defined by their assets and capital endowments) and how they demonstrate agency in transforming them into secure and less vulnerable livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). The philosophy of the approach is hinged on the belief that people require a range of assets in their strategic livelihood decision-making processes to secure positive livelihood outcomes.



It espouses that no single category of assets on its own is sufficient to yield the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek, and this is particularly true for poor people whose access to any given category of assets tends to be very limited. Poor people, therefore, seek ways of nurturing and combining what assets they have in innovative ways to ensure survival (DFID, 1999).

The asset pentagon between the vulnerability context and the Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP) in the framework enables information about people's assets and their interrelationship. The „triangles“ of the pentagon indicate the degree of access and appropriation of each asset. The idea is that the centre point of the pentagon where the lines meet represents zero access to assets while the outer perimeter represents maximum access (see Figure 3.1). Given the fact that people's access to or asset endowments constantly change, so does the shape of the asset pentagon. On this basis, different shaped pentagons would result from asset-based analysis of communities or social groups (DFID, 1999).

### Sustainable livelihoods framework



**Figure 3.1: The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID, 1999)**

**No table of figures entries found.** The livelihood framework identifies five core asset categories or types of capital upon which livelihoods are built. Within each of these areas there is a wide literature and varied conceptualizations, labels and measurement. A detailed review of the livelihood assets literature is, indeed, beyond the remit of this study. Nevertheless, a tangential discussion of the various views espoused in the literature at least regarding definitions and stance quite suffices. The idea that assets are the indispensable building blocks of livelihood (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Ellis, 2000; DFID, 1999) is quite unanimous across the literature.

There is, however, varied views regarding conceptualizations. Assets are said to be in the form of human, physical, financial, natural and social (Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Ellis, 2000; DFID, 1999). The list of livelihood assets is clearly not an exhaustive one; other forms of capital can be identified. For instance, the broader political conditions (including the relationship between the state and civil society) which allow or constrain the pursuit of different livelihood strategies or employment may be termed „political capital“ (Scoones, 1998). Scoones equally asserts that the embedded historical and cultural setting within which livelihoods are pursued could be captured by the notion of „symbolic capital“.

Various views by way of operationalization of the asset categories listed in the SLF can be located in the literature. Human capital is said to represent the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies (employment) and achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999). Human capital, therefore, has quantitative and qualitative dimensions (Rakodi (2002)). The quantitative dimension refers to the number of members and the

time available for them to engage in income-earning activities in a household while the qualitative dimension (which HRD efforts seek to enhance) refers to the levels of education, skills and health status of people that are used to generate income in any given household. The major human capital of the *kayayei* (female porters) of Ghana is their physical strength like many other poor people in the world (Chambers, 1989), the determinant of which is their state of health.

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. It comprises land, forests, marine/wild life resources, water, air quality, erosion protection, waste assimilation, storm protection, and biodiversity (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999). Financial capital embodies accessibility to cash, or its equivalent, for the pursuit of livelihood or employment strategies. These include available stocks, especially savings that may be held in banks or in liquid assets like jewellery, livestock, or through credit provision and regular flows of money such as earned income, remittances, and social security (Ellis, 2000). Social capital is a resource that the *kayayei* rely heavily on (Yeboah, 2008). It entails a network of support and reciprocity that exist between individuals, households and within communities (Meikle et al, 2001; Moser, 1998; Derham and Gzirishvili, 1998). Social capital can be grouped into two; personal social capital resources and public goods social capital (Carney, 1998). Public goods social capital allows commonly shared resources to be utilized in a community. These include community-based organizations that offer various services to, and capable of negotiating on behalf of poor people during time of need. According to Yeboah (2008), female porters have relied heavily on their personalized social networks to gain access to personal loans, child care support, food and accommodation, and sharing of information.



Another building block of livelihood is physical capital which is said to comprise the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. Infrastructure consists of changes to the physical environment (the built environment) that help people to meet their basic needs and to be more productive. Producer goods are the tools and equipment that people use to function more productively. The following components of infrastructure are usually essential for sustainable livelihoods: affordable transport; secure shelter and buildings; adequate water supply and sanitation; clean, affordable energy; and access to information (communication) (DFID, 1999). Infrastructure could be in the form of a common public good, used without direct payment or privately owned, and some other infrastructure that are accessed for a fee (e.g. shelter, sanitary facilities, water, and energy supplies). Physical capital in the form of producer goods owned on an individual or group basis or accessed through rental or „fee for service“ markets (e.g. female porters rent headpans on their arrival in the cities until they are able to acquire one) is crucial for livelihood. Infrastructure is a huge leverage in livelihood portfolios and pathways. Within the sustainable livelihoods framework, three broad clusters of livelihood strategies are identified (Scoones, 1998). These are: agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. Infrastructure is not only vital in smoothing and reducing migration costs (e.g. the case of the female porters) but also facilitate quicker integration into the destination areas. For instance, Infrastructure such as roads, rails and telecommunications are key factors in the integration of remote areas where many of the poor live. Not only are people able to move between rural and urban areas more easily if the transport infrastructure is good, but they are also more likely to be better informed about opportunities of employment (or the lack of them) in their potential destinations (DFID, 1999).

### **3.2.1.2.1 Relationships between Assets**

The assets which constitute the building blocks of livelihood discussed early on are related and reinforcing in the pursuance of positive livelihood outcomes. People combine assets in the most complex ways with multiple and dynamic portfolios of different activities (Richards, 1989). In strategizing livelihoods, questions are bound to arise pertaining to which asset or assets should constitute the precursor in terms of Sequencing (Scoones, 1998) for gaining access to others; should one type of capital be substituted for others or are different capitals needed in combination for the pursuit of a particular livelihood strategy? Does access to one type of capital trigger access to others? Or is clustering of particular combinations of capital assets necessarily peculiar with particular groups of people or livelihood strategies? In the analysis of the poor's livelihoods strategies, it is critical to probe into the sequencing, substitution and clustering of capital assets that facilitate livelihood sustainability, maintenance and enhancement (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Scoones (1998, p. 8) also espouses a socially differentiated view to analysing livelihoods: "...analysis that disaggregates the chosen unit of analysis – whether community, village or household – and looks at individuals or groups of social actors and their relationships, in relation to the range of relevant dimensions of difference (wealth, gender, age and so on) and the distribution of control over resources". In the case of the female head-porters of Ghana; a unique social group is brought to perspective, to understand their unique livelihood or employment strategies, access to assets and the dynamism in terms of sequencing, substitution, clustering and trade-offs that characterise their assets combinations. This is relevant to be able to determine

the sustainability of the kind of employment that the poor such as the female head-porters engage in.

The framework also defines important relationship between capital assets on the one hand and the vulnerability context on the other that dictates not only the people's access to resources but also the way in which they are combined. For instance, assets are both destroyed and created as a result of the shocks (e.g. floods, droughts, cyclones, deaths in the family, violence or civil unrest), trends (population, national and international economic dynamics, technological changes etc) and seasonality (changes in prices, production, health and employment opportunities) defined by the vulnerability context (DFID,1999). Understanding this relation is a major challenge yet a core step in the process of livelihood or employment analysis that paves way for action to eliminate poverty through sustainable employment.

#### **3.2.1.3. Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP)**

It has been clearly indicated in the preceding section that capital assets constitute the building blocks of livelihood strategies, but also constrained by the vulnerability context (shocks, trends and seasonality). However, the vulnerability context itself does not exist out of a figment but as a direct consequence of some broader transformational structures and processes. The TSP act as mediating processes and influence access to various types of capital, livelihood strategies, decision-making, and terms of exchange between different types of capital (Ellis, 2000; Francis, 2000). Structures are the public and private sector organizations that set and implement policy and legislation, deliver services, and purchase, trade, and perform all manner of other functions that affect livelihoods. Structures (institutions) are important because they make processes function. For instance, without legislative bodies there is no legislation; without courts



to enforce it, legislation is meaningless; and without traders, markets would be limited to direct trade between buyers and sellers (DFID, 1999). Absence of appropriate structures can be a major constraint to employment. Structures, however, operate within certain frameworks labelled as Processes. Processes consist of the laws, regulations, policies, operational arrangements, agreements, societal norms, and practices that, in turn, determine the manner (effective or ineffective) in which structures operate (Carney et al., 1999; DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). DFID in its poverty reduction activities recognizes that structures on their own without accompanying processes cannot be effective in providing benefits to the poor. Structures are thought of as the „hardware“ while processes act as the „software“ and operate at all levels, from the household to the international arena. In all spheres, from the most private to the most public, these structures and processes determine (DFID's Sustainable Guidance Sheet, 1999, section 2.4):

1. access (to various types of capital, to livelihood strategies and to decision-making bodies and sources of influence);
2. the terms of exchange between different types of capital;
3. returns (economic and otherwise) to any given livelihood or employment strategy;
4. feeling of inclusiveness or otherwise; and
5. differences in the „way things are done“ in different societies (culture).

The TSP could be said to operate at micro (Household and Community), meso (/Metropolitan/Municipal/District), macro (National) and Global (International) levels (Ellis, 2000; Francis, 2000). The conditions of risks, shocks, stresses and the

defencelessness that confront the poor in their quest to seek livelihood or employment as indeed caricatures of multi-level factors, are largely unanimously confirmed across the livelihood literature (DFID, 1999; Chambers, 1995; Moser, 1996; Carney, 1998; Beall, 1997; Meikle, 2002). The emphasis is accessibility and not mere availability of institutions and processes. The question which arises then is; do existing institutions and processes (as in NHRD policies/strategies) enhance employment opportunities for the poor like the *kayayei*?

Analysis of the overall impact of TSP on the employment of the individuals under study in this research is crucial in achieving the objective of determining the existing institutions and processes that directly border on the employment of the urban poor. This type of analysis should lead to establishing, empirically for instance which organization does what in relation to the category of individuals in perspective; what responsibilities the different organizations have; the consequences of their effectiveness or otherwise on the employment of the poor; and the level of the poor's social organization that facilitates access to the benefits instituted by processes (policies) and institutions (DFID, 1999).

In the urban terrain, shelter for instance is an important determinant and yet a scarce commodity in the livelihood strategies of the poor. However, the existing structures in the public sector determine the workability of organizations that make and enforce legislation on shelter (e.g. rent authorities). Also, the existence of private commercial organizations such as building organizations, material suppliers, transport, and credit organizations determine access to shelter. Processes (policies) pertaining to urban land use, settlement policies, the rule of law in general (security of persons and property), state of housing, local bye-laws among others implemented by the appropriate structures (e.g. Municipal/Metropolitan/District Assemblies) equally largely

determine the degree of access to shelter (Watkins, 1995; Dersham and Gzirishvili, 1998). Shelter is, indeed, just one of the many and varied assets required by the poor to secure and remain in employment. It is used here as a means of cursorily clarifying the relationship between TSP and the vulnerability context and how they interplay to determine assets and livelihood portfolios of the poor. The institutional structures and processes, whether in the public or private sector, determine people's legal, social and economic rights and thus, have critical influence on the vulnerability of poor people in their search for sustainable employment (Meikle et al., 2001).

#### **3.2.1.4 Livelihood Strategies**

The mediating processes (narrowed down to NHRD policy/ strategy in this research) that provide the platform for accessing livelihood assets eventually determine the portfolio of livelihoods that people can engage in. The TSP moderate the vulnerability context and create the enabling ambience or otherwise for the poor to gain access to the requisite capital assets. The TSP actually determines how the poor build a mixture of livelihood adaptations or strategies which are sustainable economically, ecologically and socially. They also determine the resilience of such strategies to recover from shocks and stresses (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Livelihood approaches generally seek to promote choice, opportunity and diversity; obviously because it is these ideals which create the tendency for sustainability and or resilience. The DFID approach is quite emphatic in projecting livelihood strategies as not only a component of the SL framework but apparently an output of the interaction of previously discussed elements of the framework.

Livelihood Strategy is the overarching term used to denote the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their



livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, and so on) [DFID, 1999]. The DFID SL framework examines Livelihood Strategies not necessarily as ways of switching from one form of employment or „own-account“ activity (farming, fishing, or trading) to another but rather a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different times. Livelihood Strategies manifest at the household level in the form of shared responsibility whereby different members of the household live and work in different places, temporarily (for example, seasonal migration) or permanently.

The view of Scoones (1998) is that livelihood strategies fall into three broad clusters: (a) agricultural intensification/extensification (b) livelihood diversification and (c) migration. Options available to the rural folk involve depending on agriculture (livestock rearing, aquaculture, forestry etc.) intensification (seeking more output per unit area through capital investment or increases in labour inputs) or extensification (putting more land under cultivation), diversifying into a range of off-farm income earning activities and migration (on temporal or permanent basis) to seek greener pastures elsewhere (for example, the case of the *Kayayei*). These strategies are not necessarily exclusive and folks tend to pursue a combination of them or at least in sequence.

The use of “livelihood strategies” as a description of what the poor do to survive under economic pressure has, however, been criticised as misleading because poor people often do not have the luxury of choosing among several alternatives, as the concept seem to imply (Rakodi, 1991). It is argued that the rich and those with access to multiple sources of income are able to strategize and consciously work out plans into the long-term and not the very poor. Nevertheless, the use of the concept „survival strategy“ to refer to the rationality of poor peoples“ risk minimizing behaviour in

unpredictable economies (Crow, 1989; White, 2004) is dominant in the livelihood literature.

Survival strategies (sometimes referred to as „coping strategies“) was popularised by Duque and Pastrana’s 1973 study (cited in Redclift, 1986) of poor neighbourhoods in Santiago, Chile and has since been widely debated in the literature. It has been used to describe the behaviour of people living in harsh and marginal environments (Marquette and Pichon, 1997; Rauch, 1999). In the urban context, it is used to describe behaviour of the poor, including the unemployed (Pahl, 1992) and the homeless street women (Olufemi, 2000). The concept has thus, been used to encapsulate the “deliberate economic act by a household with the ultimate motivation to satisfy the most elementary human needs, at least on a minimum level, according to the universal social and cultural norms, and without a full social integrating character” (Meert, Mistian and Kesteloot, 1997, p. 173). Table 3.3 provides details on some livelihood strategies commonly adapted by the poor in rural and urban areas.

**Table 3.3: Some strategies used by poor households**

Mainly urban	Urban and Rural
Income raising <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• domestic service- e.g. cleaning and childcare (esp. girls and women)</li> <li>• urban agriculture</li> <li>• renting out rooms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• home gardening</li> <li>• processing, hawking, vending</li> <li>• transporting goods</li> <li>• casual labour/piece work</li> <li>• specialised occupations (e.g. tinkering, food preparation, shoe-shining, prostitution)</li> <li>• child labour</li> <li>• mortgaging and selling assets</li> <li>• selling children into bonded labour</li> <li>• migration for seasonal work</li> <li>• seasonal food for work, public works and relief</li> <li>• begging</li> <li>• theft</li> </ul>

Lowering expenditures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• scavenging</li> <li>• cutting transport costs (e.g. walking to work)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• changes in purchasing habits (e.g. small frequent purchases, rather than cheap bulk buying, and/or poorer quality food that needs longer preparation)</li> <li>• stinting on goods and services (e.g. buying less and/or cheaper food)</li> <li>• discrimination and triage (e.g. giving less food to weaker/ less favoured household members).</li> </ul>
Social capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• community kitchens (comedores populares)</li> <li>• shared childcare</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mutual help e.g. loans from friends or saving groups</li> <li>• family splitting (e.g. putting children out to others)</li> <li>• remittances from household members working away</li> </ul>

Adapted from Chambers, R., 1997, Cornia, 1987, UNCHS 1996 and Moser, 1998, in Meikle et al., (2001).

According to Meikle et al. (2001), not all the livelihood strategies listed in Table 3.3 are desirable or even sustainable. In analysing livelihood strategies which meet the sustainability criterion advocated by the SL approach, Meikle et al. (2001, p. 12) offered some examples of livelihoods undertaken by poor urban households, but which could not be termed Sustainable;

1. stinting on education, basic food stuffs and medical costs which lead to cost cutting in the short term but which undermine human capital in the longer term, lessening the ability of poor men and women to use or sell their labour;
2. triage/discrimination, child bonded labour, for example, undermining the rights of less powerful household members;
3. activities such as theft and organised crime that may satisfy the needs of poor households or household members engaged in them, but have negative impacts on other individuals, households or groups who may also be poor;



4. activities which abuse common natural resources such as water supplies or land, for example the pollution of rivers by small industry such as dying and paper manufacture;
5. activities which are deleterious for the health of those undertaking them such as „waste-picking“ in unsanitary conditions, as is the case with the Zabeleen of Cairo, or running small dangerous furnaces or other unprotected machinery.

For Scoones (1998), defining what a sustainable livelihood is in a particular context is always open to debate, because the concept is quite normative and consists of multiple and sometimes, contested elements. His view is that what constitutes sustainable livelihood should remain a cardinal decision-making task among the variety of stakeholders in any intervention to enhance livelihood strategies of the poor.

#### **3.2.1.5 Livelihood Outcomes**

The discourse so far has been to understand how people pursue a mixture of livelihood strategies (given the capital assets at their disposal) as mediated or dictated by the institutions and processes which define their vulnerability. In the SL framework, the resultant effects of pursuing a given strategic livelihood option are the livelihood or employment outcomes derived thereof. The results of people's success or failure in transforming their livelihood strategies into positive livelihood outcomes using the assets available to them are depicted in the SL framework (Meikle et al., 2001). The specific outcomes identified in the generic framework are; more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and more sustainable use of natural resource base.

In the framework, livelihood outcomes helps us to understand the configuration of factors (and to some extent the causality) which motivates people to behave in the way they do, what their priorities are and how they are likely to respond to new opportunities (DFID, 1999). Also, because the SL framework is not just an analytical tool but provides the basis for action to enhance sustainable livelihoods, understanding „livelihood outcomes“ as not necessarily „objectives“ can help alter and reshape policy approaches. Insecurity of informal residents (like many of the female porters in the cities of Ghana) with no legal tenure is a source of vulnerability which in itself is a consequence of policy (processes) and implementing agencies (structures). For instance, evictions threaten the livelihoods of many urban residents (Audefroy, 1994, PHILSSA/UPA, 1995), and can have wide ranging livelihood or employment consequences than just the loss of housing. Evicted households may also lose access to key markets or livelihood resources due to relocations. A whole community with entrenched social networks (social capital) and other type of capital could be totally dislodged as a result of eviction or relocation of illegal residents. Livelihood outcomes can be aggregated and seen in relation to their position on a continuum between vulnerability and security (Moser, 1998). Hence, when thinking about livelihood or employment outcomes, it is important to understand not only the aims of particular groups but also the extent to which such groups are achieving their defined livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999). If certain social groups are systematically failing to achieve their aims, it could be attributed to a number of factors (DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Guidance Sheet, 1999, section 2.6) including, because:

1. their aims conflict with the broad aims of society or other more powerful groups;
2. they do not have the means (assets) to achieve them;

3. they do not have access to means of ensuring that their rights are met;
4. they feel insecure (in terms of physical damage, violence, seizure of assets by the state, natural and economic shocks and so on);
5. they do not have access to information;
6. they do not have representation in the political process (decision-making arena of society);
7. they do not have access to core services (e.g. education, sanitation, health etc.);
8. they do not have the ability to break the shackles of negative culture.

The SL approaches emphasize that livelihoods are shaped by a multitude of different forces and factors that are themselves dynamic. Thus, any people-centred study that borders on their livelihood or employment is likely to incorporate simultaneous investigation of their assets, their objectives (the livelihood outcomes they are seeking) and the livelihood strategies they adapt to achieve those objectives. The SL approach is thus an important guide to determining which livelihood assets of the female porters could be enhanced through NHRD to sustain their employability in the informal sector. Besides, there are important feedbacks between Transforming Structures and Processes (TPS) and the Vulnerability Context which determine access to livelihood assets. The study examines the status of the female porters (as representatives of the urban poor) within the broad ambience of any existing NHRD initiative – the existing institutions and policies that support the development of employable skills of the poor for a more sustainable employment strategy.



### 3.3 Conclusion

The general objective of this research emerged against the background that the livelihood adaptations of some segments of the population in the major cities of Ghana provoke mind-boggling questions that warrant empirical investigation. The *kayayei* (female head-porters) constitute one such group and understanding their livelihood involves a gamut of issues. This research is thus an enterprise that seeks to understand not only what the *kayayei* do in order to make a living, but the resources that provide them with the capability to build a satisfactory living. Also of interest are the risk factors that impugn the management of their resources and the institutional and policy contexts that either enhance or stifle their pursuance of sustainable employment and its outcomes. To appreciate the livelihood circumstances of the *kayayei* in order to provide focus to this study, the chapter reviewed the DFID's (1999) Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). The framework has broad components namely: the vulnerability context of livelihoods; the livelihood assets depended upon by people; the transforming structures and processes which determine people's livelihood strategies; and the livelihood outcomes that emerge from the interaction of the components.

In the following chapter, NHRD literature is reviewed to provide an empirical background to the way it has been conceived as a body of Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP) which influences people's access to livelihood assets.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (HRD)

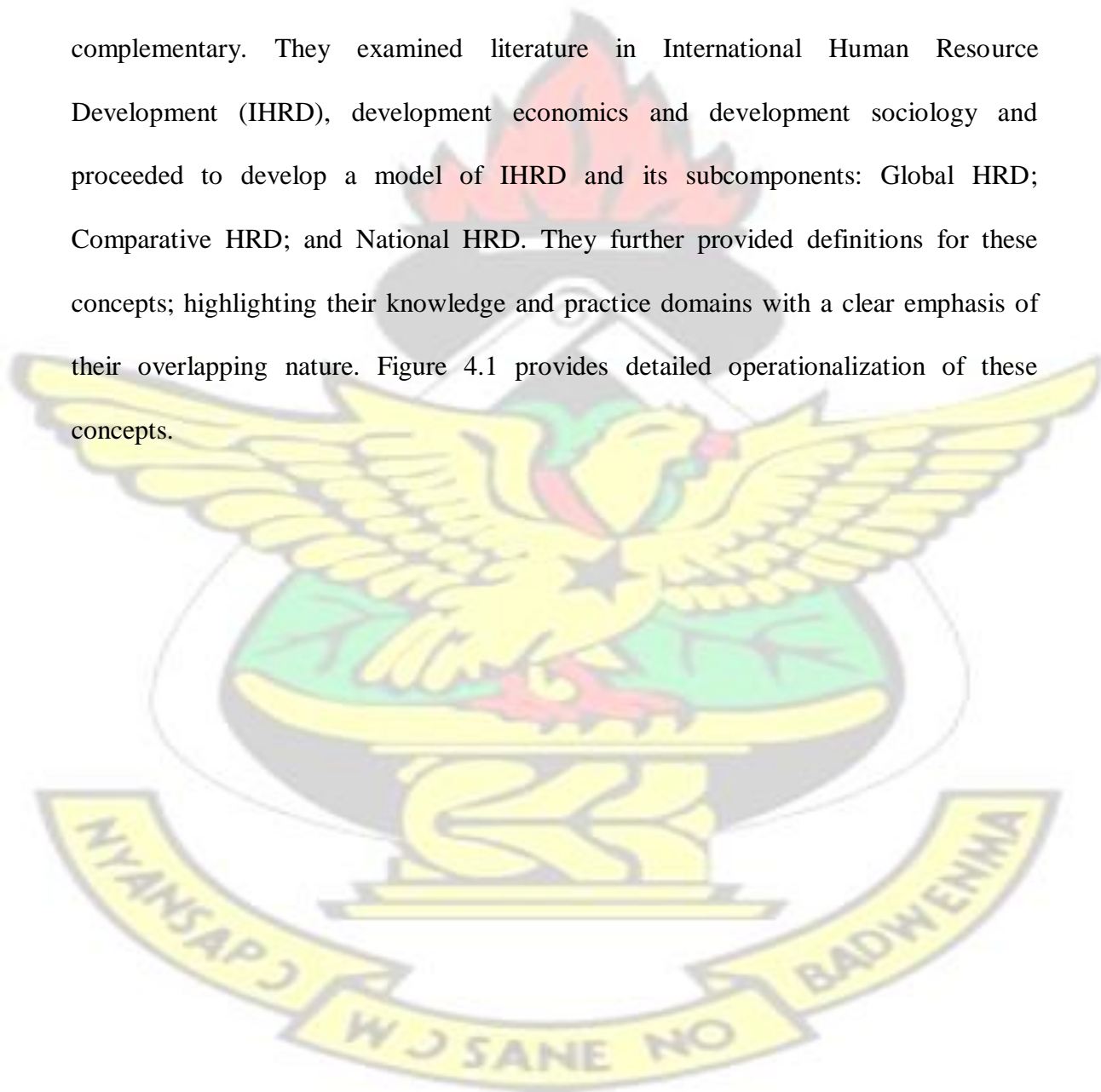
#### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, literature on Human Resource Development (HRD) as an embodiment of policies and institutions which have direct and indirect influence on people's livelihood is explored. HRD at the national level is a critical transformation process that impact people's vulnerability context; livelihood assets; livelihood strategies and outcomes discussed in the preceding chapter. HRD creates responsive educational structures that implement pro-poor policies. This includes provision of skills and other social services (for example, health) in a manner that increases people's sense of well-being. In the particular case of the *kayayei*, the review of HRD literature is relevant in understanding their livelihood processes as a construction of macro level structures and processes. The chapter, thus, presents sections on HRD from the national perspective; efforts at NHRD; strategizing NHRD in Africa; social protection and HRD in Ghana; the conceptual framework and its relevance to the study.

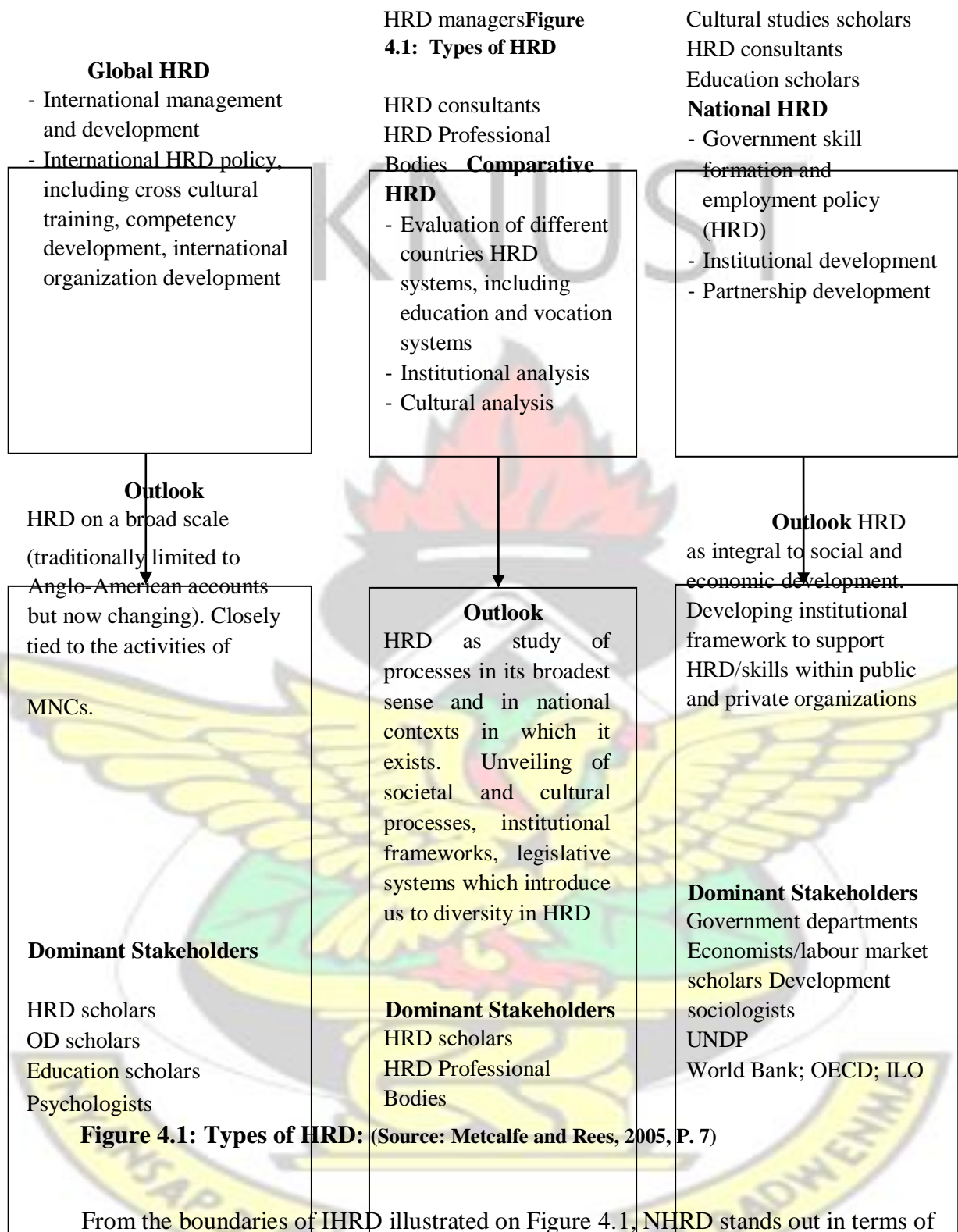
#### 4.1 HRD from a National Context

Attempts at defining Human Resource Development (HRD) by academics, researchers and practitioners have established how elusive it is (Abdullah, 2009). Metcalfe and Rees (2005) have expressed similar views and find it less surprising that the lack of a generally accepted definition for HRD has made it difficult for NHRD to be properly operationalized either internationally or within country contexts (McLean and McLean, 2001). In response to the conceptual debate and the

acknowledgement of the fluidity and variety in the way in which HRD has been constructed, McGoldrick, Stewart and Watson, (2002), and Metcalfe and Rees (2005) undertook the assignment of mapping out different knowledge and practice terrains that can be seen to influence HRD in the global domain. They reviewed developments in HRD thinking and highlighted the intellectual extensions in its scope of inquiry through a review of literature not normally covered in HRD writings but which in their view are complementary. They examined literature in International Human Resource Development (IHRD), development economics and development sociology and proceeded to develop a model of IHRD and its subcomponents: Global HRD; Comparative HRD; and National HRD. They further provided definitions for these concepts; highlighting their knowledge and practice domains with a clear emphasis of their overlapping nature. Figure 4.1 provides detailed operationalization of these concepts.







From the boundaries of IHRD illustrated on Figure 4.1, NHRD stands out in terms of its knowledge and practice limits. In the views of Metcalfe and Rees (2005), NHRD involves the formulation of a national policy of skills development devised by government departments as blueprints to enable communities develop HRD systems

that support lifelong learning and employability. In their submissions, they indicate a common trend for countries to establish national frameworks for HRD including training that provides an overall guidance on the reform of education and training systems. Peculiar to developing and transitioning economies, NHRD efforts are being propelled by Acts. The Malaysia HRD Act of 1992 and the South Africa Skills Development Act of 1998 are examples of HRD efforts at the national level. In Ghana, the Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (COTVET) legislation (Act 718) is also an indication of a commitment towards a national skills development agenda.

The interest of this research is to establish whether Ghana has such a coordinated effort, policy and strategy towards skills development to enhance the employability and its people. This interest is quite consistent with the growing evidence of NHRD scholarship as policy advocate to aid social and economic transformation through the development of institutional frameworks for skills development within public and private organizations. For instance, the ILO has been vociferous in appealing and encouraging partnership approaches to training and learning especially among governments and international development agencies in the area of expanding access to opportunities for the marginalized (ILO, 2002).

In a similar vein, it has been espoused quite categorically that developing skills among the marginalized to address broader social reforms that include poverty reduction, democratization and empowerment (Ashton et al., 2002; Metcalfe and Rees, 2005; UNESCO, 2012) must be a priority for national governments. Also, McLean's (2004) study which could be described as confirmatory was meant to dig deeper to establish what is seen as emerging constructions or definitions of HRD as national policies around the world. This effort did, indeed, come to terms with reality after an all

continent search revealed quite a significant number of countries have modelled HRD into national policy.

Perhaps this is the trend, because we are witnessing increased focus on workforce development as government initiative within human resource development (Holton and Naquin, 2002), examples of which are Singapore and South Korea where HRD has been given top priority in strategic planning for national development (OsmanGani and Tan, 1998; 2000; Cho and McLean, 2002; Moon and McLean, 2003). Also, in the Middle East: Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman and the United Arab Emirates, all have NHRD programmes as part of responses to globalisation processes (UNDP, 2003b). Besides, the operationalization of HRD in the national context has been one of the six priorities of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) which has clearly articulated education and training (including basic education, industrial training, lifelong learning etc) as its areas of great interest (Zanko and Ngui, 2003b). The critical question arising is: why is HRD growing in importance in national policy arena? Metcalfe and Rees (2005) for instance, make a case for national HRD policy when they argue that skills requirements are continuously changing with market conditions. In their view, national HRD policy formulation should not be peculiar to only technologically driven economies as evidenced in Asia but also in other developing nations, for example, where the shift from agricultural economy to a technologically driven economy is becoming eminent. McLean (2004, pp. 271272) provides even more categorical reasons for the emerging importance of HRD in national policy domain. He provides the following reasons:

- For many countries, human resources are their primary resource. Without natural resources, many countries must look to their human resources to meet the needs of their people. Japan and Korea are prime examples of countries



that have succeeded because of their emphasis on human resources when they do not have access to natural resources.

- Human resources are critical for national and local stability. Countries that do not have sustainable development and that have high unemployment rates leading to high levels of poverty are countries that reflect a lack of stability. Developing human resources is one approach to alleviating these conditions.
- If the cycles of welfare, poverty, violence, unemployment, illiteracy, and socially undesirable employment are to be broken, integrated and coordinated mechanisms for people to develop need to be provided.
- Beyond economics, HRD has the potential to improve individuals' quality of work life.
- There is increased need to deal with the ambiguity of global competition (the simultaneous need for cooperation and competition). Many small countries, in particular, are finding that it is essential to cooperate with their neighbors even when they are competitors (e.g., the many small islands of the Caribbean that are competing for tourists).

In furtherance of the debate, Alagaraja and Wang (2012) appreciate how the literature describes the growing evidence and importance of developing human resources at the national level. They were, however, quick to point out that those models on NHRD need to consider the larger societal context which they say has a deep influence on the trajectory of NHRD practices in developing countries. Their views were found to be consistent with those held by other scholars in the HRD community in recent years. For instance, Cho and McLean (2004), Lynham and Cunningham (2006) and McLean (2004) have all highlighted the need to consider the impact of a country's historical, political, socio-cultural, and economic environments on its human capital

development, NHRD strategy formulation and implementation. In the particular case of Cho and McLean (2004), five emerging NHRD classifications based on country experiences, especially in the context of the developed/developing economy divide have been modelled: (a) centralized NHRD (b) transitional NHRD (c) government initiated NHRD (d) decentralized/free market NHRD and (e) small-nation NHRD.

These classifications separate developed, developing and transitional economies based on the degree to which the role of NHRD strategy was centralized or decentralized (Mankin, 2009). Though described as a useful starting point for identifying the role of government in economic development as foundational to understanding NHRD, the model is said to have failed to account for changes over time; treating economies as though they were static (Alagaraja and Wang, 2012). In their study of NHRD in India and China, they came out with their own model which classifies NHRD into three phases. The classifications reflect the economic evolution in India and China from Centralized NHRD (where the state exercised tight control over economic development, labour and capital markets) to Transitional NHRD (dominated by tripartite mechanisms; engagement among government, labour unions and workers) and Neo-market NHRD (government initiated partnerships and free market NHRD initiatives). The Ghanaian economy appears to have followed a similar pattern revealed by Alagaraja and Wang's (2012) NHRD strategy model and could be used as a basis for viewing the case of Ghana.

#### **4.2 Effort at National Human Resource Development (NHRD)**

Ghana, at independence in 1957, envisioned NHRD as a key to her socio-economic and political well-being (Anamuah Mensah Committee, 2006). Serious efforts at providing quality education and training for her citizens started with the Accelerated Development Plan for Education in 1951 which saw a rapid recruitment into elementary and secondary education. Though this expansion was said to have eroded the standards and created a phenomenon of unemployed school leavers, efforts were made at addressing the setbacks. Several committees, including the Kwapong Review Committee of 1966 and the Dzobo Review Committee of 1974, were commissioned to address concerns of the education sector (MESW, 2012). The Dzobo Committee, in particular, recommended the introduction of „comprehensive“ Junior Secondary School (JSS) now Junior High School (JHS) education to impart academic and practical skills to all pupils. The implementation of the JSS concept in 1987 was therefore intended to address the challenge of high numbers of unemployed school leavers produced by the system before.

However, the basic mantra of the JSS system which was to offer practical employable skills to pupils rather aggravated the problem. The system bought in its wake a spectre of a much worst scenario of huge numbers of late teenage school leavers, majority of whom were not only deficient in basic numeracy and literacy skills but hardly possessed the supposed craftsmanship skills as advocated in the education reforms. The output of basic education became characterised by a vicious cycle of turning out ill-prepared graduates for either formal second cycle education or for life of work and continuous learning for self-employment (MESW, 2012).

At the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it became visible that the most critical policy challenge was to nurture a mass of young people who either could not complete basic education



or completed but have no employable skills to contribute to the dynamic transformation of the economy (MESW, 2012). For instance, the Anamuah Mensah Committee was inaugurated in 2002 to investigate the situation and make recommendations to address the challenges. Pivotal to the work of this committee was the examination of issues relating to linking the educational system more closely to the productive sectors of the economy to enhance its relevance and exposure of the educable youth to the problems of industry and the world of work (MESW, 2012). In a report titled „meeting the challenges of education in the twenty-first century“, the Anamuah Mensah Committee made several recommendations for restructuring the educational system in Ghana. Relevant to this research is the recommendation on the coordination, administration and management of pre-tertiary TVET. The committee was quite categorical in its recommendation that Ghana requires a legal framework for the coordination of activities of government ministries and agencies involved in the delivery of TVET.

It became clear that the arrangement where individual ministries and their agencies have the legal mandate to make policies and implement them in the management of the TVET system without an overarching broad national framework was a critical policy gap. The proposed policy framework was then to create a unified national TVET management system without moving delivery institutions from their parent ministries (Anamuah Mensah Committee, 2006). This became the genesis of the Council for Technical, Vocational Education and Training (COTVET). But how has such an overarching broad national framework affected Traditional Apprenticeship Training (TAT) to address the myriad of problems including the current apparent lack of structure and qualifications framework to support life-long learning? What is the

way forward for education and training? The subsequent section discusses the current education sector plan for the country.

#### **4.2.1 Education Sector Plan (ESP, 2010-2020)**

The ESP (2010-2020) builds on the previous ESP (2003-2015) and is aligned to national planning documents such as the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II (GPRS II), and to international undertakings such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) Dakar goals (ESP, March, 2012).

The “policy objectives” of the ESP, 2010-2020 (stated in the ESP, 2012, volume 1, p.14) are as follows:

1. to eliminate gender and other disparities that arise from exclusion and poverty;
2. to cater for excluded children in mainstream schools whenever possible;
3. to improve the quality of learning and teaching, and to promote the culture of lifelong learning at all levels and for all ages;
4. to modernise and extend ICT, science education, technical and vocational education and training, and skills development at all levels;
5. to strengthen all forms of tertiary education;
6. to develop an effective, efficient and properly rewarded teaching service;
7. to devolve delivery and fiscal systems of 1st and 2nd cycle of education to district assemblies;
8. to ensure periodic review of education grants and allowances;
9. to make efficiency savings in the education system; and
10. to strengthen monitoring and accountability in the education sector.

In tackling the rather illusionary objective of Government to achieve Education for All (EFA) Goals, especially the MDG goal 2 (universal primary education by 2015),

the ESP, 2010-2020 (p.26) policy document makes mention at least of the need to reach and educate excluded children (i.e. the “unobtainable” last 10% - 20% of NER – i.e. out-of-school, hard-to-reach, truants, street children, intra-cycle dropouts (e.g. after JHS and adolescent mothers) either within the formal system or within complementary/alternative schooling framework.

It further indicates a far advanced work on a Complementary Basic Education (CBE) policy. Responsibility is, thus, assigned to the Basic Education Department (BED) and regional and district offices of GES as well as the Non-Formal Education Department (NFED) [with COTVET] to consider it as activity in the ESP.

Besides, the Schools for Life (SFL) project which has been implemented by some NGOs in northern Ghana is specifically mentioned as needed to be evaluated and possibly built on as a means to reaching more children (ESP-2010-2020, Volume 2, p. 6). It is, however, feared that the issues of political expediency and short termism nature of some previous interventions to address the skills and employment needs of the unemployed (Debrah, 2007) would linger if specific interventions in the new ESP are not coordinated and continued across political regimes within a broad NHRD framework.

The ESP, 2010-2020 also nurses the TVET policy which among other things, proposes that the focus of basic education be on generic skills (especially literacy and numeracy and a scientific approach to understanding) and that training in specific skills be postponed to post-basic education levels. This, however, appears to be a recipe for deepening the youth unemployment challenge in the country. The rationalization is based on studies done through the EQUIP 2 Project funded by USAID which revealed among several reasons that children are not enrolled in school even after cost reduction or elimination because of high opportunity cost to poor households (EQUIP 2



Discussion Papers, 2007). The studies showed that in northern Nigeria, even though schooling was ostensibly free, parent/guardians whose 6-16 year-old children had never attended school were asked why their children did not go to school; and the most commonly cited reasons were related to the costs of schooling, both in terms of direct cost and the opportunity costs of the household's need for the child's labour (EQUIP 2 Discussion Papers, 2007). Incorporating TVET at the early stages of education alongside the imparting of literacy and numeracy skills to prepare the youth for early employment (especially in an economy driven by an expanding informal sector) should lessen the opportunity cost for parents and make education much more acceptable and accessible to poor households.

This research is particularly aligned to the issue of TVET because of its orientation towards the youth who either could not complete basic education or completed but lack employable skills. TVET obviously is an important tool for developing people in this category of our society but what appears as a missing link is the lack of interventions for non-schoolers. Allocation of resources to TVET is not only abysmal (Korboe, 2007) but there is a tendency for national efforts at TVET to marginalize those without basic education like majority of the *kayayei*. Recent effort by the Government of Ghana at NHRD has been the „Development of Skills for Industry“ project, appraisal report of which was completed by April 2012 under the auspices of the Africa Development Fund (ADF). The intervention consists of a loan of Africa Development Bank (ADB) Unit of Account (UA) 45.00 million, an ADF grant of UA 25.00 million and a Government of Ghana (GoG) contribution of UA 7.70 million, to be implemented within a 5 year period. The strategic thrust and rationale of the project is to support the Government of Ghana's (GoG's) efforts to resolve the key development challenge of low quality skills produced by the TVET

subsector within the broad framework of Ghana's Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) (Development of Skills for Industry project appraisal report, 2012). This project in its context and targeting is oriented towards offering opportunities to the youth who have completed basic education. The question is: what happens to those who never completed or probably did not get the opportunity to have basic education? Does this create a missing link in national human resource development? If it does, how does policy relate to this segment of society? This research seeks to find answers to these mind-boggling questions.

#### **4.2.2 State of Skills Acquisition and Marginal Groups**

This section largely draws on a paper presented by David Korboe at the 9th UKFIET International Conference on Education and Development in 2007 in which the author examines the impact of skills acquisition on poverty reduction and growth in the context of northern Ghana. The paper was based on a study of institutional skills training in two towns of northern Ghana and even though the sample is quite small, the study provides some insights into the state of skills acquisition in the country. The core sample involved nine training providers, which incidentally included virtually all of the formal training institutions in the study area. Interviews with training providers sought to investigate the social composition of trainees, resource conditions, training modalities and relationships with past graduates. The review of this paper is consistent with the objective of this research to assess the impact of

TVET policy on marginal groups.

In Ghana the provision of TVET cuts across several government ministries with the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (MoESS) and the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MoMYE) being the dominant providers. The main delivery

institutions are the informal apprenticeship system, public and private vocational training institutes, and public technical institutes, and the polytechnics.

The dominant, however, is the informal apprenticeship system which absorbs a large number of young people who for varied reasons are unable to continue schooling after basic education. The major areas covered by informal apprenticeships include auto-body works, motor vehicle mechanics, masonry, carpentry and joinery, dressmaking, hairdressing, refrigeration and air-conditioning, tailoring, and weaving (e.g. Kente weaving). The major challenges facing the informal apprenticeship system are lack of national control, supervision and mechanism for capturing data on the system.

The public skills training providers according to Korboe (2007) were formal in their operations and they prepared clients for the accredited National Vocational Training Institute (NVTI) Grade 1 Trade Test certificate. NGO providers, on the other hand, were mostly non-formal, with emphasis on preparing their students for proficiency, though they were also prepared to register their trainees for the formal examinations (Korboe, 2007). Besides, the study revealed a number of barriers confronting skills acquisition in Ghana including the tendency of the current training framework to exclude the poorest and uneducated youths from formal training programmes. For instance, all formal training institutions accounting for about 53,000 training places nationwide (Korboe, 2007) consider for admission only candidates who have completed the basic education cycle, a tendency that immediately rules out everyone who either did not go to school at all or for some circumstances could not complete the basic level of education. The *kayayei*, whom some empirical evidence indicates are largely illiterate, would not have access to such formal institutions. What aspect of the TVET policy relates to the *kayayei*? Table 4.1 provides analysis of TVET policy pertaining to marginal groups in Ghana.



**Table 4.1: TVET policy pertaining to marginal groups**

TVET Policy Sources	Key Instructions in the Policy	Relation to the Vulnerable and the Excluded
<b>GPRS I (2003/2005)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Skills and entrepreneurship gaps are evident in the labour market.</li> <li>▪ There is constraint in school enrolment, quality and relevance</li> <li>▪ Groups requiring support in skill development:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Early dropouts from school.</li> <li>2. People who have completed (a stage) formal education and are unemployed due to reasons of quality/relevance of education.</li> <li>3. People who have acquired skills and still need retraining to access the labour market.</li> </ol> </li> <li>▪ The Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment (MMDE) with the support of Ministry of Youth and Sports will lead the development of skills and entrepreneurial development programme. The programme will combine both formal and traditional forms of skills acquisition. The programme will be guided by the following priorities:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. increasing the relevance of vocational and technical training (VTT);</li> <li>2. developing and expanding the Traditional Apprenticeship System (TAS); and</li> <li>3. promoting entrepreneurship among the youth.</li> </ol> </li> <li>▪ Establishing community-based Vocational Apprenticeship System (VAS)</li> <li>▪ Pursuing entrepreneurial development, targeting people who have completed secondary and tertiary education.</li> </ul>	<p>Early dropout from school or did not have schooling at all</p> <p>Community-based Vocational Apprenticeship system (VAS)</p>
	<p>Out of formal education, many young people lack requisite skills and entrepreneurial know-how to access the labour market</p> <p>Young people are therefore vulnerable and subject to exploitation including the worst forms of child</p>	<p>Lack of requisite skills.</p> <p>Vulnerable and subject to exploitation</p>

<p><b>GPRS II (20062009)</b></p>	<p>labour.</p> <p>Young people requiring support most in this regard include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. young people 15 years and above who never went to school or who have dropped out of primary school or JHS;</li> <li>2. those who have completed JHS and SSS but are unemployed due to poor quality/relevance of education received;</li> <li>3. young people who have acquired some skills but need retraining especially in good management practices to enhance their access to the labour market.</li> </ol> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Skills and entrepreneurial development priorities: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. provide skills and entrepreneurial training in a gender responsive manner;</li> <li>2. promote dialogue between skills/professional training institutions to produce skilled labour required by industry;</li> <li>3. strengthen and support hr training institutions;</li> <li>4. promote apprenticeship training;</li> <li>5. promote the adoption of the national youth policy and enactment of the disability bill.</li> </ol> </li> </ul>	<p>including worst forms of child labour.</p> <p>Require gender responsive and equitable treatment in skills training</p>
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GSGDA (2010/2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The acquisition and application of knowledge and skills in solving problems in society have remained essentially an aspect of national development effort. The medium term policies on human development and productivity will focus on the following key areas:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. skills training;</li> <li>2. social protection and inclusion.</li> </ol> </li> <li>▪ Purposeful national shift in skills development is necessary to produce employable manpower for an industrial economy. Key policy measures include:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. developing and implementing a modern national apprenticeship policy;</li> <li>2. empower COTVET to provide a more skills competency-based technical and vocational education;</li> <li>3. restoring the vacation workshops for second cycle level girls aspiring to careers in science and technology; and</li> <li>4. modernization and expansion of technical</li> </ol> </li> </ul>	<p>Social protection and inclusion.</p> <p>Does not relate to school dropouts and the uneducated</p>
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	schools to provide a well-developed stream as an alternative to second-cycle academic education in collaboration with the private sector.	
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<p>COTVET Act (2006) Act (718)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ There is established by this Act a body to be known as the Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (COTVET). To achieve its objectives, the Council shall               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. formulate national policies for skills development across the broad spectrum of pre-tertiary and tertiary education, formal, informal and non-formal education;</li> <li>2. coordinate, harmonize and supervise the activities of private and public providers of TVET including the informal sectors;</li> <li>3. rationalize the assessment and certification in TVET;</li> <li>4. take measures to ensure quality in the delivery of and equity in access to TVET;</li> <li>5. maintain a national data-base on TVET;</li> <li>6. facilitate Research and Development (R&amp;D) in the TVET system;</li> <li>7. source funding to support TVET activities;</li> <li>8. facilitate collaboration between training providers and industry to promote a. demand-driven curriculum development and placement; and b. national internship programmes</li> <li>9. promote corporation with international agencies and development partners;</li> <li>10. perform any other function that is ancillary to the object of the council.</li> </ol> </li> <li>▪ Ministries represented in the governing body of the council:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The ministry responsible for education</li> <li>2. The ministry responsible for employment</li> <li>3. Ministry responsible for environment</li> <li>4. Ministry responsible for industry</li> </ol> </li> </ul>	<p>Informal and non-formal education</p> <p>Equity in access</p> <p>Ministry of children, gender and social protection not represented</p>
<p>The Children's Act, 1998 Act (560)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ This Act applies to child apprentices in the informal sector in relation to               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. minimum age for apprentices;</li> <li>2. responsibilities of craftsman;</li> <li>3. apprenticeship agreement;</li> <li>4. duties of apprentice;</li> <li>5. release of apprentice;</li> <li>6. resolution of disputes.</li> </ol> </li> </ul>	<p>Protection for child apprentices</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Among the ten policy goals clustered into four areas of focus is the science, technology and TVET policy.</li> <li>▪ Specifically, the ESP aims to extend and</li> </ul>	

Education Strategic Plan (ESP, 2010-2020)	<p>support opportunities for young people including out-of-school children and drop outs, to engage in technology and vocational opportunities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>On gender, the ESP aims to “<i>provide girls with equal opportunities to access the full cycle of education</i>” and to achieve this the ministry “<i>aims to implement a number of strategies targeted specifically at increasing female participation in education sector, in terms of enrolments, retention and completion rates</i>”</li> </ul>	Focus on providing girls with equal opportunities to access education
The NVTI Act (1970) Act (351)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Responsible for the nationwide coordination of all aspects of vocational training including apprenticeship in both the formal and the informal sectors.</li> <li>Under legislative instrument (L.I) number 1154 (GoG, 1978), the NVTI department of apprenticeship was meant to regulate and control all forms of apprenticeship training.</li> </ul>	Concentrated on TVET provision and failed to regulate the informal apprenticeship system as mandated. Informal sector actors acted without regards to rules and regulations. Vulnerable groups had access constraints.
Specific policy directives at cabinet and ministerial levels	Various need-jerk actions or reactions mostly for political expediency	Political targeting which breeds social exclusion

Source: Excerpted from policy documents and Palmer (2009, pp. 68-70)

From Table 4.1, it can be inferred that policies that regulate TVET delivery in Ghana come from various sources: national development plans such as the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) I (2003-2005), the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) II (2006-2009) and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013); Acts of Parliament such as the NVTI Act (1970), the Children’s Act (1998) and the COTVET Act (2006); Cabinet resolutions or directives, ministerial directives and government-commissioned reports backed by White Paper.

It is obvious from Table 4.1 that there is a guide to the thinking and actions of decision makers on how to enhance the agency of the vulnerable and the excluded through TVET. However, the missing link is how human and physical resources have been deployed and applied over the years to maximize the chances of achieving the defined policy objectives in the face of difficulties and global dynamics. The story of Ghana is one of a lack of strategy which defines the methodology to achieve the targets prescribed by policy. Multiple short-term actions by multiple ministries and agencies have led to lack of national control, supervision and mechanism for capturing data on TVET. This is especially the case in terms of the traditional apprenticeship training which constitutes the dominant mode of TVET delivery in the country. Hence, tracking policy outcomes has been a major difficulty and social exclusion appears to have thrived dangerously under such circumstances. But what is there to learn from South Africa's human resource development strategy?

#### **4.3 Strategizing NHRD in Africa: Lessons from South Africa**

Establishing the empirical background on NHRD as far as the objectives of this research are concerned would be less complete without a recourse to an exemplary case around which the questions and enquiries can be projected to determine the existence or otherwise of a NHRD strategy/policy for Ghana. A search in the African continent comes across the Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa (HRDS-SA), 2010-2030, which is contained conspicuously in a single document. The HRDS-SA (2009) reflects the development of human resources as necessary but not sufficient condition in advancing economic growth and promoting societal development at the national level. The strategy is thus, made consistent with the



historical and current thrust of the government's development agenda. It does also reflect the spirit of the South African constitution as a supreme law which states clearly that the republic, states, among others, should aim to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person (HRDS-SA, 2009). Clearly noticeable is the nationalistic orientation of the strategy as captured in the phrase „all citizens“. This is, however, not the case in many African countries. The HRDS-SA is, therefore, one of the pace setters in the continent which reflects a well developed comprehensive NHRD framework.

HRDS-SA demonstrates a certain sense of rationality towards inclusiveness because of the tendency to envision broadly the role human resources play in emerging new development strategies in the context of global dynamics. The awareness of the changing global context allows HRD professionals to better understand the need for engagement with education and skills providers in developing and protecting their future competitive advantage (Griffiths and Koukpaki, 2012). In particular, the HRDS-SA is premised on Ziderman's (1997) idea that economic competitiveness is measured not only by the aggregate skills of a country's workforce, but perhaps more importantly by the flexibility and capacity of the workforce to adjust speedily to the rapid changes in technology, production, trade and work organisation. Consequently, the ability to respond to these changes with speed and efficiency has become the area where many countries seek a competitive advantage. To achieve this, it is imperative for countries to have comprehensive, painstaking and long-term viewing of HRD as in the case of South Africa.

McLean and McLean's (2001) attempt at a cross-national definition of human resource development affirms the shift from governmental 5-year plans for manpower and traditional corporate HRD approaches to a national HRD (McLean, 2004) that

either initially or over the long term seek to achieve work-based knowledge, expertise, productivity and satisfaction. The literature thus support long term planning exemplified by the HRDS-SA which spans the period of 2010 to 2030. Long term NHRD strategies create the space for critical alignment between emerging development strategies and the requirement in terms of the demand for and supply of skills (Cunningham, Lynham, and Weatherly, 2006). For instance, the framers of the HRDS-SA were conscious of the current and projected economic and social development activities and objectives of the South African economy, whether short-term, medium-term or long term (HRDS-SA, 2009, p. 9). Priority economic growth which requires measures to overcome problems such as skills shortages that constraint growth and investment over the short term are addressed by short to medium term strategies without glozing over the fact that an effective and credible HRD cannot depend entirely on short term measures. The HRDS-SA, therefore, indicates some strong signs of a balance on medium and long-term perspectives as an imperative to respond to urgency as well as sustainability.

It is equally worth noting that the balance in meeting urgency and sustainability in any NHRD strategy exists in how the strategy critically aligns with the historical and current thrust of government's development agenda (Cunningham, Lynham, and Weatherly, 2006). Consistent with this observation is Alagaraja and Wang's (2012) view that HRD scholars should seek to move the NHRD literature forward through the development of NHRD models that describe and prescribe a link between NHRD strategies and social and economic development strategies. The link between HRDS-SA and the country's development strategies is a practical demonstration of such critical alignment as advocated in the literature. The linkage is found through a careful

analysis of the HRD implications of the current and future development strategies going forward.

In the South African case for instance, the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and the National Industrial Policy Framework (NIPF) are [were] among the Emerging development roadmaps which are being critically aligned to the HRDSSA (HRDSSA, 2009, p. 11). The questions are: how has Ghana been planning and aligning its human resource development with its economic development agenda? How has the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) impacted on developing the human resources of the poor, like the *Kayayei*? Obviously, there is a compelling urgency to peruse policy in answering these questions.

#### **4.4 Social Protection and Human Resource Development**

The literature on social protection is wide and diverse indicating a lack of neither agreed conceptualization nor one „best practice“ package. However, the United Nations plays a key role in this seemingly confused state of conceptualization and best practice norms. Recognizing the strategic importance and necessity of ensuring universal social protection, the United Nations System Chief Executives Board adopted in April, 2009, the Global Initiative for a Universal Social Protection Floor (SPF-I) as one of nine initiatives in response to the global social protection emergency. This was subsequently widely endorsed by the UN Resolution on Social Integration adopted during the forty-eighth session of the Commission for Social Development; the recommendations of the G20 Labour and Employment Ministers; the ILO's Global Jobs Pact; OECD-Povnet; the Forum of Ministers for Ministries



responsible for Social Development; the International Council on Social Welfare and many other bodies and countries. This initiative transcends the mandate of any individual UN agency and for the sake of effective coordination enjoins each UN agency in any jurisdiction to offer cutting-edge advice in their respective areas of expertise and logistical support to ensure global response to the social protection agenda.

The thrust of SPF-I is to promote access to essential services and social transfers for the poor and the vulnerable to enable them have life in dignity, through systematizing and institutionalizing a comprehensive approach to social protection that highlights both the supply and demand side of extending social protection and ensuring effective access. The SPF advocates a normative approach to social protection that includes among others (a) basic set of essential social rights and transfers, in cash and in kind, to provide a minimum income and livelihood security for all and to facilitate effective demand for and access to essential goods and services and (b) the supply of an essential level of goods and social services such as health, water and sanitation, education, food, housing, life and asset-saving information that are accessible to all. The SPF emphasizes the need to guarantee services and transfers across the life cycle, from children, to the economically active with insufficient income, to older persons, paying particular attention to vulnerable groups by considering key characteristics (socio-economic status, gender, maternity, ethnicity, disability, people living with HIV/AIDS, migrants, populations exposed to and/or highly sensitive to adverse external effects such as natural hazards, extreme climate phenomena and so on).

The level of streetism in Ghana, however, is rife and nothing suggests that there is any meaningful social protection regime in place. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask the question as to whether the country operates any social protection policy at all. If there

is, how could young girls of school going age such as the *kayayei* migrate to the cities to engage in menial jobs that expose them to all manner of exploitation?

In the context of the above debate, social protection has been defined as “a set of public actions that address poverty, vulnerability and exclusion as well as provide means to cope with life’s major risks throughout the life cycle” (UNICEF, 2009). In a package therefore, UNICEF advocates social protection to embody: (a) Social transfers (regular predictable transfers in-cash or in-kind) (b) Social insurance (access to health care for children and services to support communities) (c) Social services (family and community services to support families and youth) and (d)

Policies, legislation and regulations that protect families’ access to resources (for example, maternity and paternity leave, and legislation around inheritance rights).

Devereaux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) would rather view social protection in a transformative and political context by advocating the importance of understanding social inequality and exclusion and how that impacts poverty. They emphasize Protective (for example, social assistance for the chronically poor such as disability benefits, old age pensions, foster care grants), Preventive (such as school feeding projects, food for work, unemployment benefits, maternity leave and so on), Promotional (offering life skills and vocational training, micro-credit schemes, child care for working parents and so on), and Transformative (measures that address social inequity and exclusion; for instance, anti-discrimination policies and laws to protect inheritance) measures to tackling income poverty, vulnerability and unemployment. Social protection policies and programmes are quite evident in Ghana and even though the trend has not been systematic, implementation is being carried out by various stakeholders and interest groups.

#### **4.4.1 Existing Social Protection Programmes**

Civil society organizations including NGOs both local and international have over the years collaborated with appropriate state agencies to implement some social protections programmes. However, such efforts have not been systematic and could not be described as a „package“ of strategically designed interventions. Ramatu and Poulton (2009) talk about the social protection interventions implemented through food aid and food for work programmes largely initiated by the donor community such as the USAID’s PL480 Title II programmes. Under these programmes, grants were made available in the form of agricultural commodities to meet relief requirements and to alleviate the causes of hunger, disease, and death. These interventions have been implemented over the years through the Catholic Relief

Service (CRS), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) and TechnoServe.

The World Food Programme (WFP) also made available emergency and nonemergency feeding programmes. The WFP administered food-for-work projects for railways, ports, highways, and feeder road constructions; supplementary feeding and nutritional education projects; and emergency food distribution for refugees. Even deep down memory lane one recaps the social protection programme in the 1980s known as the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD). Quite self-explanatory, the programme was designed to counter the debilitating effects of the baggage of structural adjustment in 1980s as a safety net for the poor against the backdrop of mounting criticisms in the aftermath of the reforms. Besides, Agriculture projects implemented under International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) had semblance of social protection (Ramatu and Poulton, 2009). These authors recap the IFAD’s 1981 financed loans and grants worth USD 155



million in 13 projects, out of which five were implemented in the three northern regions as exuding some signs of social protection of a sort. Perhaps their view is grounded on the fact that IFAD's country programmes sought to achieve improved, diversified and sustainable livelihoods for the rural poor, particularly for those people dependent on marginal lands, for rural women and for vulnerable groups. Given that these projects have facilitated protection of livelihoods of vulnerable groups, (especially those which focused on micro-credit for women, small dams for dry season farming, and land conservation, all of which aimed to enhance resource base for the livelihood of the poor) they indeed qualify as social protection initiatives. For all these years of donor effort at protecting the vulnerable, no significant direct interventions by the state were made to augment or improve the livelihood capacity of the vulnerable groups.

Nevertheless, Ramatu and Poulton (2009) in their growth and social protection working paper 04 entitled „Agriculture and Social Protection in Ghana“ present a profile of existing social protection programmes as follows:

1. Supplementary Feeding
2. Preventive Health Care Programmes (Malaria Control, Immunisation and Micro-nutrients supplementation)
3. National Health Insurance ( introduced in 2003)
4. Micro-Finance (e.g. MASLOC)
5. Disaster Management
6. Social Security Pension Schemes for Formal Sector.
7. Emergency Relief

8. Social Assistance , for example, health exemptions, support to children in need of special care and protection, Capitation Grants to basic schools,  
School Feeding
9. Skills Training and Entrepreneurship Programme (STEP) and Other  
Vocational Skills Interventions
10. National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) now Ghana Youth  
Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency (GYEEDA)
11. National Labour Standards
12. Agriculture Extension Services

These programmes were, however, said to contain some gaps including limited coverage; limited support to the informal sector; weak targeting mechanisms in some interventions; inadequate inter-sectoral linkages and co-ordination; weak institutional capacity; low cost efficiency and effectiveness; and limited recognition of gender considerations. To address these challenges the Government of Ghana developed a National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) that aims: “to provide a coherent National Social Protection Framework to help lift the socially excluded and vulnerable from situations of extreme poverty. This was meant to build their capacity to claim their rights and entitlements in order to manage their livelihoods, and make contributions towards national development” (Ramatu and Poulton, 2009, p. 13).

Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) social grants programme which was designed in 2007 became the driver of the NSPS. The LEAP is context specific initiative that provides both conditional and unconditional cash transfers to targeted populations. The LEAP has indeed become flagship of the NSPS based on the premise

that “the roots of poverty are found in the multiple social risks faced by the poor and in their vulnerability to the impact of these risks”. Thus, the LEAP social grants assist the poor “to reduce, ameliorate, or cope with social risks and vulnerability” (Ramatu and Poulton, 2009, pp. 11-14). NSPS envisages LEAP cash transfers as being unconditional to „individuals with no productive capacity, for example, the elderly poor, persons with severe disabilities and so on“, but in other cases being conditional on: enrolling and retaining all school going age children in the household in public basic schools. This enables the children to benefit from an on-going School Feeding Program. Their costs of attendance are met out of an Education Capitation Grant system, which started as a pilot in 2004 and is now nationwide. The grant is made to schools to cover the expenses which hitherto were levied on poor households. Besides, all members of beneficiary households have the opportunity to be registered in the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) using part of their LEAP grants as premium (Niyuni, 2010).

In spite of the existence of these social protection programmes, the streets of major cities of Ghana, especially Accra and Kumasi continue to host high level of „streetism“ involving young boys and girls of school going age; including migrants from the deprived areas of the country (for example, the *kayayei*). A critical lens is thus, required to investigate the efficacy of NSPS to deliver on its major goal of helping to lift the socially excluded and the vulnerable from situations of extreme poverty, especially in the urban setting.



#### 4.4.2 Social Protection and Urban Settings

Ensuring spatial equity in development through providing sustainable employment is often thought of as a critical means of making populations less mobile. In a developing country like Ghana, keeping a fair balance in development between rural and urban areas should indeed help to spread population evenly. However, population continues to drift towards urban areas and like indicated in the discussion in chapter two on rural-urban migration, urban attraction is a major feature in the Ghanaian economy. Bedevilled with capacity deprivation in terms of knowledge and skills, many of the rural folk who end up in the urban areas work and live informally (lacking access to decent working and living conditions) (Frota, 2007). To accommodate such a rapidly growing urban population in terms of the many social services (housing, health, water and sanitation and so on) comes with a huge resource requirement which Governments are often unable to meet. The social infrastructure deficit in urban areas thus, creates a scenario where affluence and extreme poverty are juxtaposed, perhaps best described as village in the city, city in the village (Englund, 2002).

Cities tend to be concentrated with both people enjoying the highest earnings and those in the most vulnerable situations, who can usually be found amongst new comers/migrants (Frota, 2007) like the female head-porters. In the face of the unknown, these women and girls, like other poor people are exposed to considerable risks (Bhat, 2005). They lack the networks, the knowledge, the financial capacity and the social skills to negotiate better employment positions. They equally lack the appropriate support measures that would allow them to participate fully in the economic life of the city. But, where are the urban social protection systems? Are there specific urban social protection programmes to support vulnerable groups? What is the depth of targeting and access? Are they capacity building oriented or mere

handouts? These are but a few of the questions that often boggle the minds of many observers and relate to the issues of critical importance to this research. In the literature, the value and models of urban social protection programmes have been widely espoused (ILO, 2007; Estivill, 2006, 2007; Frota, 2007; Eyraud and Vaughan, 2007; Pochmann, 2004, 2007; Lund, 2007; Dia, 2006; Help Age, 2006) but less so in the specific case of Ghana. The study, therefore, sought to investigate the existing social protection structures and processes that support and graduate the survival technical tactics of the urban poor for a more sustainable employment strategy.

Frota (2007) argues that there is interdependence between social protection and economic development and that this realization is no longer exclusive to industrialized or middle-income countries. Many developing countries are coming to the realization that development is reversible and fragile when it fails to be inclusive and pro-poor and that has led to the placing of social protection at the heart of development policies in Southern countries. According to Frota (2007), examples abound in some countries of Western Africa where social protection has been integrated on its own as an axis of growth and poverty reduction. In Mali, Senegal and Ghana, thematic areas on social protection have been included as specific axis on their respective Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), development blueprints that guided development in the last decade. In the analysis, design and implementation of the maiden PRSPs, the West African countries came to appreciate that the absence of social protection was a factor that caused households to fall back into poverty. It became a realization that without an effective mechanism for social protection and risk management, the results on growth and poverty reduction would always be fragile and reversible (Dia, 2006).

#### **4.4.3 Social Protection and Employment**

Social protection policies are often targeted at or oriented towards three functions: guaranteeing the minimum income level families require to cover their basic needs over their life cycle and to face various contingencies; guaranteeing decent work; and promoting access to social promotion and social services so as to significantly improve people's ability to respond to risks (Cecchini and Martínez, 2010). Social protection is relatively new and the consensus on its boundaries though yet building, most operational definitions include two elements: social assistance (protection against poverty) and social insurance (protection against vulnerability). A third component advocated by some definitions addresses social injustice and exclusion ("social equity to protect people against social risks such as discrimination or abuse") (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004, p. 9). The aspect of social protection efforts which articulate its orientation towards generating capacities to protect the productive poor such as the female head-porters against vulnerability and to guarantee them decent work is of great significance to this research.

Cecchini and Martínez (2010) make a strong case for the productive poor when they posit that the best protection to address the risks that individuals and families face on a permanent basis is decent employment. In their view, building capacities of people to sustain themselves in decent employment ensures access to permanent protection mechanisms throughout their life cycle.

This is consistent with the goal of the ILO as a global organization to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equality, security and human dignity (ILO, 1999a, p. 3). For instance, the concept of "decent work" was launched in 1999, in the Report of the Director-General to the International Labour Conference meeting in its 87th Session. The decent work



concept espouses adequate opportunities for work, remuneration (in cash and in kind), and also embraces safety at work and healthy working conditions.

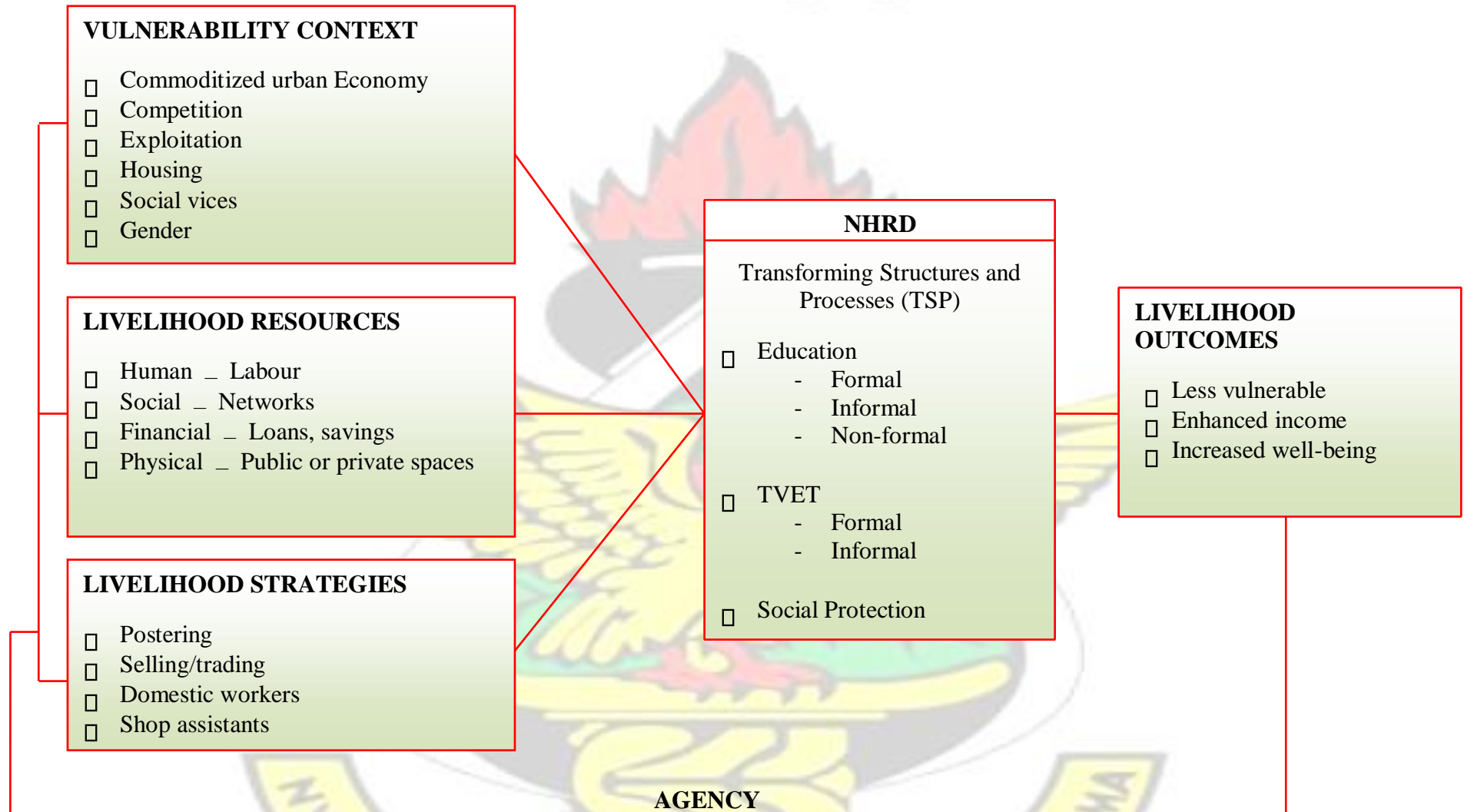
#### 4.5 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual frameworks have wide scholarly view (Blaxter et al., 1996; Bryman, 2001; King et al., 1994; Robson, 1993; Chen et al., 2000; May, 1993; Bouma, 1993; Rudestam and Newton, 1992) and are often said to originate from the researcher's readings, personal experiences and reflections (Leshem and Trafford, 2007). The conceptual framework provides important features about the relationships that are likely to be important and or meaningful and direct the kind of data the researcher should collect and analyse (Robson, 1993).

Drawing from the literature, the researcher posits that the causes and consequences/effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon relates to a certain vulnerability context. This context drives the *kayayei*'s level of access to livelihood assets or resources (human, social, financial and physical) which defines their employment prospects/livelihood strategies. The context of their livelihood, their access to livelihood resources and their adaptive livelihood strategies are collectively influenced by some Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP) as indicated on Figure 4.2. Hence, livelihood outcomes of the female porters are dependent on the intervening effect of the transforming structures and processes (which in this case is not necessarily an exhaustive list) on the interaction among the livelihood context, resources and strategies of the female porters. NHRD described as Government policy of skills formation and employment (Metcalf and Rees, 2005) tends to encapsulate a broad spectrum of livelihood transforming structures and processes not limited to only formal livelihood empowerment processes. NHRD is conceived here

as the relevant theoretical area to stage the analysis of the livelihood transforming structures and processes of the female porters. The study, thus, analyses the female porters' level of education (formal or informal), and access to TVET (formal or informal) and social protection as elements of NHRD which hold the potential to transform their vulnerability, improve their access to livelihood resources and enhance their livelihood strategies.





**Figure 4.2: Urban Livelihood Framework**



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The framework links concepts in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) to Human Resource Development (HRD) policy particularly, in the area of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) to explain the *kayayei* phenomenon. Yeboah (2008) has indicated that livelihood activities of porters in Ghana are dictated by local economic factors including broader scale economic policies operating at the national and international levels. However, understanding the livelihood of the *kayayei* under such broad context tends to smudge the issues. This conceptual framework specifically links HRD (generally and specifically TVET) which is such a huge anchor, to the determination of livelihoods of the vulnerable and the excluded like the *kayayei* in the cities of Ghana.

Potential vulnerability issues, livelihood resources and strategies/activities of the *kayayei* are projected in the framework to shape analysis of the *kayayei* phenomenon. It also links analysis of livelihood issues to TVET policy to unfurl the extent to which policy connects with the livelihood of the vulnerable and the excluded.

#### **4.5.1 Relevance of the Framework**

The livelihoods framework is a tool that facilitates understanding of people's agency through the conceptualization of elements that constitute a livelihood. It relates people's access to livelihood resources to their livelihood environment and the dynamics (shocks, trends and seasonal factors) which define their continuous access to such resources. Projected in the framework is the idea that the relationship among people's access to resources (knowledge, skills, savings, social networks and so on), their livelihood strategies and the given livelihood environment (or context) on the one hand is collectively influenced by a body of transforming mechanisms (institutions, policies, laws and so) to determine their livelihood outcomes. The nature of these

relationships and influences defines people's livelihood adaptation. The livelihood processes of the *kayayei* can be reasonably viewed or reflected upon using this framework. Methodologically, it guides this research to investigate the *kayayei* phenomenon by examining their vulnerability issues, livelihood resource strengths, survival strategies and the relevant policies that seek to improve the lives of the poor and the vulnerable.

Even though the livelihood approach is much more oriented towards studying rural livelihoods with emphasis on sustainability, its application in studying urban livelihoods (Yeboah, 2008; Adugna, 2006; Meikle, 2001; Ellis, 2003) gives it the name „Urban Livelihood Framework“ which draws from the original versions (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999). It is of theoretical relevance to this study given its emphasis on people (especially the poor), their assets and their activities rather than sectors and their performance which has been the conventional point of entry for policy (Carney, 1998). In the urban setting where poverty is seemingly invisible and exist within the crevices of cities, towns and poor settlements and within the interstices of low income households (Beall, 1997), livelihood approach is relevant for propelling deeper understanding of the problems of employment and survival of the poor beyond just income.

Methodologically, the framework though does not try to present a model of reality (DFID, 1999), provides direction for engaging with different respondents in a structured and coherent manner. It also helps to define the kind of information the researcher should seek to generate vis-a-vis each of the components (Figure 4.2) that affect livelihoods. It is also pro-policy in structure as it employs a holistic perspective in the analysis of livelihoods to identify those issues and subject areas where interventions could be strategically important for employment generation and for



effective poverty reduction. Does the *Kayayei* issue in Ghana relate to policy? If it does, then the Urban Livelihood Framework is relevant not just as a tool for understanding their survival tactics and factors causing their migration but provides the basis for action to enhance their livelihoods.

Finally, the framework is relevant for this study because it provokes the researcher to ask questions such as: what is the vulnerability context in which urban livelihood or employment is constructed? Are the female porters vulnerable and in what ways? What are their levels of resilience, coping in the event of stresses and shocks? What are their livelihood assets (or resources) and how do they combine these assets to maximise their employment outcomes? What are the institutions and policies, formal or informal which define and shape their livelihoods? And what are their employment outcomes? Do such outcomes offer them self-esteem, security, happiness, or do they rather increase stress, powerlessness and exclusion? (Chambers, 1989).

In answering these questions, themes in the livelihood framework are linked to HRD to provide the basis for examining the causes and consequences of the *kayayei* phenomenon. In this linkage the study looks at how existing NHRD (particularly TVET) policy/strategy cover marginal groups like the *kayayei* and if so the challenges to its implementation at the community level in Ghana.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The general objective of this research emerged against the background that the livelihood adaptations of some segments of the population in the major cities of Ghana provoke mind boggling questions that warrant empirical investigation. The *kayayei* (female head-porters) constitute one such group and understanding their livelihood

involves a gamut of issues. This research is, thus, an enterprise that not only seeks to understand what the *Kayayei* do in order to make a living, but the resources that provide them with the capability to build a satisfactory living.

Also of interest are the risk factors that impugn the management of their resources and the institutional and policy context that either enhances or stifles their pursuit to achieve sustainable employment and its outcomes. To appreciate the livelihood circumstances of the *kayayei* in order to provide focus to this study, the chapter reviewed the DFID's (1999) sustainable livelihood framework. The framework has as its broad components: the vulnerability context of livelihoods; the livelihood assets depended upon by people; the transforming structures and processes that determine the livelihood strategies shaped by the previous two components; and the livelihood outcomes that emerge from the interaction of the components.

Besides, the chapter has sought to look at the emerging new perspective that advocates for modelling HRD from the national context; the basis being the growing global competition which mandates countries to be more strategic in human resource planning. However, in Ghana, what constitutes a national HRD agenda appears quite unclear as several policies, programmes and projects seeking to provide people with direct employable skills do not seem to emerge from an overarching NHRD framework.

Against this background, if NHRD were to be taken to mean efforts by countries to develop work-based knowledge (McLean, 2001) through the formulation of national policy of skills and development (in comprehensive blueprints) to enable communities device HRD systems that support life-long learning and employability (Metcalf and Rees, 2005), then this research fills a knowledge gap. This is because by investigating

how the NHRD policy/strategy relates to marginal groups such as the *kayayei*, the causes of steeism can be better understood and addressed at the macro level.

This research is particularly interesting and relevant when it investigates, for instance, how current NHRD policy/strategy relates to Traditional Apprenticeship Training (TAT) through which many of the poor acquire basic skills for employment. The TAT actually involves 80-90% of all basic skills acquisition processes in Ghana compared with just 5-10% from the public training institutions and 10-15% from NGOs (Atchoarena and Delluc, 2001; GoG, 2004b; Haan and Serriere, 2002; Honny, 1999; and World Bank, 2004a in Palmer, 2007). Hence, any marginalization of the TAT system raises questions relating to the survival of the poor, like the *kayayei*.

The causes and consequences/effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon is thus modelled to relate to a certain vulnerability context; a context that determines and explains the kind and quality of livelihood assets (human, social, financial and physical) that they can access. Their employment prospects/livelihood strategies are, therefore, a „mirror image“ of this context. The context and the livelihood assets, however, are seen as being collectively influenced by certain Transforming Structures and Processes (TSP). These could be broad and diverse but in the narrow view of this research, NHRD (TVET, Social Protection and Education) - a body of policies of skills formation and employment (Metcalf and Rees, 2005) constitutes the closest influencing factors. Therefore, understanding the links between livelihood strategies of the poor and NHRD should help answer the research questions pursued by this research project.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The empiricism of every research is based on a comprehensive roadmap of well articulated methodology often embodying issues of strategy, sampling, data collection and analysis techniques. Discussion of these issues is critical to grant the outcome of the research some level of credibility. This chapter, thus, offers an explanation of the methodologies of the research to highlight the way the research has been carried out, so that the strengths and the limitations of the research can be understood clearly. The chapter discusses the research strategy (or the philosophical basis of the research), the case study approach, the sampling techniques, the data collection and analysis methods, experiences in the field as well as issues of validity and reliability of the data.

#### **5.1 Research Philosophy and Strategy**

The philosophical grounds of this research is established largely by aligning to the view of Clark (2006) that what is important is not so much about whether one's research should be philosophically informed, but that how well one is able to reflect upon one's philosophical choices and defend them in relation to alternatives one could have adopted. The philosophy that shapes this research is not a choice based on value judgement or an instance of a caught up in the trap of thinking one research philosophy is better than another. Saunders et al.'s (2009) view that different philosophies are better at doing different things („better“ depending on the research questions that one

seeks to answer) constitutes the guiding principle for a philosophical choice to this research.

In view of the objectives pursued, the study employed the interpretivist (subjective) approach which paved way for the exploration of the subjective meanings motivating the actions behind the *kayayei* phenomenon as a social process. The approach was then to address the “details of the situation to understand the reality or perhaps a reality working behind them” (Remenyi et al., 1998, p. 35). The basis of this stance being that the female porters, civil society observers and state actors who constituted the target population in this study may place different interpretations to the *kayayei* phenomenon as a consequence of their own view of the world or society in which this phenomenon exists. Adopting an objective or a positivist approach would have blurred the different constructions that emerged out of the perspectives on this social process in Ghana.

The chosen philosophical underpinning thus permits this research to adopt the qualitative strategy of investigation. A distinction is often made between qualitative or quantitative strategies. Dabbs (1982), in Berg (2001) indicates that the notion of quality is essential to the nature of settings and is preoccupied by the significant questions of what, why, how, when, and where of the phenomenon under investigation. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define qualitative research as “approach to social science research that emphasizes collecting descriptive data in natural settings, uses inductive thinking, and emphasizes understanding of the subjects’ point of view” (p. 274). From the perspective of Glesne (2011), qualitative research is a “type of research that focuses on qualities such as words or observations that are difficult to quantify and lend themselves to interpretation or deconstruction” (p. 283). Qualitative research, thus, refers to the act of investigating the meanings, concepts, definitions,

characteristics, metaphors, and descriptions of what constitute reality to the elements under study.

Quantitative research on the other hand borders on the question of how significant and frequent a social reality is, based on numerical quantification (count or measure of the extension of a phenomenon), of the concepts (variables) and of the relationships between/among them (Bryman 1989; Berg 2001). Saunders et al.

(2009) with their experience and drawing from Dey (1993) and Healey and Rawlinson (1994), make distinction between quantitative and qualitative research as follows: that while the former is based on meanings derived from numbers, deals with numerical and standardized data, and analyses them through the use of diagrams and statistics, the latter is based on meanings expressed through words, deals with non-standardized data that require classification into categories and analysis conducted through the use of conceptualization.

Qualitative research designs have been widely espoused across the methodological literature that comprehensively allows its tenets to be understood and differentiated from those of quantitative research. For instance, the various characteristics of qualitative designs that distinguish them from more traditional quantitative approaches, and, for that matter, the desirable attributes or competencies needed by researchers to conduct “good” qualitative research are shared by several authors (Hatch, 2002; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Bogdan and Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Richards and Morse, 2007; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Merriam, 2009; and Stake, 2010) who find common ground along a number of dimensions.

There are many valid reasons for doing qualitative research. One reason is the conviction of the researcher based upon research experience. Another is the nature of the research problem (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), after all, good social science is



problem-driven and not methodology-driven, in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problem, best help answer the research questions at hand (Flyvbjerg, 2004). For instance, the qualitative strategy enables the researcher to better understand an area where little is known, to make sense of complex situations, contexts, and settings, to learn how participants construct their worlds, to gain deep, rich and detailed descriptions of cultural scenes, to help empower individuals to share their stories and enact meaningful social change, and to generate theory where little exists (see Creswell, 2007, pp. 39-41; Richards and Morse, 2007, pp. 29-31).

The qualitative philosophy, therefore, resonates well with the study of how NHRD policy or strategy affects the employability of marginal groups like the *kayayei*. It is a systematic means of delving deep into their livelihoods as mediated through every day experiences in the urban space and it is also appropriate for studying NHRD policy as a medium for livelihood enhancement using interviews, observations, document review and analysis.

Besides, qualitative methods are suitable for this study on the basis that they enable richness and depth. It is appreciated, however, that doing qualitative research requires stepping back and critically analyzing situations, to recognize and avoid biases, to obtain valid and reliable data and to think abstractly.

The researcher is also mindful of the theoretical and social sensitivity orientation required to maintain analytical distance while at the same time drawing upon past experiences and theoretical knowledge to interpret what constitutes reality to the subjects of the investigation (Strauss and Corbin 1990). It is also appreciated that this methodological approach is inherently multi-method in focus (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) and hence paves way for multi-line of sight directed towards the same point which permits depth of understanding (Janesick, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1983 in

Berg, 2001), rigor, breadth, complexity and richness (Flick 1998 in Denzin and Lincoln 2000). The triangulatory orientation of the qualitative strategy enables data to be obtained from diverse sources to gain complete and in-depth understanding of the commonalities and diversities in the social and economic experiences of the *kayayei* across time and space (Christensen and James 2000) as they live and work on the streets.

## **5.2 The case study approach**

With the case study approach, the common use of the term „case“ associates it with a location, such as a community or an organization (Bryman, 2008). The emphasis, however, according to Bryman, tends to be upon an intensive examination of the setting, a virtue that creates a high tendency for it to be associated with qualitative research. While such identification is seen by Bryman as inappropriate, he admits that case study designs as advocated by its exponents are much more consistent and favourable with qualitative research methods such as participant observation and unstructured interviewing.

Nevertheless, case studies are frequently sites for the employment of both quantitative and qualitative research strategies. For instance, when an investigation is based exclusively upon quantitative research, it can be difficult to determine whether it is better described as case study or cross-sectional research design (Bryman, 2008).

Case study is a research design that entails detail and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2008), constructed to richly describe, explain, or assess and evaluate a phenomenon (e.g. event, community, organization, group, person, program, etc.) (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996). A „case“ is studied onsite within its natural context. Data

is collected primarily by fieldwork, but secondary data collection is usually employed as well (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003; Merriam, 2009).

The data gathering process is often interactive as the researcher(s) associate with persons involved in the „case“ under study. Yin (2003) distinguishes five types of cases (see Bryman, 2008). However, in the context of the research problem under review and the case being investigated, one can best describe it in the words of Yin as „representative or typical case“. Even though Bryman (2008) would prefer to call it exemplifying case to avoid getting caught up in the trap of representativeness and typicality as the most vociferous critics of case study research would doubt its credibility as a representation of the generality.

The objective of employing exemplifying case study methodology was to capture the circumstances and conditions of the *kayayei* phenomenon as an everyday or commonplace livelihood situation (Yin, 2003). The *kayayei*'s livelihood adaptation as a case falls within a broad category of social and livelihood processes of which it is an example. This is not necessarily because the *kayayei* phenomenon is an extreme or unusual case, but because it epitomizes a broader category of cases that provide a suitable context for the research objectives on NHRD to be answered. Besides, the social discourse in the country stretching across media and political frontlines regarding the *kayayei* is quite remarkable and studying it as a case is a contribution to this discourse.

Flyvbjerg (2004) offers an account of the debate on the strength and weaknesses of the case study approach. The criticisms that theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete practical (context-dependent) knowledge; that generalization is impossible on the basis of an individual case; and, therefore, the case study approach's inability to contribute to scientific development; that case study is



only useful for generating hypotheses; that case study contains a bias towards verification and that it is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.

Flyvbjerg (2004) has, however, debunked all these criticisms as misunderstandings and outlines the positives of the case study approach by arguing that Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theories and has, thus, in the final instance, nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge. And the case study approach is especially well suited to produce this knowledge.

For the researcher, the closeness of the case study to real-life situations and its multiple wealth of details are important in two respects. First, it is important for the development of a nuanced view of reality. Second, cases are important for researchers' own learning processes in developing the skills needed to do good research. If researchers wish to develop their own skills to a high level, then concrete, context-dependent experience is just as central for them as to professionals learning any other specific skills. Concrete experiences can be achieved via continued proximity to the studied reality and via feedback from those under study. Great distance to the object of study and lack of feedback easily lead to a stultified „learning process, which in research can lead to ritual academic blind alleys, where the effect and usefulness of research become unclear and untested. As a research design, the case study approach can be an effective remedy against this tendency.

### 5.3 Sampling Technique

Studies that do not seek to collect data from an entire population would mandate the selection of a sample from the population. The sampling techniques available to a researcher can be divided into two categories: probability or representative sampling; and non-probability or judgemental sampling. The selection of techniques from any of the two is contingent upon the orientation of the research. For instance, probability sampling is most commonly associated with survey-based research strategies where you need to make inferences from the sample about the population to answer your research questions. Probability sampling provides equal opportunity or probability for each element in the population to be selected onto the sample (Saunders, et al., 2009). It is applicable where a sample frame is available or known. Selecting probability samples involves the use of various techniques namely: simple random sampling (selecting the sample at random from the sampling frame using random number tables); systematic sampling (selecting the sample at regular intervals from the sampling frame); stratified random sampling (dividing the sampling frame into a number of subsets and applying simple random or systematic sampling); cluster sampling (selecting groups of the population which can be based on any naturally occurring grouping and applying simple, stratified or systematic sampling in each group) or a combination of all or number of these techniques known as multi-stage sampling.

In terms of non-probability sampling, the probability of having equal chance of representation for elements in the population is not known and hence makes it impossible to answer research questions on the basis of statistical inferences about the characteristics of the population (Saunders, et al., 2009). These authors, however, allude to the fact that it may still be possible to generalize from non-probability

samples about the population but not on statistical grounds. Non-probability sampling embodies such techniques as purposive or judgement sampling (selecting cases that will best enable you to answer your research question(s) and to meet your objectives); convenience sampling (selecting haphazardly those cases that are easiest to obtain for your sample); snowball sampling (making contact with one or two cases in the population and asking these cases to identify further cases); and quota sampling (a type of stratified sampling in which selection of cases within strata is entirely non-random) (Barnett, 1991).

Purposive sampling technique was adopted for selecting members of the target population for this study. The technique was generally employed to select individuals from state agencies and civil society organizations while its snowball type was used to select participants from the *kayayei* population. This was adopted with focus to select participants from state agencies and civil society organizations because the samples for these groups of the population were small. Snowball sampling was adopted for the individual *kayayei* participants because they are highly mobile during the day and are suspicious of people who want to interrogate or probe into their livelihood and social life.

Snowballing is an approach where a first respondent introduces the researcher to another respondent, who in turn facilitates a contact with another respondent, and so on (Vogt, 1999), using the social contacts between such individuals as mechanism (Beardworth and Keil, 1992). This allows the researcher or interviewer to overcome the challenges of accessing respondents without such facilitation.

These sampling approaches provided opportunity to rely on elements of the population who could offer the best of insights that answer the research questions.



The goal was, therefore, to sample participants in a strategic way as illustrated in Table 5.1, so that those sampled were relevant in the search for answers to the research questions (Bryman, 2008).

**Table 5.1 Categories, number of interviewees and rationale for their selection for interview.**

Category	Number of interviewees	Rationale for selection of participants
The <i>Kayayei</i>	101	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To assess their level of education and or skills acquired, how they acquired such education and skills, the challenges and the benefits.</li> <li>2. To determine the reasons for their engagement in load carrying.</li> <li>3. To determine the causes and effects/consequences of the <i>kayayei</i> activities on the <i>kayayei</i> themselves.</li> <li>4. To assess their aspirations</li> </ol>
Civil Society Organizations (CBOs and NGOs)	50	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To assess their views on the causes of the <i>kayayei</i> phenomenon in Ghana; its effects/consequences on the individual <i>kayayei</i> and the nation as a whole.</li> <li>2. To assess skills training for the <i>kayayei</i> through any coordinated efforts backed by policy or strategy from the national level.</li> <li>3. To assess the roles played by Civil Society Organizations (CBOs and NGOs) towards improving the livelihood of the <i>kayayei</i>.</li> <li>4. To assess how the state collaborates with the private sector (e.g. CBOs, NGOs and private informal skills providers) to improve the livelihood of the <i>kayayei</i>.</li> </ol>
State officials	5	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To assess how the state has intervened to improve the livelihood of the <i>kayayei</i>.</li> <li>2. To assess the level of collaboration of the state with civil society in improving livelihood of the <i>kayayei</i>.</li> </ol>

<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>
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**Source: Author's construct (2013)**

In doing this, the researcher was mindful to ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sampled elements of the population differ from each other in terms of key characteristics such as age. After the analysis of interview transcripts, 101 female porter respondents and 50 working staff of CSOs responded to survey questionnaire that intended to establish the frequency of some themes which emerged. The 101 female porters included individuals and members of FGDs who were previously interviewed. The 151 questionnaires were administered in Accra and Kumasi where the female porters are found in large numbers. Questionnaire was administered to some available members of focus groups through snowballing. Five CSOs were purposely selected to for interview and the survey questionnaire was subsequently distributed to 10 members of each CSO.

#### **5.4 Data Collection Methods**

Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. In the case of primary data, individual in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and observation were employed as techniques for collecting qualitative data. The combination of these primary data collection methods made it possible to have indepth and rich information regarding the life stories of the female head-porters (the *kayayei*): the causes and effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon; their level of education; the kind of appropriate skills they have acquired; their vulnerability in the urban environment among other issues bordering on their survival. Secondary sources of data, especially

pertaining to the existence or otherwise of a TVET policy that relate to marginal groups like the *kayayei* was explored.

The qualitative data from in-depth interviews, FGDs and observation constituted a basis for designing survey questionnaire to measure the frequency or significance of the key themes that emerged. The strategy to precede survey with unstructured interviews is because questionnaire are usually not particularly good for exploratory or other research that requires large numbers of open-ended questions (Saunders, et al., 2009). The questionnaire was thus, prepared on the basis of emergent themes from the qualitative data. The themes allowed for standardized questions to be designed with confidence that the questions would be interpreted the same way by all respondents (Robson, 2002). In the view of Saunders et al., (2009), although questionnaire may be used as the only data collection method, it may be better to link them with other methods in a multiple-methods research design.

#### **5.4.1 Individual In-depth Interviews**

An in-depth interview is an interface (a dialogue) between an interviewer and a participant in a research. Its goal is to elicit rich and detailed data that can be analysed (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Such interviews are best conducted face-to-face, but under some circumstances, done via telephone conversation. In-depth interviews are characterized by open-ended questions and extensive probing during interview sessions by the interviewer. The interviewer prepares an interview guide that embodies a list of questions or topical issues that are to be explored and in some cases, suggested probes for following up on key topics. The guide acts as a useful instrument that allows the interviewer to pace the interview and make interviewing more systematic and comprehensive (Lofland and Lofland, 1995).



The advantages of in-depth interviewing lie in the ability of the process to yield rich, detail and new insights (Patton, Lofland and Lofland, 1995); Permit face-to-face contact with respondents; provide opportunity to explore topics in depth and afford the researcher the ability to experience the affective (emotional) as well as cognitive (perceptive) aspects of responses.

The principle of an in-depth interviewing is one of a guided conversation in which the interviewer becomes an attentive listener who shapes the process into a familiar and comfortable form of social engagement. The conversation and the quality of the information obtained are largely dependent on the interviewer's skills and personality (Patton, 1990). Unlike a good conversation, however, Patton argues that an in-depth interview should not be a two-way form of communication and sharing. It is thus, a requirement for a good interviewer to be a good listener and questioner, and as much as possible not to be tempted to put forth his or her opinions, perceptions, or feelings.

#### **5.4.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Employment of FGDs in obtaining views of research participants is popular in qualitative interviewing. According to Bedford and Burgess (2001, p. 121), FGD is "...a one-off meeting between four and eight individuals who are brought together to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher who moderates or structures the discussion". Two most important elements of a focus group discussion are the „group“ situation and an interesting „topic“ to ensure interaction between the group members. Thus, the explicit group interaction allows data to be generated from insights which would otherwise remain hidden without the interaction found in the group (Barbour and Kitzinger 1999; Litosseliti 2003; Krueger and Casey 2000; Morgan 1997).

Focus groups share similar advantages to interviewing but offer the added advantage of enabling the researcher to explore how meanings and experiences are negotiated and contested between participants (Valentine 1997; Lunt and Livingston 1996). Given the different context factors and experiences confronting livelihoods, and the variety of survival strategies likely to be employed in the urban environment, the focus group approach enabled the *kayayei* to tell their stories as shared or peculiar circumstances. This dialogic character of the focus groups gave the researcher access to the multiple and transpersonal understandings that characterize social behaviour (Goss, 1996 in Christensen and James 2001) of the *kayayei*. Five FGDs were conducted during the fieldwork. In Accra, three FGDs took place at Agboglobosie market, Makola market and Tema lorry terminal. In Kumasi, two FGDs were conducted at Aboabo near the Kumasi central market. Each focus group comprised eight members, a number which is consistent with the view of Scott, cited in Christensen and James (2000), Stewart (1990) and Bedford and Burgess (2001). Age, ethnicity and or geographical origin were used as criteria for selecting *kayayei* participants into focus groups. The process was moderated using predetermined but flexible interview guides to direct discussions in groups (Weinberg, 2002) [see Appendix].

The FGDs were recorded (audio and visual) alongside written notes. The process was also observed to note the flow of the dialogue. For instance, the emotional atmosphere and the verbal and non-verbal reactions provided broad and deeper understanding of the topic of interest (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). FGDs were organised on Sundays when the *kayayei* participants did not go to work. Even though

FDGs took place in rooms or corners where girls from the same ethnic groups or communities were found, girls and women from different ethnic backgrounds were brought together for the FDGs.

### 5.4.3 Observation

Observation is an essential data collection tool in qualitative research as it provides direct information about the behaviour of individuals and groups; permits the researcher the space to understand the situation/context of the research, and the unanticipated outcomes of the social process being investigated. It enables the interviewer to note the body language of the interviewee to obtain a complete picture of the situation, especially in studies that rely mainly on interview as a basic data collection technique (Alder and Alder, 1994).

The Oxford English Dictionary defines observation as “an accurate watching and noting of phenomena as they occur”. Thus, Social scientists observe both human activities and social settings in which such activities take place (Angrosino, 2005). Consistent with the subject matter of this research, observation permitted the understanding of the physical and social context in which the *kayayei* undertake their portering activities.

Observation is basically categorised into two; participant observation and complete observation. Participant observation is closely associated with anthropology (Sanjek, 1990; Kearns, 2000). It offers the researcher the opportunity to observe behaviour through participation. In this process, the researcher takes part in whatever activity the respondents engage in and the presence of the researcher does not (or should not) alter the natural behaviour of the researched. Complete observation is the type that the



researcher just observes behaviour, patterns, or trends in order to assign meaning to those observed trends.

From the methodological literature, however, the two typologies do not appear necessarily dichotomous but constitute a continuum from participatory to nonparticipatory observation. One of the most cited schemes is Gold's (1958) and Gill and Johnson's (2002) classification of participant observer roles. Observation is, therefore, arrayed on a continuum or degree of involvement with detachment from the members of the social setting. This involvement ranged from complete participant (Researcher's identity is concealed), participant as observer (Researcher takes part in activity), observer as participant (Researcher's identity is revealed) and complete observer (Researcher observes activity) (Bryman, 2008). The most important element in each of these is the ability of the researcher to pay attention and take notice of the details of the subject. In this research, complete observation was adopted. Hence, the setting, the social environment, the elements of non-verbal communication, and some notable occurrences as far as the livelihood activities of the *kayaye* are concerned were critical observational protocols.

The way in which access is gained into a social setting or community to be observed differs along several dimensions, one of which is whether the setting is relatively open one or a relatively closed one (Bell, 1969; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Closed, non-public settings are likely to be organizations of various kinds, such as firms, schools, cults, social movements and so on (Bryman, 2008) while the open/public setting is likely to be everything else - that is, research involving communities, gangs, drug users, and so on. For instance,

Taylor's (1993) study of intravenous drug users, Foster's (1995) study of high crime community, and Willis's (1977) research on working class „lads“ all carried out observations in open public settings which were largely overt while Leidner (1993), Coffey (1999) and Waddington (1994) had observations carried out in closed settings with a covert strategy. Consistent with the likelihoods suggested by Bryman, (2008), observations undertaken by this research were largely open/public and considerably overt at the *kayayei*'s places of work and abode. This led to a clear description of the setting, identity of the participants and the social process they are involved in, and documentation of their interactions so that to a large extent the questions of „who“, „why“, „when“ and „where“ could be adequately addressed.

#### **5.4.4. Questionnaire**

Questionnaire is used as a general term to include all techniques of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order (deVaus, 2002). Questionnaire, thus, includes structured interviews and telephone questionnaire as well as those in which the questions are answered without an interviewer being present (Saunders et al., 2009). In the view of these authors, questionnaire, therefore, tend to be used for descriptive or explanatory research. In this research, the questionnaire for the *kayayei* and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) was used to generate data that enabled a descriptive analysis of key issues relating to the *kayayei* phenomenon.

Interviewer administered and self-completion questionnaires were used for the *kayayei* and CSOs respondents respectively. Responses to interviewer-administered questionnaire were recorded by the interviewer on the basis of each respondent's answers. This strategy was appropriate for the *kayayei* given the high level of illiteracy

in their ranks. Self-administered questionnaire was used for CSOs respondents because elements of the sample in these organizations were largely literate.

#### **5.4.5 Logistical Requirement**

The interactive and context-dependent nature of this research made the use of voice recording and photographic equipment important. Digital voice recorders and cameras were deployed during data collection after sensitizing participants on the purposes of the research which gave them assurance of confidentiality. Research assistants were employed to handle the recording equipment and to interpret during interviews anytime language barrier became a setback. In view of this, a two day training workshop was organized for the research assistants to equip them and build their capacity to be sensitive, empathetic, and able to establish a non-threatening environment in which participants would feel comfortable to interact during the interviewing process.

The research team was made up of two notetakers, one cameraman, one interpreter and the principal investigator who was the interviewer. The team made preliminary visits to the sampled markets and transport terminals where the *kayayei* ply their trade as well as places where they spend their nights. These visits were used not only to establish rapport with individuals who could be described as „key informants“ to initiate a snowballing process but also to familiarize with the context in which participants lived and worked. The team subsequently conducted individual interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) on Sundays at the living places of the participants.



## 5.5 Data Analysis Technique

The research adopted the mixed method research strategy to investigate the issues projected in the research questions. Data were collected through interviews and survey of purposively (judgementally) selected CSOs/NGOs, state officials, individual female porters and groups who provided useful insights. Information from policy and institutional documents was collected as well to complement interview data.

Data collected through interviews were subjected to Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). Content Analysis (CA) is a method or technique that facilitates a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena (Krippendorff, 1980; Downe-Wamboldt 1992; Sandelowski, 1995). Miles and Huberman's (1994) method of data analysis, the components of which are; data reduction, data display and drawing of conclusions were applied to the content analysis. The data reduction process involved making notes and headings out of written text (transcribed interviews and documents) while reading it. This was done many times to obtain as many written down headings in the margins as possible to describe all aspects of the content (Burnard 1991, 1996; Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). This allowed initial code in the form of written summaries to be developed and irrelevant data to be discarded. In Text Tables, these were described as major issues from data (obtained from transcripts).

Consistent with Miles and Huberman's (1994) concept of data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing, the major issues from the data were drawn onto Text Tables. The headings developed for the Text Tables were drawn from the conceptual framework namely: the vulnerability context of the *kayayei*; the *kayayei*'s livelihood assets; the *kayayei*'s livelihood strategies; and the *kayayei*'s livelihood transforming

structures and processes. Based on these broad codes from the conceptual framework, more specific themes or codes were developed and further refined to major or key themes. Conclusions or verifications were then made on the key themes for their validity through reference to the interview transcripts, documents and the field notes or further data collection.

Hence, the qualitative content analysis involved de-simplifying categorization by reducing the number of categories and aligning similar or dissimilar ones into broader higher order categories (Burnard 1991; Downe- Wamboldt 1992; Dey 1993) until saturation was obtained. Hence the densification or abstraction allowed various issues from the interview data to be reduced to a meaning-making inter-woven body of concepts that provides a model, a conceptual system or a storyline (Elo and Kynga, 2008).

Beyond the qualitative data, survey was conducted to determine the frequencies of some major findings from the qualitative data. The survey questionnaire comprised 32 items. Apart the items that sought to collective demographic data on the primary respondents who were the female porters, the rest of the items sought responses from the two respondent groups (the female porters and the CSOs respondents). The questions were asked under the themes namely; appropriate skills and education for livelihood, causes and effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon and stakeholder views on how to enhance the livelihood of the female porters. The causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon for instance were categorized into socio-cultural, human development and general causes; while the effects of the phenomenon were analyzed in terms its positive and negative effects. A five point rating scale (of the likert type) ranging from *not important at all* to *very important* for the causes and *not significant at all* to being *extremely significant* for the effects (see Tables at appendix) were employed to rate

the views of the respondents on the issues reported as the causes and effects of the female porter phenomenon. The data collected with these measurement scales were analysed using simple frequency distributions to determine the percentage levels at which respondents aligned themselves to the issues that emerged from the qualitative data.

### **5.6 Validity and reliability of data**

The concepts of validity and reliability regarding qualitative research have been widely debated and various stances have emerged to define what constitutes valid and reliable outcome in a qualitative research. For instance, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) write about (a) *external reliability*: the degree to which a study can be replicated, a stance they concede is difficult to achieve in qualitative research citing the impossibility to freeze a social setting and the circumstances of an initial study to make it replicable in the sense that the concept is usually employed. They however, suggest that for qualitative researchers to achieve external reliability, they must adopt a similar social role to that adopted by the original researcher; (b) *internal reliability*: whether there is more than one observer and whether they agree about what they see and hear (or whether there is inter-observer consistency); (c) *internal validity*: whether there is a good match between the researcher's observations and the theoretical ideas developed; and finally, (d) *external validity*: the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994), however, propose that there should be specific terms and ways of establishing and assessing the quality of qualitative research that provide an alternative to reliability and validity. They propose two primary criteria for assessing a qualitative study - *trustworthiness* (components of



which are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) and *authenticity* (the components of which are fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, and catalytic authenticity. The debate is, indeed, unabating and it is supposedly so. In this research, rigor was an important signpost and though rigor of qualitative method is said to be harder to achieve than that of quantitative (Ragin, 1987; Miles and Huberman, 1994), reasonably significant rigor was sought.

Yin (1994) explains rigor in qualitative research in terms of four criteria: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. Construct validity deals with objectivity, replicability and confirmability in the research design. Consistent with his view, constructs, concepts and items used in this study have been significantly explained and aligned to the *kayayei* phenomenon to minimise the unconscious subjectivity likely to emerge from the empathetism of the research team during the research process. Internal validity was ensured through establishing protocols for observation, data collection and analysis. The use of observation, FGDs and individual interview guides ensured inter-participant consistency in interviews conducted. However, the space to generalize is a major limitation to this research due to its case-based (emphasis on depth rather than breadth) nature. Nevertheless, external validity was pursued through „thick description“ (Geertz, 1973a) of the *kayayei* phenomenon from the perspectives of NHRD efforts.

Reliability is the ability to repeat the initial study by employing the same research procedure. This ideal, according to Ragin, (1987), Miles and Huberman, (1994) and Yin (1994), is hardly attainable in a qualitative study. This research, however, pursued some measure of reliability through a systematic and vivid description of the procedures leading to its findings.

### **5.7. Familiarization visit to the research site**

The field work started in late July, 2013 when the first league saw the researcher doing familiarization visits to market centres and lorry terminals where the *kayayei* ply their trade. The Interaction with key informants during these visits revealed that the best time to engage with the *kayayei* for any meaningful interaction was on Sundays which are usually their rest days. It was also indicated that interfacing with them on such days would most likely be successful because their fear of engaging with strangers would have been reduced as they are met in an environment where they feel protected. During this tour, some CSOs were also visited to establish rapport with them and to later include them in the sample. For the CSOs which already had some engagement with the *kayayei*, the reception was warm so it did not constitute much of a problem asking them to participate in the research. Hence, it did not only become convenient to sample such organizations but it was, indeed, purposeful to engage with them because of their prior knowledge of the *kayayei*'s livelihood processes.

### **5.8 Interfaces with Interviewees**

The individual *kayayei* participants were interviewed mostly on Sundays. This was quite convenient because interviews could be recorded in much less noisy environment compared to the market centres and lorry terminals. Besides, it was possible to get a good mix in terms of selecting participants from different ethnic groups. The *kayayei* stay in groups based on ethnicity or home communities. Individuals were selected based on the different groupings to be able to triangulate responses since socio-cultural factors were being investigated. It also allowed these individuals from different

communities and ethnic backgrounds in the north to be brought together for FGDs. For observation purposes, market centres were visited to see how the *kayayei* solicit for patrons. The competitiveness in obtaining customers and trailing of arriving vehicles to get opportunity to off-load goods were noted.

In terms of contact with CSO/NGO participants, the *Kayayei* Youth Association (KAYA) played an important role in linking the researcher to most of CSOs/NGOs which were their collaborators or partners. From a press release posted online by the Association, the researcher got the address of the Association's President and contacted him through his cell phone to build rapport with the Association. The KAYA is a non-governmental organization formed by female porters (the *kayayei*) which has membership across the southern cities of Ghana especially Accra and Kumasi. Its major objective is to address problems confronting the female porters in their daily pursuit of livelihoods in the cities. The KAYA created a window for the researcher to engage with CSOs/NGOs whose members provided a lot of insight and also participated in the survey. In some cases the researcher was linked to individuals who worked with some CSOs/NGOs but left their organizations for other ones. The researcher was encouraged to interact with such individuals because they had handled some projects and therefore could provide the best and detail insights as far as the research objectives were concerned.

## **5.9 Limitations**

The major limitation to this research was language barrier between the researcher and some *kayayei* participants. It was initially envisaged that the *kayayei* could communicate effectively in the *Twi* dialect. However, it turned out that only few of



those who spoke the *Twi* dialect could do so perfectly. Hence, in some of the interviews, participants could not appreciate questions posed in *twi* without an interpretation. Interpreters were engaged whose job it was to translate questions posed in *twi* to the dialect of the respondent. This created long sessions in some of the interviews resulting in fatigue. Interviews which could have taken the researcher two hours to transcribe ended up taking more hours because of the time space taken by the interpretation. However, this was a surmountable challenge.

Besides, the study did not cover males who engage in similar commercial load carting activity in the major cities of Ghana. Even though previous research by Yeboah (2008) examined the economic activities of porters from the perspective of gender and livelihoods, this study could have furthered the gender analysis especially in the areas of skills and education.

Finally, the study could have interviewed more state officials and skills providers in the private informal sector especially in the areas of apprenticeship training to appreciate how Government TVET policies are impacting on the various stakeholders.

### **5.10 Summary**

The philosophical background of this research is that reality is a construction of people's perceptions of what constitutes their world and hence, this reality is subjective because it varies in terms of differences in purview. The research studied the female porters as primary participants and triangulated this with CSO participants and few Government officials who had some stake in the *kayayei* phenomenon. The

study context is largely the cities of Accra and Kumasi where the *kayaye* are present in large numbers.

The study adopted the mixed method approach: collected both qualitative and quantitative data. Purposive sampling was the technique used to select a segment of the population. Interviews were conducted among individuals and focus groups using interview guides. Questionnaire was later administered to a sample of 151 participants to measure the frequency of certain variables or themes which emerged from the analysis of the qualitative data. The qualitative data was analysed using qualitative content analysis and drawing from Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach, while the quantitative data was analyzed using simple frequency tables.



## CHAPTER SIX

### DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

#### 6.0 Introduction

The motivation to embark on this research emerged from the background that there seems to be a missing link in Ghana's efforts at developing its human resources. The background being that there is increasing streetism. More particularly, this streetism involves young people especially children of school going age. The questions which this research sought to find answers have been stated in the introductory chapter. However, to make for easy reference in the presentation of findings, it suffices to once again state the research questions.

1. What are the causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon and its effects on the individuals involved and the nation as a whole?
2. Have the *kayayei* acquired the appropriate skills and education for livelihood?
3. What are the views of stakeholders on ways of improving the livelihood of the *kayayei*?
4. Does existing Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policy cover marginal groups including informal sector actors such as the *kayayei*?
5. What are the challenges to the implementation of TVET for marginal groups at the community level in Ghana?

The search for data to try and answer these questions began with in-depth interviews, focus groups discussions, observation and document reviews. Members of CSOs that target the female porters as part of their mandate and some state officials were interviewed to obtain data that supplement views of the primary respondents who were



the female porters. Subsequently, questionnaire was developed out of some major variables revealed in the analysis of the qualitative data and a survey under taken.

In all, 151 questionnaires were administered to respondents, out of which 147 were valid for analysis. The valid questionnaires were processed and analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. Out of this number, 101 were analysed for the female porters representing participants in Accra and Kumasi, while 46 were analysed for members of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) involved in advocacy for, and protection of the *kayayei*. The female porters registered one hundred percent response rate while the CSO respondents registered ninety-two percent. Table 6.1 below shows the response rate to the questionnaire.

**Table 6.1: Response Rate to the Questionnaire**

Category of respondents	Number returned and valid	Number not returned	Number invalid	% returned	% not returned	% invalid
<i>Kayayei</i>	101 of 101	0	0	100	0	0
CSO	46 of 50	4	0	92	8	0

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

The first section of the chapter offers descriptive data on the background and demographic characteristics of the female porters as primary respondents. The section focuses on analysis of the research findings on the issues (or reasons) explaining the livelihood choices of the female porters, their level of skills and or education and how these have influenced their employment in the urban economy.

## 6.1 Descriptive Data

This section presents a brief background of the female porters who participated in the research, focusing on their age distribution, marital status, religious and ethnic backgrounds, start age of portering and educational background.

### 6.1.1 Age Distribution

The ages of the *kayayei* respondents were in cohorts that varied from below 15 years to above 38 years. Majority (34.7 percent) of respondents were between the ages of 15 and 20 years. This was followed by the below 15 age group at 27.7 percent, while those from 21 to 26 years represent 25.7 percent of the respondents. Some 6.9 percent were in the range of 27 to 32 years. Lastly, those in the age range of 33 to 38 (years) constituted 4 percent. This age distribution shown in Table 6.2 is quite consistent with the finding by Awumbila (2007) which reports the age of the female porters to fall in the range of 9 and 22.

**Table 6.2: Age Distribution**

Age	Frequency	Percent
Below 15	28	27.7
15 – 20	35	34.7
21 – 26	26	25.7
27 – 32	7	6.9
33 – 38	4	4.0
No response	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

The age structure of the *kayayei* as presented in Table 6.2 can be interpreted in various ways. In the most obvious case, the structure reflects the laborious nature of the *kaya* trade. The act of load carrying is most suitable for the girls in the ages of 15 to 20 because of the level of energy required and as the data reflects, over 88 percent of the girls fall in this age bracket. This indicates that as the *kayayei* age, they exit the trade. The age structure also confirms one significant finding by this research and previous researches that indicate most of the *kayayei* migrate to the cities to work and buy items for marriage. Given that the data is skewed towards girls in their late teenage and early twenties, it can be reasonably inferred that the age structure is consistent with this finding.

Besides, exploitation through the recruitment of young girls by “senior sisters” and Aunties from communities into the cities has been reported by CSO respondents and some *kayayei* participants to be quite dominant. It is logical then to say that as the senior *kayayei* get familiarized with the city life, they use that advantage to recruit young girls back in their home communities and exploit them financially through serving as chaperones to them. This has implications for their rampant dropping out of school to migrate to the cities, following the beautiful stories told by the so called “senior sisters” and Aunties about the city.

#### **6.1.2 Marital status**

The distribution of the data on marital status of the respondents is skewed towards unmarried girls. The unmarried represented 68.3 percent of the respondents; the married represented 22.8 percent while 5.9 percent claimed they were widows. A small number of respondents said they were divorced (3 percent). Table 6 provides the details of this analysis.



**Table 6.3: Marital status of respondents**

<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Married	23	22.8
Not married	69	68.3
Divorced	3	3.0
Widowed	6	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

The analysis on Table 6.3 indicates that there are many young girls in the *kaya* trade. Hence, the implications discussed under the age structure are also relevant when making an interpretation of the data analyzed in Table 6.3. Additionally, it implies that girl child education is still a serious challenge in the communities where these girls migrate from. Hence, there are issues to raise about the success of the millennium goals on education and the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy.

### **6.1.3 Religious background**

The data indicate that the *kayayei* come from the two major religious denominations in the country; Christianity and Islam. From Table 6.4, majority of the respondents were Muslims (88.1 percent) while only 5 percent were Christians. 6.9 percent of respondents were not explicit on their religious beliefs.

**Table 6.4: Religious background of respondents**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Christian	5	5.0

Muslim	89	88.1
No response	7	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

There is no concrete basis for linking the *kaya* trade to Islam. However, it is important to note that given the common practices of polygyny and early marriage in Islamic communities, large family size and the desire to get married early could be significant factors explaining the dominance of Muslim girls in the trade. For instance, 70 percent of the *kayayei* respondents rated large family size as important cause of the *kayayei* phenomenon.

#### **6.1.4 Ethnic background**

The results from Table 6.5 reveals that most of the respondents (49.5 percent) are Dagombas, 21.8 percent are Mamprusis, 20.8 percent are Gonjas and 5.0 percent are Walas. 3 percent of the respondents declined in indicating their ethnic background.

**Table 6.5: Ethnic background**

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Dagomba	50	49.5
Mamprusi	22	21.8
Gonja	21	20.8
Wala	5	5.0
No response	3	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

#### **6.1.5 Start Age of Portering**

According to Table 6.6, majority of the *kayayei* (29.7 percent) started the *kaya* business between the ages of 15 and 17 years. This is followed by 27.7 percent who started their *kaya* business when they were between 18 and 20 years. 17.7 percent started the business when they were between 12 and 14 years. Some 12.9 percent started the trade when they were between 9 and 11 years. The frequencies of other age groups are shown in Table 6.6.

**Table 6.6: Start Age of girls as porters**

Age Cohort	Frequency	Percent
less than 6 years	4	4.0
6 – 8 years	2	2.0
9 –11 years	13	12.9
12 –14 years	18	17.7
15 – 17 years	30	29.7
18 – 20 years	28	27.7
21 and above	5	5.0
No response	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

The data implies that street life is experienced by the female porters at an early age. Approximately 66 percent start the trade before they attain the age of 18. It shows that majority as confirmed by the statistics on education, either never had opportunity to obtain formal education or had but dropped out before or just after basic education. It also further indicates most of the *kayayei* girls were influenced into the trade by someone who had been in the street. This further validates the issues of recruitment of girls by “Senior sisters”, Aunties and pressure from peers as major causes of the multiplying number of *kayayei* on the streets of the major cities of Ghana.



The data is interesting when it comes to making a case for child labour. The fact that 36.6 percent of the *kayayei* join the trade below the age of 15 years impugns the country's child labour laws. The children's Act of 1998 establishes the minimum age for employment when it states under section 89 that "the minimum age for admission of a child to employment shall be fifteen years". The Act is also clear in stating that labour is exploitative of a child if it deprives the child of its health, education or development (section 87 (2) of the children's Act, 1998). The compulsoriness aspect of the FCUBE policy complements the children's Act but for the failure of the state to implement this policies to their logical conclusion.

#### 6.1.6 Educational Level

As shown in Table 6.7, six in every ten *kayayei* who were interviewed have never had any formal education. However, 21.8 percent of respondents have had various years of primary school education and 7.9 percent have had some years of Junior High School (JHS) Education. Another 4 percent of respondents have attained the Senior High School education whilst 5.9 percent have had some form of vocational skill training.

**Table 6.7: Educational Level of the female porters**

Education	Frequency	Percent
Primary school	22	21.8
JHS	8	7.9
SHS	4	4.0
Vocational skill training	6	5.9
No education	61	60.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

If the statistics in the previous sections indicate that large percentage of young girls are involved in the *kaya* trade and as much as 60 percent of these have never had formal education, it indicates a low level of educational development in the communities where these girls come from. These statistics also confirm the finding that the cultural practice of fosterage denies girls of formal education. The educational background of the respondents also has implications for girl-child education in Islamic communities since as much as 88 percent of the *kayayei* respondents were Muslims. It somehow also suggests that girls' education could be improving in urban Islamic communities but not significantly so in the rural communities.

## **6.2 Analysis of Findings**

This section focuses on analysis of the research findings on the causes (or reasons) explaining the livelihood choices of the female porters, their level of skills and or education and how that have influenced their employment in the urban economy. In the previous section, the data indicated that over sixty percent of the female porters did not have access to any formal education or informal vocational training. Given that majority of them start the portering trade before the age of fifteen years as indicated in Table 6.6, there is a background for analysing their level of skills and education and the likely impact of it on their livelihood in the urban environment. It also provides a background to analyse the reasons or causes and effects of their engagement in the portering business (referred to as the *kayayei* phenomenon) in public discourse.

### 6.2.1 The reasons for not attending school

As observed earlier on, many of the respondents had never had formal education. The reasons for this situation are shown in Table 6.8. Majority of the *kayayei* respondents said they could not attend school because they were sent to live with their aunties as foster children. This group constituted 59.4 percent of the respondents. Another 14.9 percent could not attend school because they came from large polygynous families, where child care leaves much to be desired. Some 9.9 percent reasoned that their parents did not have interest in girl-child education; while 6.9 percent indicated they were each made a mother's house child (the culture of designating one child of a couple as belonging to his/her mother's family). 5 percent said the urge to come with friends to the city prevented them from having formal education while 3 percent claimed they were rather betrothed for early marriage.

**Table 6.8: Reasons for not attending school**

Significant causes for the lack of education	Frequency	Percent
Because I was sent to live with my auntie	60	59.4
Because I was made a mother's house child	7	6.9
Because I come from a large polygynous family	15	14.9
Because my parents did not have interest in girl-child education	10	9.9
Because I was betrothed for early marriage	3	3.0
Because of the urge to come with friends to the city	5	5.0
No response	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

Girls made to live with Aunties as part of a bonding social relation practice was mentioned by most respondents as a cause for girls migrating southwards. ... *I was very small when I was sent to my Auntie. When my Auntie picked me, she sent me to her*



*daughter to live with her. I was later taken back to my Auntie when she gave birth to twins (Female porter, Aboabo station, Kumasi, 13<sup>th</sup> October, 2013)*

Yeboah (2008) talks about this process as more or less child trafficking, where girls sent to Accra in the care of chaperones (called aunties and senior sisters) are usually exploited. This migration is often preceded by the denial of these girls of the opportunity to attend school or to learn a trade. The aunties and senior sisters convince parents of these girls; telling them how much money their girls could earn when they come to Accra and work as porters. This has been a recipe for girls dropping out of school to migrate to the cities.

#### **6.2.2 Arrival, Integration and Nature of Work**

With regard to how participating *kayayei* came to Kumasi and Accra, most of them said they came by public transport from various communities in northern Ghana. A few of them came in multiple transits; from Wa, Savelugu, Nalerigu, Walewale, Yendi and other towns and villages to Tamale; from Tamale to Kintampo and from Kintampo to Kumasi and to Accra. This means that the journey to Kumasi and Accra for some of them was not accomplished in a day; rather it took a number of days or weeks. This form of migration was attributed to the lack of sufficient money to cater for the cost of transportation from their towns and villages to Kumasi and Accra in a straight journey. Some also indicated that they actually transited because they had to visit some relatives in such towns on the migration journey.

Logically, some *kayayei*, before eventually arriving in Kumasi or Accra might have worked in one of the towns transited such as Tamale or Kintampo to make sufficient money to continue the journey. Some of them indicated they got to Kumasi and Accra with some form of financial aid or free transportation. For this group, they might have

come to the city with the help of a friend, relative (mother, Auntie or senior sister). Due to lack of income generating opportunities in the home communities of the girls, they are encouraged by relatives to leave their villages for Kumasi or Accra to engage in portering.

*Did someone in your family asked you to come to Accra?*

*Yes, my mother asked me to come. I just completed JHS. The work that my parents are doing, when the results come, they will not be able to pay the school fees for me to go to SHS. They told me to come here and carry the load so that when I get money, they will also add me some to go to school (Female porter, Tema station, Accra, 28<sup>th</sup> June, 2013).*

For some of the girls, they came to the city with full consent of their families. This is consistent with Cant's (1998) household strategy approach where distressed families make decision about who to migrate.

#### **6.2.2.1 Accommodation**

Across the individual interviews conducted among the female porters, the common phrase which came up was "my community people". On arrival in the city the female porters have basically two ways of allocating a dwelling place, be it in the open space, a kiosk, or a rented room. Most of the participants indicated that they came with someone from their community, who had been to the city before and hence had connections with other girls, who admitted them to where they dwelt. The other category of girls who came alone, on arrival asked of people from their communities (i.e. people from their ethnic groups), who admitted them into the spaces where they were dwelling. Indeed, during the field work, it was observed that the female porters lived according to ethnic enclaves; Dagombas were together, and the same for the other ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is, thus, a major source of social capital when it comes to allocating a place of accommodation. Social capital entails a network of support and reciprocity that exist between or among individuals (Meikle et al, 2001; Moser, 1998; Derham and Gzirishvili, 1998). Social capital resources facilitate a sense of belonging and trust among the female porters, which manifest and feed into the building of other capital assets including financial, through group or cycle savings which they refer to as *adashi*. Group financial strength also enables them to acquire accommodation in the city, particularly in the slum areas. This group financial strength is explained by one CSO respondent.

*... kayayei are paying so much that some house owners evict people from their rooms and give them to the kayayei. They get a lot of money. Let say they rent a room at GH¢20 per month to other tenants and by renting it to the kayayei, they get the GH¢20 in every week instead of a month, naturally they would prefer the kayayei. A lot of houses are full of kayayei because those house owners get more from the kayayei than the normal tenants who pay monthly. Some get GH¢20, GH¢30 or even GH¢50 per week because, they could be about 20 or 25 kayayei in one room and paying GH¢2 each per week (CSO participant, Roman-Hill, Kumasi, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*



**Figure 6.1: Rented rooms of *kayayei* at Aboabo in Kumasi**

However, this has led to overcrowding in rooms of the *kayayei* compounding the already poor sanitary environment in which these structures are located. Through



observation and the stories shared by the *kayayei*, their rooms were infested by bedbugs making skin diseases one of the common health problems facing them.

This was the picture painted by one *kayayei* respondent.

*In our room, there are insects that bite us and because of congestion, I cannot turn myself during sleep. The bath rooms are extremely dirty because many people use it (Female porter, Aboabu station, Kumasi, 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*



**Figure 6.2: Commercial washrooms used by the *kayayei*.**

#### **6.2.2.2 Nature of Work**

The manner in which the *kayayei* get their jobs is aggressive. According to them, they mostly move in groups in order for potential customers to identify them easily.

Whenever there is a „shout“ for *kayayei*, they run towards the caller. Hence, getting a job is a matter of good fortune and it depends on how fast you can run to meet callers.

Nonetheless, some of them agreed that they have loyal customers. Customers who are regular shoppers or shop owners have their contacts; so they call them when their services are needed. Hence, the *kayayei* engage in some form of relationship marketing, for which reason customers may be loyal to them.

The *kayayei* normally operate in market areas (usually the CBDs) or places where there is high demand for their services. While market areas are permanent job sites, there

are temporary places where members of the *kayayei* work depending on season or activity in that area. Those in Kumasi mentioned Kejetia, Adum, central market, Asafo market and other market areas as their business territories. For those in Accra, Makola market, Tudu, Malata market, Tema station and Agbogboloshie are their main business territories.

At the lorry terminals, it was observed that some *kayayei* were found running after arriving vehicles in order to offload goods. In a focus group, respondents said they sit beside the road and wait for arriving vehicles so that they could help patrons offload their goods. These scenes were common at Adum-Pampaso and Central Market in Kumasi. They offload boxes of assorted items from vehicles and even on some occasions this offloading was done outside the normal vicinity of their trade. Those interviewed said they could move out of the market on a truck if they trusted the customer or might have dealt with him/her before.



**Figure 6.3: *Kayayei* hanging by the roadside, awaiting arrival of vehicles at Roman-hill in Kumasi.**

The *kayayei* carry various items which include yam, tomatoes, fish and a wide range of supermarket products. According to them, their customers are mostly operators of supermarkets, fish mongers, tomatoes sellers and those who come around to buy food

items for domestic uses. They retorted that, though some customers can be mean, unfriendly and abusive; they value the opportunities offered them to carry their loads because that was what determined their survival for that day. One commented;

*“If I don’t carry any load for a day, it means no food for me. My friends will not help because they have little money or do not have at all”*  
(Female porter, Agbogboshie, Accra, 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).

This statement sounded quite touching and explains the level of aggression among the *kayayei* when it comes to making money in the market.



**Figure 6.4: Kayayei carrying sacks of goods at Agbogboloshie in Accra**

The *kaya* business has become competitive according to most of the respondents. The adult *kayayei* compete with the young ones. Clients prefer young girls because they see them to be less difficult and easy to manipulate. Patron-client relations are based on pricing and bargaining. Hence, clients always prefer those who charge less or those they could manipulate and exploit. This explains their preference for young girls and children. The adult *kayayei* are usually envious, because clients always prefer the services of the young ones and this often leads to arguments and insults. A *kayayei* respondent sums this when she says;



*If you hear someone calling for paa-o-paa (a load carrier) and says he wants young girls not adults, it means the person intends to cheat you. You are not able to determine the person's intention until you carry his/her goods. The cheat would often not ask how much you want to charge. The one, who would not cheat, would ask you how much you would charge. If they cheat me, I don't say anything, I just give everything to God (Female porter, Central market, Kumasi, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 2013).*

### **6.2.3 Causes of the *Kayayei* Phenomenon**

One of the objectives of this research was to determine the factors driving young girls and women to migrate to the cities to engage in portering. A number of causes were reported by respondents which are presented in the subsections below.

#### **6.2.3.1 Socio-Cultural Causes**

A person's socio-cultural environment influences his/her attitudes and the approach to the issues of life. The socio-cultural factors that emerged from the qualitative data analysis were rated by respondents as shown in Table 6.9 (See appendix A). Large family size; girl-child fosterage under auntie; girl-child fosterage under grandmother; girl-child belonging to the mother's family; betrothal and early marriage; lack of interest in girl-child education; and urge to acquire items by girls for marriage were the dominant socio-cultural issues raised by the research participants during interviews and focus group discussions. Participants were further asked to rate this issues on the scale of not important at all as a cause of the *kayayei* phenomenon to being a very important cause.

On this basis, therefore, 70 percent of *kayayei* respondents believed that having a large family size is a very significant cause of the *kayayei* phenomenon. 22 percent believed it was quite an important factor. This view was supported by the CSO respondents, 78 percent of whom were convinced that, it was a very important factor and another 13 percent thought it was important. Among several factors mentioned by Yeboah (2008),

as the causes of girls migrating to the south to do portering, rivalry in polygynous marriages was significant. Hence, polygyny was generally recognized by respondents as an important causal factor of the *kayayei* phenomenon, since it is one of the variables which explain the large family size.

In like manner, a majority of both the *kayayei* and the CSO respondents considered fosterage of girls under aunties as another very important cause (70.3 percent and 69.6 percent respectively). Another 15 percent of the *kayayei* and 11 percent of CSOs believed it was an important cause. Among some ethnic groups in the north, girls are fostered by relatives, mostly aunties and grand mothers, as a common bonding social practice. One of the reasons for this practice among the Dagomba ethnic group according to Oppong (1973) is to ensure that the family is well knit together and it is also an opportunity offered children to get to know their relatives.

CREATE's Community and Schools Survey (ComSS) [2010] which tracked 1,630 children in the Savelugu-Nanton district of the northern region over a period of three years, indicated fosterage is almost twice as prevalent (at 18.7 percent of all children) in the district when compared to the Northern Region generally. The prevalence of fosterage was found to be higher for girls (at 22.6 percent compared to 15.7 percent for boys). The data showed that fostered children in the sample were typically over-aged for their grade in school if they were boys, and more likely to drop-out of school if they were girls. Consistent with the findings by CREATE's ComSS (2010), fosterage which is more or less a form of bondage emerged as a significant access barrier to education for girls.

Fosterage under grandmothers was less significant, with 37.6 percent of the *kayayei* and 17 percent of CSO respondents saying it was important. A majority of CSO

respondents (56.5 percent) believed it was only somewhat important, with 23.8 percent of the *kayayei* sharing that opinion.

A majority of respondents from both groups (41.6 percent of the *kayayei* and 52 percent of the CSOs) agreed that girls belonging to their mother's family (*Nmayilibisi*) were not an important factor causing the phenomenon. This was followed by 22.8 percent of the *kayayei* and 17 percent of CSO respondents who believed it was only somewhat important.

When asked whether early marriages and betrothals were causes of the phenomenon under study, 65 percent of CSO respondents agreed it was a very important cause.

This was quite different from the *kayayei*, whose responses were spread out over the rating levels. However, a slim majority (27.7 percent) answered that it was only somewhat important whereas 26.7 percent said it was not an important factor. Again, although 71.7 percent of CSO respondents believed that lack of interest in girl-child education was a very important factor, just 42.6 percent of the *kayayei* respondents agreed. 44.6 percent of the *kayayei* thought it was either important or only somewhat important.

Finally, 82 percent of the *kayayei* responded that, the urge to acquire items for marriage was one of the important factors, whereas 74 percent of CSO respondents said it was a very important factor. This is confirmed by previous studies on the female porters. For instance, Opare (2003), Van den Berg (2007), Awumbila (2007), and Yeboah (2008) all mentioned the need to acquire household items and clothes in preparation for marriage as a significant cause of young girls' migration to the cities of Accra and Kumasi to work as head porters. Besides, UNICEF (2000:136) has reported that the need to acquire marital accessories (cooking utensils and clothing) is one of the reasons pushing young women and girls into the cities from the north to do head



porterage. Tradition requires parents (particularly mothers) to provide their daughters with such accessories during marriage. Hence, as the girls approach adolescence, they are urged by mothers and aunties to abandon schooling in order to migrate to the city to work as porters for the purposes of achieving this objective.

The study by Awumbila (2007) further identifies poverty, lack of education and employment opportunities as antecedent conditions which compel the girls to migrate to the city to obtain these items in preparation towards marriage. Hence, socio-cultural factors including the social conditioning of girls for early marriage are among the major reasons for migration of young girls from the north to Accra and Kumasi to work as porters. The socio-cultural factors are many and varied and differentiated across communities in the north. A key informant at the state department for social welfare explains that;

*... some tribes in the North will not do elopement, some do; some will not do betrothal, some do; some exchange sisters: I give you my sister and you give me your sister. So if mine is of age and yours is still in school, you have to dislocate her from school so that the contract will work (State official, Adum, Kumasi, 4<sup>th</sup> February, 2014).*

Obviously, some of the girls try to escape these cultural practices by migrating to the cities to work as girl porters. The push effects of these factors are further compounded by weaknesses in policy implementation on education at the community level. The following section provides analysis on the human resource development factors underscoring the kayayei phenomenon.

#### **6.2.3.2 Human Development Causes**

A number of issues relating to human resource development came to the fore. The factors were rated by respondents on the scale of not important at all to being very important as presented in Table 6.10 (see appendix B). Poor teaching and learning

environment was considered as a very important cause of the *kayayei* phenomenon by 72 percent of the *kayayei* themselves and 89 percent of CSO respondents. Hence, responses were significantly skewed in favour of poor teaching and learning environment as a very important causal factor of the *kayayei* phenomenon. It was also confirmed that the nature of settlements in communities where most of the *kayayei* come from reflects one of dispersed homesteads. The girls are compelled to walk long distances to school which does not help effective learning coupled with burden of fetching water and going for firewood. These constitute serious challenges which confront girl-child education in the home communities of the *kayayei*.

Under such circumstances, dropout rate becomes high, especially given the failure to implement the compulsoriness aspect of the FCUBE programme. Some participants blamed the *kayayei* phenomenon on this failure. 37.6 percent of the *kayayei* considered it to be an important factor and another 15.8 percent feel it is a very important factor. The CSO respondents, however, disagreed, with a total of 73.6 percent responding that it was not an important factor (41 percent said it was not important and 32.6 percent answered not important at all).

Whereas 91 percent of CSO respondents said poor teacher supervision was a very important factor, a much smaller majority (46.5 percent) of the *kayayei* responded likewise. Another 27.7 percent believed it was important nonetheless. Hence, respondents generally agreed that poor teacher supervision was an important causal factor of the *kayayei* phenomenon.

In a similar vein, 63 percent of CSO respondents believed that inadequate qualified teachers was a very important causal factor, whereas only 26.7 percent of the *kayayei* agreed it was. Majority of the *kayayei* (35.6 percent) believed it was only somewhat important. The most significant statistic is that both the *kayayei* and CSO respondents

are vehement about the lack of enforcement for the compulsoriness aspect of the FCUBE as the cause of young girls' engagement in the *kaya* trade. When the lack of interest in girl-child education was narrowed to parents, a majority of both respondent groups agreed that it was a very important factor (46.5 percent for the *kayayei* and 68 percent for the CSOs). Another 21.7 percent of CSO respondents believed it was an important factor whilst 21.8 percent of the *kayayei* said it was only somewhat important. The lack of interest in girl-child education, though generally a setback in the rural areas of Ghana, is particularly pervasive in the rural areas of the north. The Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS 5), conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in 2008 has indicated that while school attendance for age 6-25 was 86.1 percent at the national level, it was only 63.5 percent for males and 56.6 percent for females in the rural savannah (GLSS 5 by GSS, 2008). This confirms the views from respondents about the lingering disinterest of parents in girl-child education as a very important variable in the north-south directed migration of young girls of basic school-going age.

The results on whether the high dropout rate of girls from school was a factor were divided between very important and somewhat important. However, majority of both the *kayayei* respondents (40.6 percent) and the CSO respondents (67 percent) believed it was a very important factor. This is in line with the findings by CREATE (2010) which indicate that while about 8 percent of children do not have access to school at all in the northern region of Ghana, more than a third of those who are enrolled do not complete basic education. This explains the level of illiteracy within the rank and file of the *kayayei*.

41.6 percent of the *kayayei* and 28 percent of the CSO respondents replied that the lack of skills training to improve people's employability after JHS is a very important



factor. Another 14.9 percent of the *kayayei* and 37 percent of the CSOs agreed it was important. This reflected in most of the responses given by state officials during interviews. One state official explains his disappointment at the opportunities denied JHS graduates to resit the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) upon poor performance.

*The BECE itself, look at how long it took us to consider allowing these young people to resit if they have failed. Even after waking up from our slumber, it is yet to be put into reality. Should it take us more than one year to see this as necessary for our own children to resit? Where on this earth are pupils declared failures just because of their nonperformance in an exam for the first time. If it were so even for universities, how many people would have become lecturers and doctors if they didn't have the opportunity to resit their exams? How many intellectuals in this country have not gone for "second and third world wars" before passing their exams? ... we allow a lot of people to waste away and expect crime to go down; we will pay for whatever we have sown as a nation (State official, department of social welfare, Kumasi, January, 2014).*

Related to the quote above, a slight majority (31.7 percent) of the *kayayei* respondents believed that the lack of opportunities for girls who are unable to progress beyond JHS was a very important cause of the phenomenon, as compared to 24 percent of the CSO respondents. 74 percent of the CSO respondents thought of it as a less significant factor, albeit an important one all the same. Besides the sociocultural and human development causes discussed above, respondents also reported some other issues which have been classified as general causal factors of the *kayayei* phenomenon. Details of the general causes are discussed in the following subsection.

#### **6.2.3.3 General Causal Factors**

Participants in the research mentioned some other factors which are general in nature as being behind the increasing number of female porters in the cities of Ghana. These are: peer influence; urban attraction; availability of squatting opportunities; ethnic-

based social networking opportunities; escape from farm labour; ignorance of hassle in the city; and opportunities to commercialize sex. Participants were asked to rank these factors on the scale of not important to very important. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 6.11 (see Appenndix C).

An overwhelming majority of the *kayayei* (97 percent) and the CSO respondents (84.8 percent) considered peer influence to be a very important general factor responsible for the *kayayei* phenomenon. Another 15 percent of the CSOs agreed it was important. The attraction to urban settlements was an important factor according to 53.5 percent of the *kayayei* and 50 percent of the CSO respondents. Quite a number of both the *kayayei* (28.7 percent) and the CSO respondents (24 percent) also believed it was a very important factor.

43.5 percent of the CSO respondents agreed that the availability of squatting opportunities in Accra and Kumasi was an important cause, followed by 32 percent who thought it was only somewhat important. Among the *kayayei*, a slim majority (36.6 percent) believed it was important and was closely followed by 35.6 percent who thought it was a very important factor. Generally, the *kayayei* respondents agreed that availability of squatting places in the cities encouraged their coming into the cities.

The responses on having ethnic-based social networks as a cause of the phenomenon showed that majority of both groups (40.6 percent of the *kayayei* and 41 percent of the CSO respondents) believed it was a very important factor. Besides, 35.6 percent and 34.8 percent of the *kayayei* and the CSO respondents respectively felt it was important. Ethnic-based social networking was, thus, agreed by both respondent groups as a motivating factor for girls' migration to the cities to do portering. Asked whether the desire to escape from farm labour contributed as a general factor, a significant majority of the CSO respondents (58.7 percent) thought it was only somewhat important;

although a much smaller majority of 36.6 percent of the *kayayei* agreed, 21.8 percent rather answered that it was an important factor. Likewise, 58.7 percent of the CSO respondents agreed that the ignorance of hassle in the city was an important factor, as compared to 39.6 percent of the *kayayei*. Another 24 percent of the CSOs and 20.8 percent of the *kayayei* felt it was a very important factor.

The views on whether opportunity to commercialize sex is a factor, varied among the two groups. Majority of the CSO respondents believed it was, with 39 percent and 18 percent saying it was somewhat important and very important respectively. However, majority of the *kayayei* (38.6 percent) believed it was not important at all with another 33.7 percent saying it was not an important factor.

#### **6.2.4 Effects of the *Kayayei* Phenomenon**

Beyond the causes the study also sought to investigate the effects of the phenomenon on the porters themselves and the nation as a whole. These effects have been categorized into positive and negative and discussed in the sections that follow.

##### **6.2.4.1 The Positive Impacts of the Phenomenon on the *Kayayei***

Table 6.12 (see appendix D) is an analysis of respondents' views on what constitute the positive effects of the portering trade to the porters as actors. These effects include the ability to acquire items needed for marriage, money for school, money to buy tools for skill set training, remittances to dependents at home and surviving the competition in polygynous marriages. These were recurring reasons given by participants during in-depth and focus group interviews. Hence, respondents were asked to rate the positive effects of the phenomenon on the female porters on the scale of not significant at all to extremely significant. On the need to acquire items for marriage, 84.2 percent



of the *kayayei* and 71.7 percent of the CSO respondents believed it was an extreme positive effect of the *kayayei* phenomenon on the actors. In comparison, only 34.7 percent of the *kayayei* believed that acquiring money for school was an extreme positive effect, with another 21.8 percent saying the effect of savings made from portering on victims going back to school had only moderate positive effect. On the other hand, majority of the CSO respondents (50 percent) actually believed it did not have any significant effect at all on further schooling of actors.

Over half of the CSO respondents believed that the impact of the portering trade on the acquisition of money for skills training was only moderate; whereas majority of the *kayayei* (39.6 percent) said it was an extreme positive effect, followed by 30.7 percent who said it was quite a significant effect. Again, the CSOs and the *kayayei* differed in opinion as to whether the *kayayei* business had a positive effect in helping the girls and women survive hardship conditions in the North during lean seasons. 52 percent of the CSO respondents said not at all whereas 66.4 percent of the *kayayei* said it was.

With regards to making remittances to dependants, 42 percent of the *kayayei* and 41 percent of the CSO respondents thought it had significant and moderate effect respectively on the *kayayei*. However, majority of the *kayayei* (30.7 percent) felt it was only a moderate effect, whilst 24.8 percent and 22.8 percent felt it was an extreme and significant effect respectively.

Majority of both groups (58 percent of the CSOs and 38.6 percent of the *kayayei*) believed that the portering business had very extreme positive effects on survival in a polygynous marriage. Another 25.7 percent of the *kayayei* and 32.6 percent of the CSOs believed it has a moderate effect in that vein. Finally, when asked whether the *kaya* trade enabled them to make money to undertake skill set training, 39.6 percent

responded extremely so, whereas 20.8 percent replied that it was moderately so. 50 percent of CSO respondents indicated that learning trade was not at all a significant positive effect of the portering trade.

#### **6.2.4.2 The Negative Impacts of the Phenomenon on the *Kayayei***

The portering activity was reported to have some negative effects on the porters. The major negative effects include exploitation, involvement in prostitution and other social vices, physical defects and abuse by the public. Table 6.13 (see appendix E) provides details of the analysis done on these effects of the phenomenon. According to 82.2 percent of the porters, exploitation by patrons and relatives was an extreme negative effect of being a porter. 67 percent of the CSO respondents also agreed to this.

Majority of the female porters (40.6 percent) reported their involvement in prostitution and other social vices as only moderate negative effect of the phenomenon. However, 58.7 percent majority of the CSO respondents believed it was an extreme negative effect. Both groups of respondents (84.2 percent of *kayayei* and 74 percent of the CSOs) agreed that accidents and physical defects resulting from carrying heavy loads were extreme negative effects of being a *kayayei*, with 14 percent of the CSO respondents reporting that it was only a moderate effect.

Although there was agreement between the two groups on whether the abuse by the public was a negative effect, only 42.6 percent of the *kayayei* thought it was an extreme negative effect as compared to 65 percent of the CSO respondents. 32.7 percent of the *kayayei* answered that it was only a moderate effect. 52 percent of the CSO respondents replied that murder and kidnapping of some *kayayei* was an extreme negative effect of the profession, as compared to 26.7 percent of the *kayayei* who

thought likewise. The majority of the *kayayei* (28 percent) felt it was a moderate effect. On the particular issues of rape and robbery of the *kayayei*, 61.4 percent of the *kayayei* themselves and 80 percent of the CSO respondents agreed it was an extreme negative effect. Another 12.9 percent of the *kayayei* responded that it was a significant negative effect.

Finally, 74 percent of the CSO respondents and 52.5 percent of the *kayayei* answered that lack of education among the *kayayei* was an extreme negative effect of the *kayayei* phenomenon. In addition, 14.9 percent of the *kayayei* responded that the effect was just a little, whereas 15 percent of the CSOs said it was a moderate effect.

#### **6.2.4.3 The effects of the phenomenon on the nation**

Due to the pervasive nature of the *kayayei* phenomenon and its implications on the development of women and children, participants were asked to rank the recurring variables that participants reported as the negative effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon on the nation. These effects are presented in Table 6.14 (see appendix F). Near equal majority of both groups (69.3 percent of the *kayayei* and 67 percent of the CSOs) agreed that the incidence of children born on the street to teenage *kayayei* was an extreme effect of the *kayayei* phenomenon on the nation. 15.8 percent and 17 percent of the *kayayei* and the CSOs respectively felt it was a significant negative effect on the nation.

78 percent of the CSO respondents reported that contraction and transmission of STDs was an extreme negative effect on the health of the nation caused by the *kayayei* phenomenon. 53.5 percent of the *kayayei* themselves agreed to this, with another 21.8 percent reporting that it was a significant effect. Related to this, 70 percent and 64 percent of the CSO and the *kayayei* respondents respectively reported that the girls



and women did not have control over their reproductive life because of excessive exposure to rape, unprotected sex and lack of access to reproductive health education. On child labour and child trafficking, 65 percent of the CSO and 32.7 percent of the *kayayei* respondents felt it was an extreme negative effect on the nation. 39.6 percent majority of the *kayayei*, however, answered that it was rather a moderate effect. Again, whereas 63 percent of the CSOs replied that social vices such as stealing, smoking and prostitution were an extreme negative effect of the *kayayei* phenomenon on the nation, only 21.8 percent of the *kayayei* agreed. Majority (39.6 percent) of the *kayayei* felt it was a moderate effect, with another 24.8 percent recognizing the effect as only little. Both groups significantly agreed (42.6 percent of the *kayayei* and 63 percent of the CSOs) that the *kayayei* phenomenon had an extreme negative impact on the achievement of MDG 2 (universal basic education by 2015). 21.8 percent of the *kayayei* also felt that the impact was only moderate. 52 percent of the CSOs responded that the *kayayei* phenomenon had an extreme effect on the development of slums. Although a smaller majority (38.6 percent) of the *kayayei* agreed, 28.7 percent felt the effects were only moderate and another 12.9 percent answered that the effects were little.

Among the *kayayei* respondents, 53.5 percent believed that the declining rate of girlchild enrolment and the associated dropout rate from schools in home communities of the *kayayei* were extreme negative effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon on the nation. Another 16.8 percent felt it was a significant negative effect on the nation. 61 percent of the CSO respondents agreed that declining girl-child enrolment and increasing dropout rate from schools in home communities of the *kayayei* was, indeed, an extreme negative effect on the nation.

A slim majority of the *kayayei* (30.7 percent) replied that the impact of the phenomenon on uncontrolled civil society interventions was just a little; with another 25.7 percent responding that it had no such effect. Majority of CSO respondents (39 percent), however, felt that this was an extreme effect. From Table 14, the skewness of the responses shows that respondents do not recognize uncontrolled civil society interventions as a negative effect on the nation. They rather view such interventions as the only means currently available to address the problems and needs of the *kayayei* in the absence of any government intervention.

### 6.3 Conclusion

A number of findings have been discussed in this chapter, which broaden the knowledge about the *kayayei* phenomenon. The previous assertion that the *kayayei* phenomenon was an effect of high levels of poverty in the home communities of the *kayayei* notwithstanding, this study provides evidence rooted in some socio-cultural factors which could be main or ancillary to the poverty factor.

In the analysis, it has been established that the culture of mandating first born girlchildren to serve as maids to their Aunties is such a huge factor. This does not only deny the girl-child access to education but subsequently a significant explanatory variable in the mass migration of young girls and women to the cities to do load carrying. Both the *kayayei* and the CSO respondents have overwhelmingly endorsed this as a critical factor. The Auntie's interest is not to enrol the girl in school or for vocational training but to exploit her and later prepare her for marriage.

Examination of the effects of girls sent to live with relatives on access to education is complicated by the fact that such practices are rife in the rural areas, where adherence

to customs may be stronger. This is further compounded by the fact that these are also places where issues of poverty, affordability of schooling and the need for child labour are more pressing thereby creating an extreme vulnerability for the girl-child. Hence, where a family is unable to send all children to school, it may be “foster” children who are excluded.

Perhaps, there is an interesting linkage between the Auntie factor and the large family size which is equally endorsed as a cause of the *kayayei* phenomenon. There is a high tendency for a polygynous family to seek child caregivers outside of the nuclear family. Even though, it is seen as a form of bonding social capital, those extended families where these girls end up, do not see their education as a priority. Consistent with the views of Oppong (1973), the services of a foster child are valuable to the fostering family in terms of performing tasks in the compound (for girls) or caring for livestock and running errands (for boys). Education of such children is, therefore, relegated to the background.

This is also significantly linked to the lack of interest in girl-child education given that education of the girl-child is the first to be sacrificed when there is resource constraint in such large families. Besides, because of the practice of betrothal and early marriage, sometimes the girl-child is preconditioned for marriage; hence her education is relegated to the background. In some cases, the girls in an attempt to escape, from forced marriages, migrate to the city and end up in load carrying. Socio-cultural factors therefore constitute such strong variables in explaining the lack of education or skills among the *kayayei* which reduce them to labourers in the street economy.

The research also reveals that teaching and learning environments do not support effective learning. This has a link with teacher motivation and could be an explanatory variable in teacher absenteeism. Coupled with poor supervision of teachers, the



prospects of schooling continue to decline. In fact, over 91 percent of the CSO respondents say poor teacher supervision accounts for high dropout rate and is an antecedent factor in the migration of girls to the cities. Declining learning outcomes tend to deflate interest of parents in children's education.

The aggregate effect of all these systematic bottlenecks against the development of the girl-child is peer influence, which came up as the most endemic causal factor of the *kayayei* phenomenon. Both the *kayayei* and the CSO respondents, in large percentages of 97 and 84 respectively endorsed peer influence as the cause of girlchild migration to the cities. Idling girls easily fall prey to returnee *kayayei* who say all manner of good things about the cities and also with their improved physical appearance, even parents of potential migrants lack the moral courage to stop their wards from migrating.

The negative effects of their presence in the cities, according to the findings are; extreme cases of child labour and exploitation, prostitution, smoking, rape, STIs and teenage pregnancies. This cost the nation in most obvious ways. The issues of lack of sex and reproductive education and teenage pregnancies were endorsed by respondents as serious recipe for contraction and transmission of STIs including the deadly HIV-AIDS virus. In fact, 74 percent of the CSO and 53.5 percent of the *kayayei* respondents said this was an extreme negative effect on the nation. The issues of abduction and child-trafficking came to the fore, and above all the systematic denial of girls from education is said to impugn the achievement of the MDGs on universal primary education and gender equality.

In the mist of all these challenges posed by the *kayayei* phenomenon, stakeholders are of the view that state-built and implemented vocational skills infrastructure in the rural areas would contribute to curtail migration of unskilled girls and young women to the

urban setting. This recommendation, however, remains questionable to some stakeholders as the marketability of some of the skills in the rural economy tends to be low.

From the discourse, it is interesting to conclude that the solution to the *kayayei* phenomenon largely depends on the ability of the state to marshal resources to create educational environments that make it morally and physically possible for compulsory education. It is clear that all the factors causing the *kayayei* phenomenon are ancillary to the lack of enforcement for the compulsoriness aspect of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). However, prevailing conditions such as inadequate educational infrastructure (both hard and soft) especially in rural communities would not only make enforcement of compulsoriness impossible but morally unacceptable.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **LIVELIHOOD PROCESSES OF THE KAYAYEI AND NHRD AS**

## TRANSFORMING MECHANISM

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the *Kayayei*'s livelihood from the perspectives of their vulnerability, livelihood assets and strategies and the relevant policies that tend to shape and transform vulnerable and excluded groups in society. The frame within which the discussion here traverses is to provide a context for understanding the *kayayei*'s livelihood dynamics in relation to National Human Resources Development (NHRD). This understanding cannot be accomplished by examining just what the *Kayayei* do in order to make a living, but involves the resources that provide them with the capability to build a satisfactory living. The capacity to live satisfactory life relates to certain institutional, policy and legal context that either enhance or stifle their pursuit to achieve sustainable employment and its outcomes.

The most appropriate institutional and policy areas that transform the poor and the vulnerable often relate to those which directly intervene in their human capital development. This is consistent with McLean's (2004) argument that, for many countries, human resources are their primary resource; development of which is critical for national and local stability. The chapter, thus, relates the livelihood processes of the *Kayayei* to those relevant institutions, laws, policies, targets and plans that activate or deactivate to determine the quality of life of the vulnerable.

### 7.1 Vulnerability of the *Kayayei*

Vulnerability of the *Kayayei* is spanned by multiple agents that impact on their livelihood both in their home communities and the urban setting. Chambers (1999:



33), defines vulnerability as „defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress“. Carney (1998) expresses similar views and identifies three main factors which explain the sources of vulnerability of poor people. He talks about trends (economic, demographic, resource stocks); shocks (climate or conflicts), and environment (culture, structures and institutions). Some of these agents are present in the urban setting and get manifest and escalated by urban conditions such as unemployment, low income, poor quality housing, inadequate sanitation, and lack of infrastructure and other amenities.

For the *Kayayei* phenomenon as a micro issue, their vulnerability as reflected in the stories and experiences shared by participants and through observation tend to cluster around exploitation, abuse, discrimination, exclusion, socio-cultural practices, gender (demographic), and income generation. Details of findings regarding these categorizations are discussed in the following sections.

### **7.1.1 Exploitation**

The female porters are obviously among the urban poor who continue to be vulnerable in their employment life. Their lack of skills and also given the dynamics in skill set requirement for urban jobs (Woods and Salaway, 2000), the female porters are constantly at risk of exploitation. Issues of exploitation which came to the fore were those perpetrated by financial service providers, revenue collectors, clients/patrons, aunties and senior sisters and CSOs/NGOs. Some *Kayayei* deal with financial service providers such as *susu* collectors; whether that individual at the corner of the market or formal savings and loans companies. They deal with these providers because of the obvious advantages that come with their services. For instance, they offer good outreach (doorstep) services, have intimate knowledge of their clientele and their

businesses, offer relatively low transaction cost, less bureaucracy and paper work and above all quick adjustment to changing circumstances, as in emergencies. However, the risk of losing one's money is quite high. *Susu* collectors abscond with clients' savings and some recalcitrant *Susu* collectors fail to return savings accumulated to clients in time because they, in turn, invest the money in treasury bills and other fixed deposits. One respondent shares her predicament during a focus group discussion.

*My wedding is coming in two weeks and these Eden Microfinance people have stolen my money. My sister here saved GH¢500 and I saved GH¢359 with them and they don't want to give us our savings. Now I don't even feel like working again. I have gone there several times but they keep saying we should wait* (Focus group discussion, Aboabu, Kumasi, 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2014).

The researcher accompanied them to the said Savings and Loans Company to help retrieve the money but the company's accountant claimed it was in crisis and, therefore, could not make any payment. Full of frustration, these girls stood helplessly with tears in their eyes. The obvious question is which institutions protect people's savings. The lack of voice even makes these girls a target of dubious financial service providers and explains their level of vulnerability. Aryeetey and Gockel, (1991) have talked about the fact that, innovative financial arrangements are not necessarily immune from significant transport costs. In many schemes where the innovation requires that the deposit-taker travels to the depositor, there is evidence of this affecting significantly not just the operational costs of the schemes, which are then passed on to their clients. But a greater risk of the depositor not obtaining the full benefits of services which, in extreme cases, exposes the depositor to the risk of losing his/her deposits exist. With a poor governance system for financial intermediation in the informal sector, the female porters are most vulnerable to exploitation.

The female porters pay tax multiple times in a day as they move the length and breadth of the market and meet different revenue collectors. The revenue collectors take advantage of their inability to communicate in the local dialect and tax them illegally. Ironically, children under fifteen years who are supposed to be protected under the child labour laws are rather taxed in the street economy. A CSO respondent had this to say: “The police are the ones supposed to enforce the laws on child labour yet they are the ones breaking the laws”. Even some of the CSOs themselves use the predicament of the female porters to attract funding from donors including international NGOs but embezzle and misapply these funds at the expense of the very people for which this funding is given.

*You know Peace Corps have spent millions and millions of dollars in northern Ghana, for this same project or what you just asked but how are they doing it? Hmmm!! When we even went to Tamale to have a meeting with these white people, they were a lot of NGOs in there. Some people said that, they built up schools but we looked around the whole of Tamale (northern region) and we didn't find where the schools are. ... they said they go from station to station talking to girls and their families to stop moving to the cities but they are still moving (The President of KAYA, Agbogbolosie, Accra, 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

The respondent who gives this evidence also expresses his misgivings about the manner in which CSOs/NGOs work in the country without the state monitoring their activities. He sounds quite emotional when he complains;

*Nobody is monitoring them. Where did I go, I went to so many places in Ghana including the north. You see in the USA, whether you are an NGO or whatever, the government has the right to find out what you are using people's money for. Yes they do. Because you use citizen's names and circumstances to collect money, you have to use it to the benefit of the people; so if governments sit down and the NGOs are not doing their work right; because those NGOs support them with money when they are coming to do a political rally ... You know if you use a basket to fetch water, no matter the amount of water put into it, as long as it is leaking, it will never get full. That was the issue I raised before the leader of the American Peace Corp. volunteers, since then, she ran away from here (The president of KAYA, Agbogbolosie, 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*



The exploitation by Aunties and senior sisters is quite rife and direct. The evidence of exploitation of young girls and children recruited by senior sisters and Aunties to the city was overwhelming during interviews and focus group discussions. This was one instance of many stories narrated by the respondents.

*I told my mother that I was coming to earn some money to buy a sewing machine to use it to learn dressmaking. I was saving with my brother's wife up to GH¢100 but she travelled home with it without telling me. I saved another GH¢100 with my uncle's wife, but she told me the money got lost. So now I have nothing. Now I want to start susu instead of saving my money with relatives (Female porter, Roman-Hill, Kumasi, 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*

For instance, girls who stay with their Aunties at tender ages as dictated by culture have had their labour exploited when these Aunties bring them to the city to work or take care of their babies whilst they work. Parents having been motivated by the material possession of returnee female porters, encourage their young girls and children to follow these returnees to the city. Whilst in the city, these young unsuspecting girls give their daily earnings to these senior sisters, who end up cheating them. Opare (2003) in Yeboah (2008) established that, the female porters were exploited by relatives who provided accommodation for them in Accra. By providing accommodation to the porters, family members take advantage and exploit them in the process. This makes an interesting contribution to the theory on social capital which posits that declining family support as well as reduced household relations increases the vulnerability of the female porters (Chambers, 1989). Besides, Moser (1998) in Yeboah (2008) refers to the weakened inter-household and intrahousehold apparatus of trust and collaboration as a result of increased economic pressure and social diversity. Hence exploitation of the *kayayei* by relatives breeds social fragmentation and creates a sense of mistrust which weakens social ties as a means of resilience

against vulnerability. The senior sisters now even consciously influence young girls (as an exploitative strategy) to drop out of school and follow them to the city. This is what a CSO respondent had to say.

*Yes, as for peer pressure, it is the first thing. Those young girls come because they have seen what their friends brought back from kayayoo and when they are coming back to the city they follow them here to do kayayoo. This makes other families also ask their girls to follow the returned girls to kayayoo; because they see the assets they bring back home from the city. They go home during harvesting time and within one month or two they come back with new set of girls. This time around, many of them are gone and by the end of September, you will see more of them coming and this time with more new girls. Some parents have not been here before but because they are motivated by what the returnees have brought back home, they also want their children to come and acquire money or those things (CSO respondent, Roman-Hill, Kumasi, 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*



**Figure 7.1: Luggage of home bound *kayayei* being packed in a charted bus**

This scenario raises issues regarding achievement of the Millennium Development Goal of Universal Primary Education and Gender Equality by 2015. Clearly, this task remains illusory if these systemic difficulties continue to militate against human resource development at the community level in Ghana. The FCUBE policy is not efficacious enough to counter these shackles which thwart the efforts of the global community to increase investment in human development as a means of reversing generational poverty (McLean, 2004). In the cities, child labour laws are not enforced, so these girls roam the streets undisturbed and are comfortably exploited with great impunity. Hence the efficacy of policy and the role of the state remain questionable.

### 7.1.2 Abuse

The stories of abuse shared by respondents make one wonder about the level of resilience the *kayayei* girls need to survive doing the *kaya* work. The stories of patron abuse; abuse by the public; being trafficked as sex slaves; rape; maltreatment by relatives; and early and forced marriages are overwhelming. The analysis on the negative impacts of the *kaya* trade has a high percentage (42.6% *kayayei* and 65% of CSO respondents) of participants indicating the level of physical abuse visited on the *kayayei* was rather extreme. These statistics are supported by the quotes below.

*One kayayoo was hired by one man to carry his goods and when they got to his house, he raped her and killed her. They brought the story and I don't know whether it happened in Kumasi here or elsewhere. But it was a kayayoo. In the picture, there was a head-pan and a piece of cloth apparently for use as a pad on the head for carrying the headpan* (CSO respondent, Aboabu, Kumasi, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2013). Other respondents from CSOs commented that:

*... they have problems with market traders, buyers and customers and sometimes end up in the police station, and at the end of the day, we have a lot of cases, so sometimes some are detained at the station and nobody to intervene for them ...* (CSO respondent, Accra, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).



*The problem I have seen is that they are often raped, and it is common and they don't come to report. I am a man, they cannot come and tell me and also for the fear of suffering stigma especially when they return to the north (CSO respondent, Accra, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

*... after they just won the election master!! Come and see the beating of the kayayei: mmoafo, pepeni, mo frehi, you think we would allow this man to rule Ghana or what, it will not happen, we are taking him to court, Master!! There is a lot; they drove them out of their shops especially these Akim people, they own almost all Accra stores. They drove them out (CSO respondent, Agbogbolasie, Accra, 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

The later quote reflects exchanges which took place between traders and female porters who perceive each other as belonging to the two major political divides which contested the 2012 general election in Ghana. The quote paints a picture of how female porters were accused by market queens for voting to elect a President in an election, the results of which were being challenged in the Supreme Court of Ghana. The female porters were subject of abuse in that instance because those market queens were their major patrons. Indeed, the long stories of abuse told by the *kayayei* during interviews were triangulated by responses from CSOs respondents.

### **7.1.3 Discrimination and Exclusion**

According to views gathered from CSO respondents and the observations made during the fieldwork, it is apparent the *kayayei* phenomenon is partly explained by the lack of interest in girl-child education in the communities where the girls migrate from. It was also discovered that, this exclusion led to idling and the only option left was for them to migrate to the city. In the cities, the *kaya* trade is seen by many people as a job for people of inferior status in society and this perception predisposes the *kayayei* to disrespect and discrimination which further deepens their vulnerability.

Discrimination is particularly rife in their attempt to access health services. This has been hugely evidenced in stories shared by respondents.

*There is lack of education on health issues and as a result some even die of headaches. When they go to hospital, they are discriminated and maltreated. So they refuse to go. Yes, they know they are kayayei and insult them by calling them northerners – (Ooh pepefo), move away; move away; so they feel not to go to the hospital. Even just this morning, one of them died (CSO respondent, Agbogbolasie, Accra, 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

*I believe that, there are several reasons; one of them may be perception that if I go to the hospital and they ask me what I do and I tell them I am a kayayoo, I may not receive that kind treatment from some health attendants and not just a perception, it could be a reality (State official, GHS, Accra, 2013).*

Health is an important component of human capital required for livelihoods. It is both a determinant and an outcome of livelihood strategies (Chambers, 1989b; Harpham and Grant, 2002). Poor living environments which are the bane of the female porters often endanger their lives and health, especially where they live in marginal areas for lack of cheap alternatives. This creates further vulnerability, as ill health undermines one of the chief assets of the urban poor; their labour (Satterthwaite, 1997). Hence, good health is an invaluable asset to the female porters, considering the fact that their most accessed asset is their physical labour. Health and livelihood strategies are intricately linked since good health status is needed for engaging in livelihood activities, including learning and community activities (Yeboah, 2008).

Access to health services is, thus, of particular important to the female porters because of the nature of their survival strategies. For instance, poor living environment, eating habits, and the risky reproductive behaviours that tend to characterize their livelihood processes create health hazards and with inaccessible health services, the health of the female porter is extremely compromised.

#### **7.1.4 Socio-cultural practices**

The vulnerability of women and girls in the *kaya* trade is also traceable to cultural factors which expose them to exploitation discussed above. The culture of sending girls to stay with their Aunties and grandmothers as foster children; the culture of mother's house child (i.e. one of the children of a married woman designated as belonging to the woman's parental home or family) and return of wives to mothers after first and sometimes second child bearing all accounts for the decision to migrate. This is because these cultural practices expose women and girls to maltreatment. They are not a priority when it comes to the care of family members because in these extended families, they are treated as second class citizens. Hence, the presence of the *kayayei* women and girls in the cities to do load carrying is a consequence of institutionalized socio-cultural factors.

Unfortunately, however, this vulnerability is even further deepened in the urban environment because, another spiral of vulnerability dimensions rear their ugly heads. One CSO respondent gives account of the behaviour of married women who have left their husbands' houses to their mothers after child bearing as part of the culture.

*There is one culture too among the Dagombas, the older women if they get married and after first delivery, second and sometimes third, they go to stay with their parents. During this period, she migrates to the city to engage in Kayayoo, carrying her baby at her back. This practice is called dogkana meaning the woman's return to her parents after first delivery. The women have nothing and even on their return to their husbands' houses, they would require some things. So they travel here to work and some of them while here engage in extra-marital relationships with other men (CSO respondent, Kumasi, Roman-Hill, 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2013).*

This particular cultural practice known as *dogkana* has implications for polygynous practices as indicated by the respondent and hence, the size of the family. The size of the family in turn has implications for child care in terms of feeding, education, skills training, cloths etc. Poor care has implications for child migration and migrants arrive



in cities without education and skills to pursue satisfactory livelihood. Under the circumstances, load carrying becomes the only available option, then a different set of vulnerability dimensions join the spiral and the vulnerability status of the *kayayei* becomes complex and multi-faceted. The argument once again is whether human resource development (education and training) is the antidote to this complexity of vulnerability so described.

### **7.1.5 Gender**

Women appear disadvantaged because they are the most affected in communities where people's interest in education is generally low. It is interesting that it is the girl-child who suffers all manner of cultural practices including conditioned to believe that the most accomplished thing in life is marriage. The denial of education to these girls and their engagement in wage earning activities provide basis for understanding the assertion that the development of human capital through education is not an important option to poor people (Chambers, 1989) in Yeboah (2008). Moreover, intra-household relations organized on patriarchal and cultural gender norms lead to discrimination in the allocation of resources to human capital development. Education is seen as unproductive investment for girls in patrilineal societies since women become part of their husbands' households when they marry.

This perception remains a critical setback on girl-child education in northern Ghana. Hence, a significant percentage of girls say they come to do load carrying because they want to buy items for wedding even when you can see that, they are barely old enough for marriage. They have no predisposition to learn trade or save towards learning a trade. Women and girls are cultured as instruments for marriage. They come to the

street because of marriage and after marriage they return to the street with their kids.

This is a background offered by a key informant which augments the discussion.

*The older women as I was saying come to do kayayoo because they themselves have been in the street for a long time until they got married and when they marry, they have nothing. So, after giving birth she comes back to work because that is the only job she knows. She didn't learn any trade and she didn't go to school, so after giving birth she comes back to kayayoo. The older women recruit young children to come and work for them or take care of their babies while they work. They are doing it. In our centre, we have some children who are taking care of babies and sometimes they bring such babies to the centre. These children definitely will not have opportunity to go to school. And also learning something on the street and when they go home to the north, they come back on their own (CSO field worker, Kumasi, 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2013).*

Women and children are both vulnerable in their home communities and in the urban environment, thereby, making gender a factor of vulnerability. Beall and Kanji's (1999) assertion that women, children and older people are some of the most vulnerable groups in urban environments confirms this analysis. This analysis also fulfils gender and development arguments on the exploitation of women in the labor market (Beneria, 2003).

#### **7.1.6 Income Generation**

Another dimension of vulnerability revealed in the analysis is in the area of income generation. A significant percentage of participants indicated that women are marginalized in the basically agrarian economies of the communities where most of the female porters come from. The irony is that, most of these women and girls do not only come from Islamic background, where polygyny is common practice, but care for children is left largely in the hands of women. Yet, in the same communities women do not own farms and hence have less access to direct income generating activities. The comments below provide some evidence from the data.

*Women do not own farms. It is the men who do. The woman would only get something if they harvest groundnuts. Because it is the women who would harvest the groundnut and so they are given some. Even as we are here, when it is time for groundnut harvest, we go back home (Focus group of female porters, Accra, Tema station, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

*Back at home, there is no any income generating activity, so we have to come here to work for some money. Yes, back at home, we do farming, but if you don't have money, you cannot farm to the level that can cater for food needs and also have some to sell for money. We come here to work and make money to go and farm (Focus group of female porters, Accra, makola market, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

This is a reflection of Samarasinghe and Burton's (2007) view that women's vulnerability is grounded in structural and systematic issues that make women vulnerable, with significant disadvantages in terms of poverty, education, and employment. The option left for women to survive is migration, when opportunities exist else to undertake direct income generating activities. So, in the urban environment, conditions could be difficult but because this environment offers the female porters some level of independence and control over their earnings, they find livelihood here to be comparatively better. The quest to generate income to survive, therefore, came up as one of the reasons for migration of women and girls to the cities of Accra and Kumasi to do load carrying.

## **7.2 Livelihood Resources of the Female Porters**

In livelihood analysis, the philosophy of the approach is hinged on the belief that people require a range of assets (resources) in their strategic livelihood decisionmaking processes to secure positive livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999). These resources are described as the stocks of capital used either directly or indirectly to generate means of survival or accumulation (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Ellis,



2000; DFID, 1999) and are in the form of human, physical, financial, natural or social (Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Ellis, 2000; DFID, 1999).

However, among the diversity of resources, no single category on its own is sufficient to yield the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek, and this is particularly true for poor people whose access to any given category of assets tends to be very limited. Poor people, therefore, seek ways of nurturing and combining those assets they have in innovative ways to ensure survival (DFID, 1999). This section discusses the resources that are available to the female porters and how they strategize based on these resources to survive in the cities.

### **7.2.1 Human capital**

Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and other job related human qualities and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999). At the household level, human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available. This varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential and health status among others. The female porters like most urban poor people primarily rely on the sale of their labour for survival in the cities as reviewed in this study.

Human capital is the main livelihood asset of the female porters as in terms of physical labouring as a means to generate income. From the analysis, the issues which came up concerning human capital as far as the *kayayei* phenomenon is concerned cluster around skills training, physical labour, education and entrepreneurship.

In terms of skills training, the analysis indicates majority of the female porters interviewed did not have any employable skills. In fact, it came out that most of them have as a priority to train in some skills in order to enhance their livelihood strategies.

The very few female porters who say they have acquired some employable skills appear to have abandoned them for the *kaya* job, thereby bringing to question the marketability of such skills. Even the most relevant question is: why are the majority of the female porters not having tradable skills? Does the state have any intervention for people who have not had the opportunity to go through the formal education system? This response provides some background regarding the female porters' education and skill set status.

*... if you have a chunk of the children (i.e. the Kayayei) coming from the three northern regions, it means that the human resource needs of the regions is actually also being challenged. Because, for the next fifteen years, you will be having this segment of the population who have reached positions of trust and don't have the skill set to be able to take up responsibilities either in the family which is the basic unit of society... they wouldn't have been well equipped to be able to take up their roles as family members let alone talk about the formal sector. So where are we heading towards? (CSO respondent, Accra, Adenta, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

In terms of education, majority of the girls either never got the opportunity to go to school or dropped out at the early stages of basic education. Just a few claim they have completed Junior High School (*JHS*). In a focus group discussion the participants retort that;

*Some of us did not go to school because we were given to our Aunties. Once you stay with your Auntie, you are supposed to help her care for the home, so she would not allow you to go to school. Six of the twelve of us stay with our Aunties; we came here because our parents did not send us to school and some of us too we were put in school but we dropped out. Some parents are just not interested in sending their children to school, some too do not have money and the children themselves sometimes do not take schooling seriously (Focus group of female porters, Kumasi, Aboabo, 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 2014).*

This situation was confirmed by the CSO participants as they questioned the continuous lack of intervention for people outside of the school system. One had this to say when he was asked the question: can we say we have a National Human

## Resource Development (NHRD) Framework?

*I will say that we don't. Because if you go back to the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) and you look at it and unpack it and look at what goes into it. And you look at even the youth ... for the human resource development of a country must be structured in such a way that, it meets the development needs of the country. So, where for example you have a country where school dropout rate is high ... There are certain categories of the human resource block that don't have the skill set to be able to participate effectively in the school system. Those are already there. What human resource development plan is there to develop that block? (CSO respondent, Accra, Adenta, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 2013).*

The pointer is that there is no direct intervention to develop the talents of people outside the school system and so people like the *kayayei* who have no education, have access to just their physical labour to survive in society. But does load carrying contribute to national development in any significant way? The responses below provide some space for reflection.

*The kayayoo work is not helping this country in any way. These children are children who, if were to go to school, would become teachers, lawyers or any other prominent persons and they are carrying loads and are not in school. Meanwhile, their children will come to continue with the kayayoo because they cannot carry kaya to take care of their children in school. This one will continue (CSO respondent, Kumasi, Roman-Hill, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*

A question on whether the activities of the *kayayei* are helping the country elicited the response below:

*Since I am a Ghanaian, let me use a question to answer your question. Do you think if there is no kayayoo in Kumasi or Accra, we can't still carry our things? We can, using other ways. Even though they are helping, I know they are helping but if they are helping and nothing bad is going on, fine, but if you see the way they are suffering even though they are helping people, people still treat them badly. Because, last I even heard that the former president, J.J. Rawlings said that we should not call them kayayoo, we should rather call them "obofo" (helpers) (CSO respondent, Kumasi, Roman-Hill, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 2013).*



Obviously the findings indicate that there is some gap in the country's human resource development effort. That gap is the inability of the state to galvanize young „non-schoolers“ and dropouts to provide them with skills that can enable them contribute more meaningfully to the development of the country. The president of the *Kayayei* Association had this to say about the level of inertia and laxity that account for high numbers of unproductive youth in the country.

*If the government had a plan for them, the government would have been making profit out of them. So Ghana loses. I worked with a lot of Europeans who came here, you would give them your plan but they tell you your government should do that. You put it before government and they tell you this ministry or that ministry will do it.*

*Can you say the Kayayei are considered for skills training by state institutions?*

*No, no, no, all the institutions, no! Even the two hundred kayayei who were considered for skills training but could not complete were considered by COTVET after the president (i.e. President of the Republic of Ghana) made a special request, and they failed (the president of KAYA, Accra, October, 2013).*

In terms of the way forward, participants recommend that Ghana adopted the Chinese strategy since they faced similar streetism in the past.

*We have Chinese people here who come to this office. They told us that whatever the Ghana government or whoever is doing, we are wasting our time. They said in China, they were having these difficulties and what they did was that: NGOs and other institutions established big, big shops and if they were going to train tailors and hairdressers they were training one thousand in one big shop (CSO respondent, Agbogbolosie, Accra, October, 2013)*

The human capital status of the *kayayei* and similar groups in the cities are, thus, limited to the use of their body or their physical strength. The ability to use their strength in transporting goods as it is argued by Chambers (1989) is their greatest uninsured asset. They lack education and skills and they form part of the mass of

people in the Ghanaian society who have not been reached through any human resource development efforts. This is confirmed by the allusion made in the Education Sector Plan (ESP, 2010-2020) of the need to reach and educate excluded children [i.e. the “unobtainable” last 10% - 20% of Net Enrolment Rate (NER)]. This effort includes capturing out-of-school, hard-to-reach, truants, street children, and intra-cycle dropouts and integrating them into the formal educational system or within a complementary/alternative schooling framework.

### 7.2.2 Financial Capital

In the generic livelihoods framework, financial capital is explained as financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999). To appreciate the *kayayei*’s level of access to financial resources, it is important to gain understanding of which types of financial service organizations exist and the kind of services they provide. This should also include their service conditions, which groups or types of people have access and what prevents others from gaining access. Understanding the nature of people’s savings behaviour requires finding out about the form in which they currently undertake their savings and the risks involved in these different options. This section provides analysis on the kind of financial services accessed by the female porters, their saving strategies, remittances and investment.

**Table 7.1: Average daily earnings of the *kayayei***

Earning per day (GH¢)	Frequency	Percent
7-10	73	72
11-14	17	17

15-18	6	5.9
19-22	2	2
No response	3	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

95 percent of respondents reported they did not engage in any other activity besides portering. Hence portering is their main source of income in the city. They have indicated their minimum earnings and savings in a day as presented in Figure 7.1 and 7.2 respectively. Majority of them earn between GH¢7 (\$2.3) and GH¢10 (\$3.3) a day. A comparative analysis of their earnings with their savings indicates between 40 and 50 percent of their earning is saved daily. It shows the *kayayei* save quite significant proportion of their daily earning. In fact, their saving rate is higher than the average saving rate of Ghanaians in 2006 which stood at 15% of total earning (Ghana News Agency, 2008).

**Table 7.2: Amount of earnings saved**

<b>Amount of earning saved per day (GH¢)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
2 – 3	46	45.5
4 – 5	40	39.6
6 – 7	10	9.9
8 – 9	2	2
10 and above	3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

Given that the female porter works all days in a month, her earning stands between GH¢162 (\$53) and GH¢240 (\$78). Compared with the daily minimum wage of GH¢6 (\$2) in 2014, the *kaya* job earns relatively better and may continue to attract young



women and girls. The earning nature of the *kaya* trade has a tendency to attract more people into the trade if the very factors such as congestion in the city centres do not get addressed. It is a hassle that is paying and compensating for the poor and even has likelihood to attract people from other ethnic groups which traditionally did not engage in the *kaya* trade.

Another important implication of the earning nature of the *kaya* trade is its tendency to keep women and girls from engaging in skills training which could increase their productivity in the national economy. This is because the opportunity cost of leaving the street tends to be very high. This explains the intractability of the *kayayei* phenomenon given the ill effects of the trade. It suggest that tackling the phenomenon from the point of view of skills training will require high levels of ingenuity to reduce the opportunity cost of the victims leaving the trade.

However, people's ability to sustain their saving behaviour and benefits is determined by the kind of financial service organizations which exist to mobilize and manage such savings. In terms of the *kayayei*'s choice of where to save, four options were reported by respondents; Savings and Loans Companies, *Susu*, cycle saving (the *adashi* system) and others. Indicated on Table 7.3, close to 70 percent say they do cycle saving (the *adashi* system) – a system where individuals in a group contribute fixed amount of money daily to one member until all members take their turns and the cycle continuous. Respondents say they choose this method because of the following disadvantages with other options; the fear of being cheated, long time spent in the bank, lack of trust in personal sellers and inability to read and write.

Close to 70 percent cited fear of being cheated by the banks and *susu* collectors as the reason for not saving with them. Hence, with the *adashi* system, they rely on the sense of trust of individual members and the group as a collateral security.

**Table 7.3 Where the *Kayayei* save their money**

Where the <i>kayayei</i> save their money	Frequency	Percent
Saving and loans companies	5	5
<i>Susu</i>	17	17
Group ( <i>Adashi</i> )	71	70
Others	8	7.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

This system however does not allow the individuals in the group to build their savings to high levels beyond what they receive from group members. Individuals do not also benefit from services such as money transfers, interest on savings and loans. Their inabilities to find financial service providers who meet their peculiar needs compel them to use the receipts from the groups to make unplanned purchases. Obviously, these girls could have been better off if they had the kind of financial intermediation that helps them to invest their financial resources in more profitable ways than they currently do.

The consequences of the scarce availability of appropriate savings services is that most poor people and for that matter the female porters save in informal ways: tucking cash under their mattresses; buying animals or jewellery that can be sold off later; joining savings circles; or giving money to neighbours for safe-keeping (CGAP, 2004). The problem with these methods of saving is that they are risky (cash can get stolen, animals can get sick and pass on, and neighbours can run off). In contrast, those with safer, more formal option to save benefit themselves and the larger economy; as such funds become available for intermediation thereby creating positive synergies through multiplier effects. It is also interesting that financial institutions and concerned

CSOs/NGOs do not see the potential in leveraging on the savings of these female porters to enhance their livelihood strategies.

Besides, the *kayayei* make remittances to support dependents at home and in some cases such remittances are used for investment in crop farming and animal rearing.

According to one respondent;

*“We buy bowls and cloths to carry home and some of us also invest back at home by rearing animals and even building houses. Even in Kumasi here, some have made it by going into other businesses”* (female porter, Aboabo, Kumasi, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2013).

There is relationship between human capital and financial capital because the former defined as skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health are means to financial empowerment while the latter reinforces the former. Thus, the female porter’s savings could play a critical role to enhance their livelihood if there is enabling environment that allows them to use such savings to acquire skills in marketable trades.

### **7.2.3 Social Capital**

Social capital is a resource that the *Kayayei* rely heavily upon (Yeboah, 2008). It entails a network of support and reciprocity. These networks often exist between individuals, households, and within communities (Meikle et al, 2001; Moser, 1998; Derham and Gzirishvili, 1998). In the generic livelihood framework, social capital is defined as the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These resources are developed through networks and connectedness, either vertical (patron/client) or horizontal (between individuals with shared interests) that increase people’s trust and ability to work together and expand their access to wider institutions, such as political or civic bodies (DFID, 1999). It also involves



relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate co-operation to reduce transaction costs and it provides the basis for informal safety nets amongst the poor.

The analysis indicates that the *kayayei* derives social resources in the areas of ethnicity, group transportation and group accommodation, informal social safety net for one another, association and CSOs/NGOs interventions. For instance, peer pressure or influence is a very important factor in the livelihood decisions of the *Kayayei* women and girls both before and after migration. Through networking with returnees, girls and women in the home communities take the decision to migrate to the cities in the south. These decisions are made based on the “good” stories they hear from the returnee girls who have been working in the cities. This makes ethnicity a critical bonding social resource to the *kayayei* which then translates into the building of trusted group relationships.

The fruits or benefits of these relationships manifest in acquiring sleeping places as a group, whether in verandas; in wooden structures near the markets and lorry stations; or in slum areas such as “Sodom and Gomorrah” in Accra. Another benefit is the group saving strategy adopted by the *kayayei* known as the *adashi* system. An important linkage between social capital on one hand and financial and physical capital on the other can be seen clearly here – the bonding relationship allows groups to be formed for saving (financial capital) and for accommodation to be acquired (physical capital).



**Figure 7.2: Kayayei sharing food from one pot at Aboabo in Kumasi on Sunday**



**Figure 7.3: Kayayei being interviewed in their room on Sunday**

Beyond ethnicity, the *kayayei* also benefit from some social resources from colleague *kayayei* in the market. These benefits emanate from the act of reciprocity which naturally occurs among women and girls who ply the trade in the same markets or lorry terminals. Hanson (2005, p.1291) in Vandenberg (2007) remarks that the more contact there is among network members, the more supportive the relationship will be. Literature on networks suggests that frequent contact fosters shared values, increases mutual awareness of needs and resources, encourages reciprocal exchanges and facilitates the delivery of assistance. The female porters are found sitting together

when less busy, sometimes sharing meals together in corners where they take some rest. But the greatest benefit of this type of bonding is that they collectively serve as social safety net to themselves. This has manifested on occasions, when respondents said they did contribute money to replace goods damaged by colleagues who fell while in transit. They also protect one another against harassment by the public. The response below illuminates this analysis.

*There are times that my room-mates fall sick. You know, as we go to the market, some of us can force and carry too heavy load that is beyond their ability and fall sick as a result. In such a case as room-mates, we have to put some money together to support her. Besides, in the process of carrying load, one can fall with it and cause damage to it and when this happens, as room-mates or people from the same ethnic group or people who work in the same market, we have to contribute money to buy the items to replace and free our colleague (Female porter, Tema station, Accra, 9<sup>th</sup>, October, 2013).*

Another source of social capital is from the relationships they establish with shop owners and other customers in markets where they ply their trade. Some *Kayayei* have agreements with particular shop owners to work as attendants. This is a common practice at Adum and Makola markets in Kumasi and Accra respectively where the markets are surrounded by shops of all kinds. The shop owners allow the *Kayayei* to stay in front so that they are able to carry goods for people who shop in the stores.

Such attendants also help shop owners cart the goods out and in as the day's business begins and closes. This relationship is, however, based on luck and trust coupled with the *kayayoo*'s proficiency in the commonly spoken dialect (*Twi*) in the country. These relationships in some cases have developed to levels where the girls are employed permanently as sales persons or facilitators (cleaning, unpacking cars, and occasionally carrying goods). The risk with this social resource is that there is a tendency for the girls' labour to be exploited in terms of underpayment for services rendered.



Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) constitute another source of social capital resources to the *kayayei*. There is quite a significant number of CSOs/NGOs helping to alleviate the problems of the *kayayei*. These CSOs do policy advocacy for the *kayayei*, mobilize them for skills training and education in reproductive health including STIs and HIV-AIDS. Other CSOs/NGOs provide some accommodation and rest points within the city where they take rest and attend nature's call. The president of the *Kayayei* Youth Association of Ghana (KAYA) talks about the kind of collaborations going on between the association and other CSOs/NGOs all in the interest of the *kayayei*. He commented that:

*... I suggested to some of the NGOs that they should let us give the girls education. The kayayei in Accra were very serious and so I started mobilizing them. We mobilized them and gave them ID cards and anybody who had ID card was a member. Anybody who had problems could call on their group leaders to sit down and resolve them. We organized them and put them under Gender Based Champions (GBCs) who receive complains from the market in terms of their offences to others and others who offend them. This was supported by the USAID, Marie Stopes International, SWAA-Ghana and other NGOs... The Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services (AGREDS), Ghana, requested for 100 girls and we sent them but it looked like their funding source was not good. USAID, Marie Stopes International and SWAA Ghana are helping with reproductive health, gender issues and HIV-AIDS (CSO respondent, Adenta, Accra, 2013).*

Marie Stopes International, in particular, has offices located in the CBDs where the *kayayei* ply their trade which provide proximity for them to reach the girls to implement their programmes on reproductive health. Below is a description by an officer from Marie Stopes International concerning their reproductive health education strategies for the female porters.

*Marie Stopes currently has a model that we think is the best way to reach them which is what we term as the "IN-REACH MODEL". This IN-REACH MODEL is headed by a midwife and trained other nurses and a driver. These midwives identify clinics within the kayayei communities through which they reach out to them with sexual and reproductive health education. Access to family planning by this*

*critical vulnerable group is very important* (CSO respondent, Kumasi, Aboabo, September, 2013).

Marie Stopes International (MSI) is an International Non-Governmental Organisation working on sexual and reproductive health with headquarters in London, UK. A day in the life of an outreach team (a doctor, midwife or other health professionals and a trained driver) under the *In-Reach-Model* involves a visit of one day or longer to the urban slums where most of the *kayayei* live. They visit the same sites regularly and build up relationships with local leaders and practitioners within these slum areas in order to provide regular sexual and reproductive health services to the *kayayei* and other women. State community health workers and local healthcare providers inform the *kayayei* about the visit in days and weeks beforehand. On arrival, the team is hosted at a Government health facility where there is one, but in most cases such facilities are non-available in slum communities. Hence, the *kayayei* are reached by the team using a school, workplace or even a purpose-built tent as premises.

The KAYA as a formal social organization for the *kayayei* beyond collaborating with other civil society organizations provides a voice for the *kayayei* at the corridors of government. It is, therefore, interesting that there is no state sponsored programme targeting the *kayayei*. From the views of the *kayayei* participants and state officials, there is no evidence of people within the ranks of the *kayayei* who benefit from the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme. The LEAP is the flagship programme of the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS). Even though the *kayayei* are recognized as among the vulnerable and excluded in the Ghanaian society, there is no evidence of their inclusion.

The discussion also illuminates the potential in leveraging on the social capital resources of the *kayayei* to build their capacity to access other human capital resources

such as skills and education. To a very limited extent, the CSOs/NGOs are contributing their quota but once again, it sounds interesting when participants say there is no commitment from Government ministries and agencies with mandate to deal with the problems of the *kayayei*.

#### **7.2.4 Physical Capital**

In the generic livelihoods framework, physical capital has been defined to comprise the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. Infrastructure consists of changes to the physical environment that help people to meet their basic needs and to be more productive. Producer goods are the tools and equipment that people use to function more productively (DFID, 1999).

The analysis of participants' responses shows that the *kayayei*'s access to physical resources is found in the area of the built environment, material possession and accessibility to health care services. In terms of the built environment, the structures of the cities of Accra and Kumasi turn to enhance their livelihood strategies. Yeboah (2009) examines the *kayayei* phenomenon within the broad context of global and local economic, political, and socio-cultural processes which account for the concentration of markets at the centre and the marginalization of the poor at the rural level. Within this context, however, the poor have found space in what could be described as the backlash effects of the over concentration of development in the centre. They survive through the crowding out of certain modern transport services which hitherto should have been available.

The built environment of the big cities, especially Accra and Kumasi favours the *kaya* trade. For instance, overcrowding in markets and commercial centres and transport terminals make it difficult for the delivery and loading of goods by big motorized



vehicles and other technologies. The female porters take advantage of these weaknesses in the cities to fill in the gap by smoothing the movement of people in these crowded areas. By forming part of the transport network in the city, the *kayayei* use basins as simple capital resources to transport goods on their heads in smaller quantities in and around markets and lorry terminals. One enters the *kayayei* trade with just a basin and piece of cloth used as pad to cushion the head against the hard base of the basin.

The built environment also provides the *kayayei* with cheap accommodation in the form of open spaces where they squat freely or at a fee. Even though they face all manner of security threat, relaxed national security regime coupled with lack of enforcement for Metropolitan bye-laws create access opportunities for people to squat.

The built environment is, thus, a huge physical capital resource which the *Kayayei* draws on to survive in the cities.

The most interesting observation is how the various assets discussed in the livelihood framework are combined by the *kayayei* to pursue livelihood in the cities studied. The *kayayei* comparatively earn less income which is a reflection of their largely underdeveloped human resource. However, with their little earning but well developed social resources (saving groups, renting groups and financial safety nets) reflecting a depth of bonding make them pool their financial resources (rent money) to acquire physical resources (housing) which collectively build their resilience against vulnerability (e.g. rape, theft, abduction etc).

Beyond the built environment, some female porters say they have acquired capital items such as sewing machines and hairdryers which they intend to use in learning skills in dressmaking and hairdressing. Some say they have or intend to purchase big

pots and barrels (see Figure 7.1) for various purposes when they return to their home communities.

The most critical setback to the survival of the *kayayei*, however, is the lack of access to approved health care services. Health care is a critical human capital resource for the poor but the responses from participants indicate self-medication is rife within their ranks. The Ghana Health Service (GHS) has recognized this limitation. This is what an official from the GHS had to say.

*Our own community health nurses, our public health division are supposed to cover them. I believe that, what we have to do as a service is to look at their pattern of life and meet them if it is good for them. When we go in the morning they will be busy doing their work; carrying things up and down to make some money. If you go in the afternoon, they may still be in the market. Therefore, it is up to us to strategize and I believe that when we do this, we will be able to get them in the evening and also on Sundays as we have already started doing (State official, GHS, Accra, 2013).*

Nevertheless, the *kayayei*, to a limited extent, have benefited from health care interventions made by CSOs/NGOs as part of their activities. Besides, CSOs/NGOs lobby government to increase access to health care services in slum communities. The irony, however, is that though government is losing the fight to remove slums in the cities, there is no attempt to provide social services in such slums where most of the *kayayei* live. The two responses below paint a picture of the access situation in slum communities in the cities of Ghana.

*Marie Stopes International already has a very strong relationship with the Ghana Health Services (GHS), so it is not too difficult for us to partner with them in the communities. Basically what we did was to have brought those community or market clinics that we had identified right onboard from day one ... I think the challenge though is having more government clinics available within kayayei communities. If you look at the slum area in Accra, the only government facility is around the Gamestown area. So there is no clinic within the slum communities where we can provide family planning services (CSO respondent, Accra, 2013).*

*Well, I think that rape is a very big social issue, so GHS will do its bit in terms of making sure that this young ladies do not get any STDs and therefore treat if a young lady has or if this young lady becomes pregnant, we have to support her to deliver and have a healthy baby and also stay healthy. I think that we need to have other agencies like the police service, the social welfare service or the Ministry of Gender and even MMDAs (Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies) to come in, and again the CSOs (State official, GHS, Accra, 2013).*

#### **7.2.5 Natural Capital**

Natural capital has been referred to as the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (DFID, 1999). Natural capital includes assets used directly for production such as trees and land. But do the *kayayei* have access to any natural capital? There is no evidence from the data which suggest the *kayayei* have access to any form of natural capital in the cities where they ply their trade. However, because the *kayayei* phenomenon is not just the construction of factors present in the urban environment but a gamut of factors both at sending communities and destination cities, it is relevant to assess their level of access to natural capital. People's vulnerability context is particularly influenced by a myriad of natural factors including seasonality due to changes in the value or productivity of natural capital over the years. For instance, declining Agricultural productivity in communities where the *kayayei* come from has been well located in the literature. The long dry season has created underemployment in such communities which propels people to migrate. Women are much more predisposed to underemployment because of socio-cultural factors which deny them access to land. Women's role in farm activities is limited to harvesting as indicated by a significant number of participants. For instance, an interviewee commented that:

*Women do not own farms. The women plant okra around the farms and during harvesting, they follow men to harvest in groups and a quarter of the day's harvest is given to them. These are the things the women do to*



*buy clothes for their children* (Focus group of female porters, Tema station, Accra, 2013).

Even though, most female porters indicated that women do not own farms in their home communities, some had contrary views. The differences in views could be due to differences in women's access to natural capital resources (as a result of differences in cultural practices) across the different ethnic groups or home communities of the *kayayei*. Notwithstanding this debate, the women and girls were indifferent about their lack of access to farms lands but attributed their inability to survive in their home communities to declining farm yield due to irregular rainfall.

The basis of their migration to southern cities is linked to the “geography of activity” argument (Plange, 1979). In this argument, regional climatic differences are held to be favourable to and encourage migration from the north to the south. Beals and Menzes (1970) in Plange (1979) for example, state that “regional variation” in farming calendars provides the basis for seasonal migration. In pursuance of diversification in livelihood, the female porters’ presence in the southern cities is a matter of necessity and choice (Ellis, 2000).

### **7.3 Livelihood Strategies of the *Kayayei***

In the previous sections, the assets strengths of the *kayayei* were discussed and it became clear that the *kayayei* depend more on their physical strength as a precursor to other livelihood strategies in the cities. The range and combination of activities and choices that the female porters make or undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (productive activities, investment strategies, and reproductive choices etc.) constitute their livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999). There is a critical relationship

between the kind of livelihood assets that people access and the livelihood strategies that they can adapt. Hence, given the various levels of access to capital assets, the *kayayei* build their livelihood around load carrying; return migration (during harvest of farm products); petty trading; serving as domestic workers and shop Assistants.

Achieving a sustainable livelihood requires that porters develop resilience against both internal and external pressure, shocks, stress, and unexpected changes that show up in their livelihoods (Meikle et al, 2001; Chambers, 1995). The *kayayei* diversify through two main resources; human and financial capital. They undertake multiple activities concurrently in their daily struggles to make living in the cities by investing their accumulated capital in different kinds of trading activity or by offering their labour as domestic help, shop assistants, and doing laundry (washing of clothes).

The mix of livelihood strategies adapted by the *kayayei* is significantly anchored by social networking among families (Aunties, uncles and senior sisters), community and ethnic folks. For instance, social safety-nets (aid offered during need, problems or difficulties) accessible only through existing social connections is fundamental for subsistence of the female porters. Even the decision to migrate, integration and the capital to start business were noticeable benefits of social networks that impact directly on the livelihood strategies of the female porters.

The foregoing analysis brings into perspective a kind of socio-cultural and economic background of the female porters which presupposes that preconceptions about what the poor do to survive need to be re-examined. For instance, the assumptions made in public discourse in Ghana about the *kayayei* phenomenon have often centred on why agricultural fortunes could not be enhanced to curtail their migration southwards.

However, to what extent are these assumptions based on a critical analysis of the stake of women in the agrarian economy? Issues of institutionalized socio-cultural

factors which tend to marginalize women coupled with increased burden of child care are critical variables that need consideration in understanding the agency of women in the rural economy.

Understanding people's access to livelihood resources is an important issue raised in the sustainable livelihood framework. The framework advocates for people's livelihood strategies to be determined through a socially differentiated analysis of their access to livelihood resources. Hence, in the case of the *kayayei*, their choice of livelihood adaptation would be a function of the income derived from the different elements in their portfolio of strategies. For them, migrating to the cities to do commercial load carrying is the strategy that has the lowest opportunity cost.

#### **7.4 Stakeholder views on improving livelihood of the *Kayayei***

The research also sought views from respondents on how the livelihood strategies of the female porters could be enhanced. Various recommendations were made by the stakeholders. The CSO respondents were asked to make recommendations on the most significant means of improving the lives of the *kayayei*. Majority (31.7 percent) of them recommended vocational skills training with start-up capital which is consistent with the desire of many of the *kayayei* to quit portering through acquisition of capacity for other livelihood engagements. Another 23.8 percent were of the opinion that assessing the problems, needs and expectations of the *kayayei* and supporting them according to their individual aspirations would be a good way to begin a process of taking them off the streets.

There were 19.8 percent of respondents who rather recommended that, advocacy and education in sending communities would be an effective measure. 15 percent also



recommended rehabilitation as good a measure for dealing with the child *kayayei* who are within the school going age. The smallest group constituted 8.7 percent who were of the opinion that reproductive health education was a very good measure for dealing with the vulnerability of the *kayayei*. These results are presented in Table 7.4.

**Table 7.4: Stakeholder views on improving livelihood of the *Kayayei***

<b>Recommendations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Vocational skills training with start-up capital	15	31.7
Advocacy and education in sending communities	9	19.8
Assessing the problems, needs and expectations of <i>kayayei</i>	11	23.8
Rehabilitation	7	15
Reproductive health Education	4	8.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Survey, 2014**

Responses from government or state officials indicated that to find solutions to the *kayayei* problem is one that requires a roundtable of stakeholders to brainstorm. A key informant at the state department for social welfare cites examples of interventions made by NGOs in skills training over the years but which never yielded much impact. He explains his experience of an intervention by UNICEF to train the *kayayei* in skills but which failed to take beneficiaries off the street.

*I was in Tamale when UNICEF ... picked 100 of them to train and resettle them. Training in dressmaking, hairdressing and what have you, all sort of... 98 completed and ... We organized an occasion at GNAT hall in Tamale. We called their parents to come over and witness the ceremony and to enable UNICEF to take their addresses so that they could monitor periodically how they were faring. After three months, reports reached us in Tamale that majority of the beneficiaries had sold the items and found their way back to the cities to continue with load carrying. This means we did not identify their needs properly. Costly as it was, that was not the*

*right intervention* (State official, Department of social welfare, Kumasi, 2014).



**Figure 7.4: Images of communities where some *kayayei* come from**

Majority of the *kayayei* come from rural farming communities where the marketability of trades such as dressmaking and hairdressing are rather low. Hence the opportunity cost of leaving the street to practice these skills might have been high for beneficiaries. This raises questions about the efficacy of skills training as a solution to resettling the *kayayei* in their home communities.

## **7.5 National Human Resource Development as a Transforming Mechanism:**

### ***What are the Relevant Policies for Vulnerable Groups?***

Across the globe, many countries and multilateral institutions have acknowledged the need to give systematic attention to the role of HRD in pursuing accelerated national economic growth and development. This global acknowledgement is manifested through the response of the United Nations, which formally inserted HRD into its global agenda through Resolution 33/135 of 1978.

One important pursuit of this research has been to locate specific policies which have bearing on changing or influencing a change in the vulnerability context, livelihood resources and strategies of poor people like the female porters. These livelihood determinants are not only related in cause and effect instances but individually and collectively they come under the influence of some Transforming Structures and Processes (the institutions, organizations, policies and legislations that shape livelihoods) whether at the household, community, national or international level (see Figure 3.1). Analysing the livelihood activities of the female porters in the context of this framework allows National Human Resource Development (NHRD) to be operationalized as a major transforming mechanism. NHRD (Government skills formation and employment policy) as a means of addressing vulnerability and enhancing livelihoods of the female porters could not be more logical and appropriate.

Consistently, Cho and McLean (2004), Lynham and Cunningham (2006) and McLean (2004) have all alluded to the critical need to consider the impact of a country's historical, political, socio-cultural, and economic environments on its human capital development, NHRD policy and strategy formulation and implementation. Given that the circumstances underscoring the *kayayei* phenomenon



amass around issues of culture, religion, political and economic history, and education, NHRD policy is the relevant angle to begin an analysis for their livelihood transformation.

Against a certain background, however, majority of the people in Ghana, especially the youth, increasingly require some skill set to be able to participate in the labour market. Even though TVET has been a major policy area to address the skills gap in the economy, the specific policies for reaching out to the vulnerable and the excluded like the female head-porters have not been empirically outlined.

The basis being that there is a critical need to appreciate policy in the context of increasing incidence of unemployment, poverty, streetism and the manifestation of social exclusion for which the *kayayei* phenomenon is a dimension. Hence the research sought an answer to the question: what is the existing HRD (TVET) policy pertaining to marginal groups such as the *kayayei*?

Analysis of HRD (particularly TVET) policy in relation to the *kayayei* as a vulnerable group was made using various policy documents and research reports

(See Table 4.1). These included the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) I (2003-2005); the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) II (2006-2009); the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013); Acts of Parliament such as the NVTI Act (1970), the Children's Act (1998) and the COTVET Act (2006); Cabinet resolutions or directives, ministerial directives; and government-commissioned reports backed by White Paper. Table 7.1 presents the pertinent TVET policy issues that affect the *kayayei* as a vulnerable group

**Table 7.5: HRD (particularly TVET) policy issues affecting the *kayayei***

Policy Sources	Specific Key Issues Relating to the <i>Kayayei</i>
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Skills and Entrepreneurship Development (GPRS I, 2003-2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for Early dropouts from school</li> <li>• Support for People who have completed (a stage) formal education and are unemployed due to reasons of quality/relevance of education</li> <li>• People who have acquired skills yet need retraining to access the labour market</li> </ul>
Skills and Entrepreneurship Development (GPRS II, 2006-2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide skills and entrepreneurial training in a gender responsive manner</li> <li>• Promote apprenticeship training</li> </ul>
Skills Training, Social Protection and Inclusion (GSGDA, 2010-2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower COTVET to provide a more skill competency-based technical and vocational education</li> <li>• Modernization and expansion of technical schools as an alternative to second-cycle academic education</li> </ul>
Apprenticeship in the Informal Sector (Children's Act, 1998, Act (560)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimum age for apprentices</li> <li>• Responsibilities of craftsman</li> <li>• Apprenticeship agreement</li> <li>• Duties of apprentice</li> <li>• Release of apprentice</li> <li>• Resolution of disputes</li> </ul>
Science, Technology and TVET Policy (Education Strategic Plan (ESP, 2010-2020),	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support opportunities for young people including out-of-school children and drop outs, to engage in technology and vocational opportunities</li> <li>• Provide girls with equal opportunities to access the full cycle of education</li> </ul>

**Source: Excerpted from policy documents (2014)**

The Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) II recognized the continued need to provide skills to the nation's youth. It emphasized the urgency to increase people's access to skills and entrepreneurial development to reduce vulnerability to exploitation including worst forms of child labour. This was found to relate to the *kayayei* phenomenon as the evidence in section 7.1 indicates their vulnerability to exploitation and child labour. Besides, GPRS II as a policy makes clear the need to make TVET gender responsive and equitable which also directly relates to the *kayayei* phenomenon as women niche activity.

There is, however, a missing link between the GPRS I and II. What results are there to indicate the extent to which policy targets in the GPRS I fed into and informed the targets in the GPRS II? For instance, the GPRS I spelt out the need to establish community-based apprenticeship scheme that target school dropouts. However, in the GPRS II there is no indication made as to the extent to which that policy objective was achieved by the end of the implementation period in 2005. Monitoring, evaluation and feedback on policy implementation between the GPRS I and II were not stated to allow for analysis of strengths and weaknesses of TVET policy in relation to the target groups.

Besides, the responses of the *kayayei* did not give any indication of the existence of vocational institutes in their communities. The following were typical responses from the *kayayei* in relation to their access to vocational skills training at the community level.

*No, we haven't learned any trade yet, we have heard that the government supports people to learn trade such as dressmaking and hairdressing but we haven't gotten any opportunity like that. Some time ago some people came and wrote our names promising that they would enrol us into a trade but did not come back again (Focus Group of female porters, Aboabo, Kumasi, 2013).*

The orientation of policy towards TVET continued with the medium term development framework labelled Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA). This became a major policy document for development of Ghana for the period 2010 to 2013. From the GSGDA document, the policy shortcomings and TVET implementation gaps were captured in the statement below:

*Systematic development and mobilization of youth for sustainable national development deserves focus. The main policy related issues include: uncoordinated policy and institutional framework for youth development; inadequate vocational and skills training facilities; fusion of vocational/apprenticeship training with formal education thereby nullifying job training objectives; persistent growth of unemployment for*



*both school completers, school drop-outs, and those who never attended; increasing street children phenomenon and crime; undermobilization and utilization of youth talents; continuing growth of youth unemployment; and channelling of youth energies into anti-social activities (GSGDA, 2010-2013, P. 91).*

This statement in the GSGDA spot-lightens the *kayayei* problem as a reflection of failure in the implementation of policy. Hence, policy is clear as to what needs to be done but implementation is seriously impugned. The GSGDA, thus, prescribes a purposeful national shift in skills development to produce employable human resource for an industrial economy through a modern national apprenticeship policy. It actually orients towards empowering an apex body mandated by law to coordinate and supervise TVET activities in the country. Hence, empowering the Council for Technical, Vocational Educational and Training (COTVET) to provide a more skills competency-based technical and vocational education is one key policy measure in the GSGDA.

There is, however, lack of specificity even in the GSGDA as to how COTVET would be empowered to deliver TVET to the vulnerable and the excluded. There is some tendency for COTVET to find it convenient implementing TVET using existing technical and vocational institutes which remain inaccessible to people without Basic Education Certificate. Hence how COTVET intends to intervene in the informal sector for people like the *kayayei*, many of whom do not possess the requisite Basic Education Examination Certificate (BECE) is not clear. For instance, there is no evidence of any intervention for the *kayayei* since the inception of COTVET. The only attempt by COTVET to provide the *kayayei* with skills was described by the *Kayayei* Association as a failure. The quote below encapsulates this view.

*One opportunity we had was when the Vice President now President asked COTVET to take 200 of the kayayei to go and train them in hairdressing, dressmaking and other skills. However, one problem was, COTVET was*

*not willing to pay training fees charged by the skill providers. The agreement was that, after one year, COTVET would pay the training fees but COTVET never paid the fees, so their machines were seized and the trainees sacked. Since then, COTVET has not sent any group of girls for training again* (CSO respondent, Agbogbolasie, Accra, 2013)

The Act of Parliament establishing COTVET as indicated in Table 4.1 mandates it to formulate national policies for skills development across the broad spectrum of pretertiary and tertiary education, formal, informal and non-formal education. Such policies are to ensure equity in access. Achieving equity in the large informal sector where vulnerable groups are found, however, appears daunting if there is no direct targeting strategy for such groups.

COTVET is thus expected to operate strictly within its mandate and be more innovative than its predecessor, the National Vocational and Technical Institute (NVTI). NVTI was equally made responsible for nationwide coordination of all aspects of vocational training including apprenticeship in both the formal and the informal sectors. However, it stepped beyond its core mandate to regulate and rather over concentrated on TVET provision which explains the haphazard manner in which skills training is conducted in the informal apprenticeship system today. From the TVET policy content, it is significantly clear that a case is made at least, at policy level of the need to pursue pro-vulnerable group strategy in the provision of TVET. The major setback, however, has been implementation, which is partly explained by the lack of a comprehensive National Human Resource Development (NHRD) strategy. For now, there is no national HRD strategy for Ghana which details strategic objectives, indicators and indicative actions and assigned responsibilities to specific departments and entities. The case of Ghana reflects a statement by the African Union on the TVET sector in its strategy to revitalize

## TVET in Africa.

*Except for a few countries (notably, South Africa, Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania, Malawi, and Namibia), TVET provision in Africa is spread over different ministries and organizations, including NGOs and churchbased organizations, with a multiplicity of testing and certification standards. ... In the informal sector, traditional apprenticeship, which is often the only means for the rural poor and the economically disadvantaged to learn a trade is marginalized, unregulated, and lacks government support and intervention. The current governance structure in many countries does not promote effective coordination, sharing of resources, and articulation within the system (African Union, 2007, P. 23).*

Even though COTVET has been established by an Act of Parliament under the Ministry of Education to oversee all TVET activities, there is no national HRD strategy for it to align its policies. Strategic issues such as industrial policy action plan, technology and innovation strategy and or anti-poverty or social protection strategy should be critical in any TVET action plan being developed by COTVET. Hence, without a national HRD strategy, the tendency to continue the marginalization of some segments of society is high. Benefits from public support such as fee waivers, subsidies, educational facilities and funds elude the *kayayei*, because the educational system does not have a mopping strategy for dropouts and non-schoolers. Besides, the production of irrelevant and non-marketable skills may continue because of the lack of a perspective plan that guides skills provision. And above all the tendency to knee-jerk for political expediency may derail COTVET's efforts at pursuing inclusive actions which may further deepen the social exclusion.

Furthermore, the absence of a national HRD strategy would not allow for the private sector apprenticeship training to align properly with national vision and strategy. Hence, for the National Apprenticeship Training Board under COTVET to handle issues concerning registration, training content, duration and certification of TVET



effectively, skills providers should have been acting within a certain broad national HRD strategic framework.

Viewing policy as a transformation mechanism, the *kayayei* phenomenon can be described as an effect of policy failure. The Free Compulsory Universal Education (FCUBE) which is the “software” of the Junior High School (JHS) system failed as an operational system due to poorly developed environment for implementation. Besides, the conception of the JHS as terminal point of formal education without opportunity for graduating students to resit the Basic Education Certificate

Examination (BECE) denied a large number of young people of formal education. The basic question is, why would students of Senior High School (SHS) who are generally older be allowed to resit while those who are still children (15 year olds) with great potential to grow be denied opportunity to retry BECE? This suggests a wrong policy from the onset which never got corrected for decades, even when the consequences became glaring.

The other dimension for reaching out to the vulnerable and the excluded in the TVET area addressed by the GSGDA is social protection and inclusion. Some social groups like the *kayayei* will require social protection and a deliberate inclusive policy. The LEAP which is a conditional cash transfer programme does not officially target ranks of the *kayayei*. This was alluded to by the minister of Children, Gender and Social Protection when she was summoned to parliament to speak on the *kayayei* issue. She indicated that the LEAP when extended and well targeted at the *kayayei* and their families, could, in the long term, be developed as a major part of Ghana's social intervention programme. Hence, the *kayayei* and similar young people in the streets of Ghana are currently not targeted for development which is an obvious missing link in national human resource development.

## 7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, issues relating to the livelihood processes of the *kayayei* have been examined and related to Government of Ghana TVET policies. Among a plethora of NHRD policies, the most relevant in the particular case of the *kayayei* are those related to TVET and social protection.

Vulnerability of the *kayayei* in their socio-cultural setting and the urban environment has been discussed looking at their income status, housing, sanitation and exploitation among others. However, in the mist of their vulnerability, the *kayayei* adapt a mix of strategies including load carrying, petty trading, domestic work and laundry services to survive and return migration during harvesting of crops in their home communities. The discourse also indicated their choice of strategies and their access to livelihood assets (human, social, financial, physical and natural). Analysis of the data reveals that the *kayayei* use load carrying (human capital resource) as a precursor strategy to build relationship of reciprocity (social capital) which then leverages their ability to acquire financial capital through group savings. They then pool their individual financial resources to acquire physical assets (or capital) such as housing, enterprise space among others. Through remittances, some *kayayei* are able to invest in farming and animal rearing back in their home communities which build their resilience against shocks.

The framework for the analysis of sustainable livelihoods adopted as a theoretical basis for understanding the livelihood adaptation of the female porters enabled a holistic and integrated view of the processes by which the female porters achieve agency. Investigating the basic issues that drive this research, the framework facilitated a view of the livelihood processes of the female porters in the context of each element laid out in the framework (see Figure 3.1) – from their vulnerability factors through

livelihood resources to strategies and outcomes (benefits of their engagement). Because livelihood is shaped by a myriad of institutions and processes both in the public and private domains, NHRD policy as in TVET in particular, was incorporated in the livelihood framework as an element of livelihood transforming process in the case of the female porters as a social group. The framework acted as a checklist of issues to explore; prompting the investigator to pursue key connections and linkages between the various elements in the framework. For instance, the causes and effects of the *kayayei* phenomenon clearly delineate their vulnerability context (socio-cultural practices, human development, and the urban environment) which define their access to resources (human, social, financial, physical and natural). Besides, their vulnerability context, livelihood resources and strategies are collectively swayed by NHRD policy (education, TVET and social protection) as transformation mechanism. Hence, the framework offered a way for analyzing and thinking through the livelihood circumstances of the female porters in a manner that helps order complexity and makes clear the many factors that affect their migration and livelihood adaptations.

It is clear that the *kayayei*'s livelihood asset strength has been found to be a cumulative effect of some socio-cultural, human resource development and some generalized non-classified factors which are present at both the macro and micro levels of society.

However, because of the flow nature of the *kayayei* phenomenon, any intervention aimed at addressing such systemic factors must be multidimensional; stopping migration at the community level and improving the livelihoods of those already caught up in the phenomenon.

From the macro level, policies relating to TVET quite adequately cover vulnerable groups of which the *kayayei* is one. However, the challenge lies in the nonavailability of a comprehensive NHRD strategy that defines and shapes activities in the public and



private sectors. Hence, even though there are relevant policies targeting the vulnerable (Table 4.1), they tend to come from not only different sources but implementation is left to multiple ministries with little coordination between them. This has, over the years, created unhealthy rivalry and compromised of responsibilities among ministries and other state agencies. Against this background, intervention to improve the livelihood situation of the *kayayei* should involve a direct targeting strategy and not the usual general ministerial piecemeal approach.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.0 Introduction

The female porters known in local parlance as *kayayei* are young women and girls found mostly in Accra and Kumasi who carry people's items from one place to another at a fee. It is a livelihood niche of teenage girls and young women migrants from some rural communities in northern Ghana and adjoining areas in Burkina Faso and Togo. The female porters are thus, „carriers“ or porters who cart people's items at negotiated fees. *Kaya* is a term in the *Hausa* language which means luggage, load or goods. *Yoo* means woman in *Ga*, the indigenous language of Accra, the capital town of Ghana. *Kayayoo*, thus, means a young woman or a teenage girl who carries other people's load on the head for a fee (Opare, 2003). The plural of *yoo* is *yei*, hence *kayayei* are women head-porters.

The female porters migrate from localities that benefit from some reasonable level of free education up to the Senior High School (SHS). To have such high influx of young girls, predominantly in their teenage, subsisting on the street raised questions of human resource development in the country. Dating back to the period of colonialism, the space economy of Ghana has been one characterized by lopsidedness (Songsore, 1983) which has defined market concentration in the three cities which were the centres of development. This pattern of development, having been deepened by liberalization in the post-colonial period, the southern urban enclave became a centre of attraction to labour from the less developed rural areas. Hence, the female porter phenomenon could just be a gender dimension of an institutionalized north-south migration pattern.

However, increasing evidence of child labour and exploitation, human trafficking, and sexual servitude among the migrant female porters (Awumbila, and ArdayfioSchandorf, 2008; Yeboah, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2009; Zaami, 2010; Oberhauser, and Yeboah, 2011) make their issue a centre of research interest; especially, the need to look at their issue within the context of national human resource development. This was supported by the literature which argues for using HRD to build strong discerning communities, less susceptible to activities and engagements likely to impugn human dignity and national development (McLean, 2004). Hence, the research sought to investigate causes and effects of the female porter phenomenon (the increasing influx of young girls and women from northern Ghana to southern cities to work as girl porters) on the girls themselves and the nation as a whole. Beyond that, the study also investigated their level of education and skills, sought views of stakeholders on ways of improving their livelihood, explored relevant TVET policy pertaining to the vulnerable and excluded and its implementation at the community level. This chapter provides summary of the research findings in conclusion, the study's contribution to knowledge, its limitations and some policy and research recommendations.

### **8.1 Summary and Conclusion**

The causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon have been categorized into socio-cultural, human development and other non-classified general issues. The socio-cultural causes relate to issues of culture, religion and other social relations and processes. Large family size; fosterage of girls under aunties and Grandmothers; girls belonging to matrilineal home or family; betrothal and early marriage; lack of interest in girlchild



education; and the urge to acquire household items for marriage were the socio-cultural issues participants mentioned as causes of the *kayayei* phenomenon. Among these socio-cultural issues, large family size, fosterage, lack of interest in girl-child education, and the urge to acquire household items in preparation for marriage were the highly rated causes of the female porter spectacle.

Coming from Islamic background, most of the girls were nurtured in polygynous families where child care responsibilities were almost always left to wives. Under such circumstances, education of the girl-child was the most likely to be sacrificed and sometimes their labour exploited to keep “body and soul” of the family together. As if well intended, girls are sent to experienced and mature relatives for care (fosterage) but while in some instances, such fosterage is educationally beneficial to the fostered child, in many cases they live in bondage, performing tasks in the compound at the expense of schooling. Even in cases where the relatives feel obliged under kinship obligations to educate the foster child, considerable burden of additional educational expenses leaves her disadvantaged. Pilon (2003) argues that in general, the lower the family of origin’s involvement, the higher the risk that the foster child will suffer mistreatment in the host family. He also raises questions of who pays for the children’s tuition fees, supplies, clothes, food and so on. The extent of the guardian’s responsibility towards the foster child; and the foster child’s place in the host family largely determine the educational fortunes of the child.

Certain socio-cultural practices should have been over-ruled by human resource development policies of the country but for poor implementation. The lack of efficacy in educational policies has rather led to the deepening of such practices. Participants rated poor teaching and learning environment in the school system; failure in the implementation of the compulsoriness aspect of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic

Education (FCUBE); Poor teacher supervision and inadequate qualified teachers in rural areas as the loopholes in the educational system which create large numbers of non-schoolers and dropouts. The idling girls are then pushed by parents and relatives to migrate to the cities for greener pastures. Peer/returnee influence, urban attraction, availability of squatting opportunities in the destination cities, ethnic-based social networking opportunities for new arrivals were the highly rated general causes of the female porter phenomenon. These were found to be the strong variables in the migration decision-making process of the girls and also influential in the rampant dropout of girls from school to join the migration stream. The benefits of the trade to the girls described in this research as the positive effects, included acquisition of items for wedding, money for school and skills training, money to undertake petty trading and remittances to dependents. The most rated benefit or motivation for engaging in portering according to most respondents was the acquisition of household items (basically utensils) to prepare towards marriage. Apparently, most of the girls were encouraged by relatives to travel to the city to acquire those items in preparation for marriage either because they have been betrothed or bound to marry at teenage. The negative effects of the phenomenon on the girls as individuals according to the respondents range from exploitation by patrons and relatives; involvement in prostitution, stealing and smoking; physical defects and accidents from heavy headloads; abuse by the public and cases of murder and trafficking. Increasing number of children born on the streets by teenagers, contraction and transmission of STIs; lack of control over reproductive life; child abuse, child labour and child trafficking; Non-achievement of universal basic education (MDG 2) by 2015; development of slums in the cities and its associated ills; declining enrolment and rising dropout rate for girls from sending communities were the negative effects of the phenomenon on the nation

according to respondents. Related to the causes, the study revealed that, majority of the female porters did not attend school. 60 percent neither attended school nor enrolled for any skills training. The rest either had some primary, junior/senior high school education or skills training. The reasons for not attending or completing school were related to those given as the causes of the phenomenon. 59.4 percent of the female porters interviewed attributed their non-schooling to their stay with their aunties and 14.9 percent said because they came from large polygynous families, where child care leaves much to be desired. Some 9.9 percent reasoned that their parents did not have interest in girl-child education, while 6.9 percent indicated they were each made a mother's house child (*Nmayilibia*). Hence, majority of the female porters did not have education and appropriate skills for livelihood.

To improve the livelihood of the female porters majority (31.7) percent of stakeholders recommended state-implemented vocational skills training with start-up capital. This was followed by 23.8 percent who were of the opinion that assessing the problems, needs and expectations of the female porters and supporting them according to their individual aspirations would be a good way to begin a process of taking them off the streets. 19.8 percent of respondents rather recommended advocacy and education in sending communities to uproot the socio-cultural barriers to education and welfare of women and girls. A less significant percentage of 14.9 recommended rehabilitation and integration for child porters who were still within school going age. The rest (9.9 percent) recommended reproductive health education as a good measure for dealing with the vulnerability of the female porters to unprotected sex and unwanted pregnancies.

The exploration of TVET policy of Ghana came across a number of elements relevant to addressing the female porter phenomenon. TVET policy in the Ghana Poverty



Reduction Strategy I (GPRS I, 2003-2005) related to the female porters as early dropouts from school; people who have completed (a stage) formal education and are unemployed due to reasons of quality/relevance of education; and people who have acquired skills yet needed retraining to access the labour market. Besides, the target in the GPRS I to develop and expand the Traditional Apprenticeship System (TAS) was also relevant to the female porters.

The GPRS II (2006-2009) also targeted people out of formal education including young people of 15 years and above for skills training. This group included people who never went to school or dropped out of primary school or Junior High School (JHS). The orientation in the policy to use skills training and entrepreneurial development as means to reduce vulnerability and exploitation, including the worst forms of child labour was most relevant to the female porters. Also, the instruction in the policy for skills and entrepreneurial training to be gender responsive was relevant to addressing the female porter phenomenon. The Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013) also contains medium term policies on human development and productivity which focus on skills training, social protection and inclusion. Being one of the vulnerable groups, the female porters were one of the obvious targets of these policies.

The above notwithstanding, the Council for Technical, Vocational education and training (COTVET) Act, 2006 (Act 718) which established the COTVET to formulate national policies for skills development across the broad spectrum of society is relevant to the female porter phenomenon. The mandate of COTVET covers pre-tertiary and tertiary education, formal, informal and non-formal education with emphasis on coordinating, harmonizing and supervising the activities of private and public providers of TVET including the Informal Apprenticeship System (IAS); and

the rationalization of certification in TVET. As people who depend largely on the informal sector to access skills training, the COTVET is of relevance to livelihood capacity building of the female porters.

Beyond the COTVET Act, the study found that the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) also provides protection for child apprentices in the informal sector by defining minimum age for apprentices, responsibilities of craftspersons, apprenticeship agreement, duties of apprentice, release of apprentice and resolution of disputes. This Act is relevant to the female porter phenomenon as a means of protecting children who enrol for skills training in the IAS.

Finally, the Education Strategic Plan (ESP, 2010-2020) which aims to extend and support opportunities for young people, including out-of-school children and dropouts, to engage in technology and vocational opportunities is found to be relevant for tackling the female porter phenomenon. The orientation in this plan to provide girls with equal opportunities to access the full cycle of education through strategies targeted specifically at increasing female participation in formal education, in terms of enrolments, retention and completion rates is of critical relevance to the elimination of streetism among girls.

From these findings, it is clear that NHRD policy provides significant coverage for developing the capacity people on the street including the female porters. Implementation over the years, however, has suffered due to the lack of a comprehensive NHRD strategy. Empirical evidence points to implementation characterized by political expediency which creates a recipe for exclusion in the absence of a directional strategy. The *kayayei* phenomenon could well be suggested as fallout of this orientation.

Given this backdrop, the major challenges being debated in the TVET (flagship of Ghana NHRD drive) literature in Ghana were rated by CSO respondents. The three most rated challenges according to respondents were: inadequate formal TVET infrastructure to increase access to education/skill set training in rural localities; failure of delivery institutions and programmes to meet different educational needs of the population; and non-syllabi-based and long training duration in the Informal Apprenticeship System (IAS). The policy related issues under the Technical and Vocational Education and Training sub-sector, therefore, aggregate around underfunding; inadequate infrastructure; limited curricula choices and continuing nonresponsiveness of skills to labour market demands among others.

## **8.2 The Study's Contribution to Knowledge**

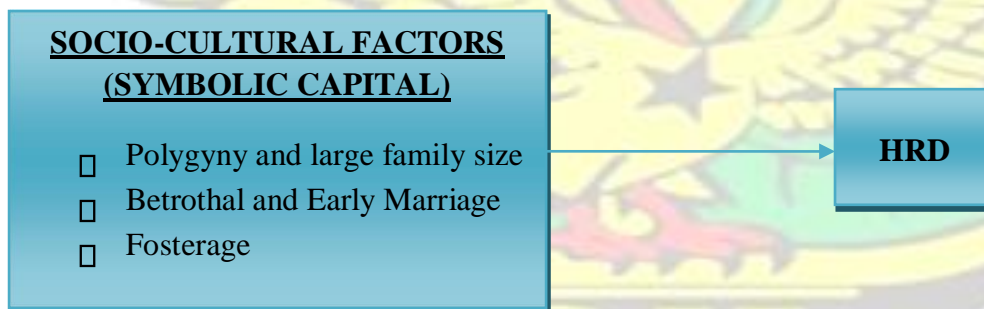
The study makes a significant contribution to knowledge having established that there is a relationship between social-cultural variables (such as polygyny, betrothal, forced/early marriage and large family size) and the migration of young women and girls from rural areas of northern Ghana to the major towns in the south.

Unlike previous studies, which examined gendered livelihood of porters in the cities of Ghana (Oberhauser and Yeboah, 2011), social capital and vulnerabilities in the lives of female head porters (Van der Berg, 2007) and to some extent the emphasis on poverty (Awumbila, 2008) as the cause of the female porters' migration to the cities, this study did not just determine the causes but effects of the spectacle on the players and society at large. Beyond that the study delved into how the female porter phenomenon grows both as cause and effect of national human resource



development policies. The relevant policies that should have addressed and curtailed streeitism among the youth and specifically the girl-child especially in the area of TVET have been determined by the study which makes it significantly different from previous studies.

Theoretically, the study makes a contribution through conceptualizing based on the findings. Consistent with what appears to be Scoones's (1998) notion of „symbolic capital“, polygyny and large family size; betrothal, early marriage; and fosterage among others constitute independent variables which influence HRD as a dependent variable. Hence, futher exploration of the level of effects of these socio-cultural variables on education and training policies for the youth and particularly girlchildren in rural areas in Ghana is envisaged. Figure 8.1 is a framework that models the relationship between socio-cultural factors and Human Resource Develioment (HRD).



**Figure 8.1: Relationship between HRD and Socio-Cultural Factors**

The impulse of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), for instance, was to ensure education for all. However, socio-cultural factors mentioned in the above model and other related practices continue to bedevil the girl-child's access to education. Hence, whilst free education may take care of the explicit cost of education, the implicit cost (for example, opportunity cost of schooling to poor

families and non-adherence to cultural norms) remains a huge barrier to HRD efforts at the national and community level.

### 8.3 Policy Recommendations

Studying the *kayaayei* issue within the broad frame of national human resource development is just not for academic interest but to re-awaken a certain consciousness of stakeholders to the complex and multi-faceted nature of the phenomenon. The *kayaayei* phenomenon (the commercial load carrying done by girls and young women in the busy market centres, lorry terminals and streets in the major cities of Ghana) is an issue of great interest to a nation that seeks to increase access and completion rates for women in formal education. The *kayaayei* has been described as one of the most vulnerable groups to reach in West Africa by Civil Society Organizations. The phenomenon has also been admitted by stakeholders as an issue that shows signs of derailing the poverty reduction agenda since women are much more predisposed to poverty and are vulnerable without social protection. To address the phenomenon from policy standpoint, there is an urgent need for a long term comprehensive national development plan which should set the basis for a national human resource development strategy. This is because, for a very long time, the country has not only depended on short to medium term plans but such plans have often emerged out of political party manifestoes. Such manifestoes are born out of a process that had often alienated the views of civil society. They also lack bipartisan (or multi-partisan) consensus, thereby, making continuity in policy and programmes a critical setback. The development of the country is, thus, one of political party interest and not national interest. Policy formulation and implementation especially in the area of education has

oscillated based on interest of the party in power. Streetism of young people, majority of who are of school going age has become a testimony of this orientation.

Besides, Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies (MMDAs) of areas where the female porters migrate from should consider efforts to identify those sociocultural factors which limit girls' access to and completion of school. Education, advocacy and the relevant laws should be deployed to enforce educational policies in such districts. This should be done in broad consultation and participation of stakeholders such as community opinion leaders, chiefs, women groups, CSOs, CBOs, and NGOs present in the district.

Apart from that MMDAs should consider establishing boarding basic schools in rural communities where the settlement pattern is one of a sparse nature. The multiplication of day schools across vast sparse settlement has sacrificed a lot in terms of quality, especially in the area of teaching. Bringing these schools together in a better managed and supervised boarding facility will reduce losses in instructional time due basically to teacher absenteeism and engagement of children in household responsibilities. This will help eliminate the stress of pupils walking long distances to school, reduce the contact of pupils with community members and the associated negative socio-cultural practices, peer influence of non-schoolers and dropouts. This will also improve supervision and reduce teacher absenteeism by having teachers stay close to the school infrastructure. In typical farming communities, parents could contribute to boarding cost by supplying foodstuff weekly or monthly.

The above notwithstanding, the Government could consider including the *kayayei* and potential ones of school going age in the Livelihood Empowerment Against



Poverty (LEAP) programme. As a conditional cash transfer programme, advances to beneficiaries could be tied to schooling and non-migration similar to those administered on the orphans and vulnerable currently covered by the programme.

It is also important for Government to be able to consider establishing large vocational centres (in partnership with the private sector) for girls unable to access the existing vocational institutes because of their non-literacy status. Such facilities should serve the dual purpose of training and producing products for the domestic and the international market.

The body of laws and policies (e.g. the children's Act and FCUBE) which provide some protection for the vulnerable and the excluded should be actively deployed to protect girls against anti-human development cultural practices at the community level. The appropriate agencies of the state should consider a more aggressive enforcement of laws on child labour in both urban and rural areas.

It is also critical that policies on girl-child education be rechristened to embody educating the household of the girl on the value of her education. This is important because, it is obvious that the girl's education is contingent on not just the explicit cost of education but high opportunity cost in terms of labour and marriage. Finally, though comes with a lot of legal implication, poverty reduction policies targeting rural communities should consider adding a number of children per couple policy as a condition to accessing certain benefits (e.g. the LEAP Programme).

#### **8.4 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for further Research**

The *kayayei* phenomenon is beginning to attract research interest in employment/management studies. This research examined the livelihood processes of

the *kayayei* within the context of human resource development. The study limited its scope to the *kayayei* – a population that is quite homogeneous in character so that context specific factors could be analysed and related to NHRD. With the contextdependent approach, the study sought a depth rather than breadth in terms of covering the population.

The findings are limited to the studied population and may not be universally applicable or generalizable across the universe. And even though the study has revealed that there is relationship between HRD and Socio-Cultural factors in the home communities of the *kayayei*, this relationship has not been statistically established.

Further research is required to investigate the nature and statistical significance of the complex links between socio-cultural factors and HRD in communities where polygyny, betrothal, early marriage, and fosterage are still common. Besides, further research to unravel the nature of household work responsibilities of fostered girlchildren and their impact on educational access for girls in northern Ghana will provide deeper understanding of the circumstances propelling the *kayayei* phenomenon.

### **8.5 Conclusion**

The study examined the *kayayei* phenomenon, drawing themes from the urban livelihood framework and linking them to Human Resource development (HRD) from the national context as a major transforming mechanism. This linkage derives its basis from the argument that, it is the human resources of a nation, not its capital or natural resources that ultimately determine the character and pace of its economic and social

development (Todaro, 1997). The *kayayei* phenomenon (the act of commercial load carrying by young girls of school going age) is one of a human resource problem and as Todaro (1997) observes, capital and natural resources are just passive factors of production while human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build socio-economic and political organizations and carry forward the mantle of development. The livelihood of the *kayayei* necessarily links to their quality as human resources which is largely a question (or derivative) of National Human Resource Development (NHRD). Besides, human resources are critical for national and local stability (McLean, 2004) and countries or societies that have had less quality human resources have high unemployment rates leading to high levels of poverty and lack of stability. Hence, integrated approach that examines livelihoods of people within the context of human resource development provides efficacious entry points for breaking the cycles of poverty, violence, unemployment, illiteracy, and socially undesirable employment. Hence, the conceptual framework which provides a critical linkage between the *kayayei*'s livelihood processes (their vulnerability, resources, and strategies) to HRD is relevant because it provides an integrated and coordinated entry point for their development.

The level of vulnerability of the *kayayei* has been made clearer by the findings of this research. The vulnerability of the *kayayei* goes beyond what pertains in the urban context to include institutionalized socio-cultural factors at the community level. Hence, the context of their vulnerability lies outside their control. A change to their vulnerability should be one of an externally driven change which requires education and training through the lens of HRD. HRD is strongly expressed here as a mechanism for building strong discerning communities, less susceptible to activities and



engagements (e.g. socio-cultural factors) likely to impugn human dignity and national development (Mace at al., 2012).

The *kayayei* phenomenon is symptomatic of low educational development in rural northern Ghana. It is indeed the cumulative effect of failure in policy implementation be it from the perspective of culture, child labour, marriage, reproductive health, child care or education. For instance, two areas of policy could prevent the *kayayei* issue from developing to become a near national ridicule. If child labour laws and the FCUBE policy were strictly enforced, child streetism could not become so endemic in the Ghanaian society.

The study has revealed that the *kayayei* victims appreciate their lack of education and skills as blight on the achievement of decent sustainable livelihood. For now, there is no strategy or intervention to remove child *kayayei* (or children of similar rank) from the street onto the classroom. Hence, the findings of this study will help whip some consciousness among civil society actors, facilitate critical theorization, and inform policy formulation and implementation as part of efforts towards improving the status of women in Ghana.

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## APPENDICES

A.

**Table 6.9: Socio-Cultural Causes of the *Kayayei* Phenomenon**

Socio-Cultural Factors	Rating Scale	<i>Kayayei</i> Respondents		Civil Society Organisations	
		Frequency (101)	Percent (100)	Frequency (46)	Percent (100)
<b>Large family size</b>	Not important at all	2	2.0	0	0.0
	Not important	1	1.0	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	5	5.0	4	8.7
	Important	22	21.7	6	13.0
	Very important	71	70.3	36	78.3
<b>Fosterage under Auntie</b>	Not important at all	6	5.9	0	0
	Not important	4	4.0	4	8.7
	Somewhat important	5	4.9	5	10.9
	Important	15	14.9	5	10.9
	Very important	71	70.3	32	69.6
<b>Fosterage</b>					

**under**

<b>Grandmother</b>	Not important at all	12	11.9	3	6.5
	Not important	16	15.8	4	8.7
	Somewhat important	24	23.8	26	56.5
	Important	38	37.6	8	17.4
	Very important	11	10.9	5	10.9

**Belonging to**

**mother's**

		15	14.9	3	6.5
<b>family</b>	Not important at all				
	Not important	42	41.6	24	52.2
	Somewhat important	23	22.8	8	17.4
	Important	14	13.9	6	13.0
	Very important	7	6.9	5	10.9

**Betrothal and**

**early**

**marriage**

	Not important at all	20	19.8	0	0.0
	Not important	27	26.7	5	10.8
	Somewhat important	28	27.7	7	19.6
	Important	8	7.9	4	8.7
	Very important	18	17.8	30	65.0

**Lack of**

**interest in  
Girl-child  
education**

	Not important at all	5	4.9	0	0.0
	Not important	8	7.9	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	22	21.8	6	13.0
	Important	23	22.8	7	15.2
	Very important	43	42.6	33	71.7



**Urge to  
acquire items  
for marriage**

Not important at all	3	3.0	0	0.0
Not important	4	4.0	2	4.3
Somewhat important	10	9.9	3	6.5
Important	83	82.2	7	15.2
Very important	1	1.0	34	73.9

Source: Field Survey, 2014

B.

**Table 6.10: Human Development factors of the *Kayaye* Phenomenon**

Human Development Factors	Rating Scale	Kayaye Respondents		Civil Society Organisations	
		Frequency (101)	Percent (100)	Frequency (46)	Percent (100)
<b>Poor teaching and learning environment</b>	Not important at all	8	7.9	0	0.0
	Not important	7	6.9	1	2.0
	Somewhat important	3	3.0	3	6.5
	Important	10	9.9	4	10.8
	Very important	73	72.3	38	89.0
<b>Failure in implementation of Compulsoriness aspect the FCUBE</b>	Not important at all	11	10.9	13	32.6
	Not important	19	18.8	17	41.0
	Somewhat important	17	16.8	9	19.6
	Important	38	37.6	6	13.0

	Very important	16	15.8	1	2.0
<b>Poor teacher</b>					
<b>supervision</b>	Not important at all	4	4.0	1	2.0
	Not important	9	8.9	3	6.5
	Somewhat important	13	12.9	1	2.0
	Important	28	27.7	3	6.5
	Very important	47	46.5	38	91.0
<b>Inadequate</b>					
<b>qualified</b>					
<b>teachers in</b>		1	1.0	1	2.0
<b>rural</b>	Not important at all				
<b>Areas</b>	Not important	14	13.9	4	8.7
	Somewhat important	36	35.6	8	17.0
	Important	15	14.9	7	17.0
	Very important	27	26.7	26	63.0
<b>Lack of</b>					
<b>parental</b>					
<b>interest in girl-</b>		7	6.9	1	2.0
<b>child</b>	Not important at all				
<b>Education</b>	Not important	9	8.9	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	22	21.8	5	10.8
	Important	16	15.8	11	21.7
	Very important	47	46.5	29	68.0
<b>High dropout</b>					
<b>rate</b>					
<b>for girls</b>	Not important at all	7	6.9	0	0.0

	Not important	21	20.8	3	6.5
	Somewhat important	25	24.8	9	23.9
	Important	7	6.9	5	10.8
	Very important	41	40.6	29	67.0
<b>Lack of skills</b>					
<b>training for employment after JHS</b>	Not important at all	13	12.9	1	2.0
		13	12.9	5	10.8
	Not important				
	Somewhat important	18	17.8	12	30.0
	Important	15	14.9	15	37.0
	Very important	42	41.6	13	28.3
<b>Lack of opportunities</b>					
<b>for girls unable to progress after JHS</b>		13	12.9	1	2.2
	Not important at all				
		8	7.9	0	0.0
	Not important				
	Somewhat important	26	25.7	16	34.9
	Important	22	21.8	18	39.0
	Very important	32	31.7	11	23.9

Source: Field Survey, 2014

C.

**Table 6.11: General Causal Factors of the Kayayei Phenomenon**

Civil Society



General Factors	Rating Scale	Kayayei Respondents		Organisations	
		Frequency	Percent(100)	Frequency	Percent(100)
		(101)		(46)	
Peer/returnee					
Influence	Not important at all	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Not important	1	1.0	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	1	1.0	0	0.0
	Important	1	1.0	7	15.2
	Very important	98	97.0	39	84.8
Urban attraction					
	Not important at all	2	2.0	0	0.0
	Not important	4	4.0	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	12	11.9	12	26.0
	Important	54	53.5	23	50.0
	Very important	29	28.7	11	23.9
Availability of squatting opportunities in the destination cities					
	Not important at all	3	3.0	3	6.5
	Not important	12	11.9	1	2.0
	Somewhat important	13	12.9	14	32.0
	Important	37	36.6	20	43.5
	Very important	36	35.6	8	17.0
Ethnic based social networking opportunities for new Arrivals					
	Not important at all	1	1.0	0	0.0
	Not important	4	4.0	4	8.7
	Somewhat important	19	18.8	7	15.0
	Important	36	35.6	16	34.8
	Very important	41	40.6	19	41.0
Escape from farm Labour					
	Not important at all	16	15.8	1	2.2
	Not important	9	8.9	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	37	36.6	27	58.7

	Important	22	21.8	10	21.7
	Very important	17	16.8	8	17.4
<b>Ignorance of</b>					
<b>hassle</b>					
<b>in the city</b>					
	Not important at all	6	6.0	0	0.0
	Not important	11	10.9	0	0.0
	Somewhat important	23	22.8	9	19.6
	Important	40	39.6	27	58.7
	Very important	21	20.8	10	21.7
<b>Opportunity</b>					
<b>to</b>					
<b>commercialize</b>					
<b>sex</b>					
	Not important at all	39	38.6	3	6.5
	Not important	34	33.7	6	13
	Somewhat important	20	19.8	18	39.0
	Important	5	4.9	9	18.0
	Very important	3	3.0	10	21.7

Source: Field Survey, 2014

D.

**Table 6.12: Positive impacts of the phenomenon on the *Kayayei***

Positive Effects		Civil Society <i>Kayayei</i> Respondents Organisations (CSOs)			
		Rating Scale			
		Frequency (101)	Percent (100)	Frequency (46)	Percent (100)
<b>Acquire items for marriage</b>					
	Not at all	3	3.0	2	4.4
	A little	1	1.0	1	2.0
	Moderate	2	2.0	5	10.9
	Significant	10	9.9	5	10.9
	Extreme	85	84.2	33	71.7
<b>Acquire money for School</b>					
	Not at all	18	17.8	23	50.0
	A little	15	14.9	5	10.9
	Moderate	11	10.9	2	4.3
	Significant	22	21.8	6	13.0

<b>Acquire money and tools for skill training</b>	Extreme	35	34.7	10	21.7
	Not at all	1	1.0	0	0.0
	A little	6	5.9	8	17.4
	Moderate	23	22.8	25	54.3
	Significant	31	30.7	7	15.2
<b>Survive the hardship that characterizes lean season in the North</b>	Extreme	40	39.6	6	13.0
	Not at all	12	11.9	24	52.0
	A little	8	7.9	3	6.5
	Moderate	14	13.9	8	17.4
	Significant	43	42.6	6	13.0
<b>Make remittances back home</b>	Extreme	24	23.8	5	10.9
	Not at all	8	7.9	0	0.0
	A little	14	13.9	4	8.7
	Moderate	31	30.7	18	39.0
	Significant	23	22.8	19	41.3
<b>Survive the competition in a polygynous marriage</b>	Extreme	25	24.8	5	10.9
	Not at all	10	9.9	0	0.0
	A little	16	15.9	3	6.5
	Moderate	26	25.7	15	32.6
	Significant	9	8.9	5	10.9
<b>Make money to undertake trading</b>	Extreme	39	38.6	23	58.0
	Not at all	5	4.9	23	50.0
	A little	6	5.9	16	34.8
	Moderate	21	20.8	5	10.9
	Significant	14	13.9	2	4.3
	Extreme	55	54.5	0	0.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014



E.

**Table 6.13: Negative impacts of the phenomenon on the *Kayayei***

		<i>Kayayei</i> Respondents Civil Society Organisations			
Negative Effects	Rating Scale	Frequency Percent		Frequency Percent (100)	
		(101)	(100)	(46)	
<b>Exploitation by patrons and relatives</b>	Not at all	2	2.0	0	0.0
	A little	4	5.0	3	6.5
	Moderate	3	3.0	6	13.0
	Significant	9	8.9	6	13.0
	Extreme	83	82.2	31	67.4
<b>Involvement in prostitution, stealing and smoking</b>				0	
	Not at all	13	12.9		0.0
	A little	17	16.8	3	6.5
	Moderate	41	40.6	6	13.0
	Significant	23	22.8	10	21.7
	Extreme	7	6.9	27	58.7
<b>Suffering physical defects and accidents from heavy loads moving inbetween Vehicles</b>	Not at all	0	0.0	0	0.0
	A little	2	2.0	0	0.0
	Moderate	8	7.9	7	15.2
	Significant	6	5.9	5	10.9

<b>Abuse by the general Public</b>	Extreme	85	84.2	34	73.9
	Not at all	1	1.0	0	0
	A little	5	4.9	0	0
	Moderate	33	32.7	9	19.6
	Significant	19	18.8	7	15.2
	Extreme	43	42.6	30	65.2
<b>Cases of missing <i>kayayei</i> through murder and trafficking</b>					
	Not at all	4	4.0	0	0.0
	A little	23	22.8	5	10.9
	Moderate	29	28.7	9	19.6
	Significant	18	17.8	8	17.4
	Extreme	27	26.7	24	52.2
<b>Cases of rape and robbery of <i>kayayei</i></b>					
	Not at all	4	4.0	0	0.0
	A little	8	7.9	2	4.3
	Moderate	14	13.9	4	8.7
	Significant	13	12.9	3	6.5
	Extreme	62	61.4	37	80.4
<b>Lack of access to formal education or skill training</b>					
	Not at all	11	6.9	0	0.0
	A little	15	14.9	3	6.5
	Moderate	13	12.9	7	15.2
	Significant	9	8.9	2	4.3
	Extreme	53	52.5	34	74

Source: Field Survey, 2014

# KNUST

F.

**Table 6.14: Effects of *kayayei* phenomenon on the nation**

National Effects	Rating Scale	<i>Kayayei</i> Respondents		Civil Society Organisations	
		Frequency		Frequency	
		Percent(100)		Percent(100)	
		(101)		(46)	
<b>Children born on the street to street children</b>	Not at all	2	2.0	0	0.0
	A little	3	3.0	0	0.0
	Moderate	10	9.9	7	15.2
	Significant	16	15.8	8	17.4
	Extreme	70	69.3	31	67.4
<b>Contraction and transmission of STDs</b>	Not at all	5	4.9	0	0.0
	A little	5	5.0	1	2.2
	Moderate	15	14.9	5	10.9
	Significant	22	21.8	6	13.0



	Extreme	54	53.5	34	74.0
<b>Lack of control over the reproductive life of girls and women</b>					
	Not at all	0	0.0	0	0.0
	A little	3	3.0	2	4.3
	Moderate	7	6.9	8	17.4
	Significant	21	20.8	3	6.5
	Extreme	65	64.4	32	70.0
<b>Child labour and child trafficking</b>					
	Not at all	5	5.0	0	0.0
	A little	9	8.9	1	2.2
	Moderate	41	40.6	8	17.4
	Significant	14	13.9	7	15.2
	Extreme	33	32.7	30	65.2
<b>Social vices (prostitution, stealing and smoking)</b>					
	Not at all	8	7.9	0	0.0
	A little	25	24.8	6	13.0
	Moderate	40	39.6	7	15.2
	Significant	6	5.9	3	6.5
	Extreme	22	21.8	30	65.2
<b>achievement of universal Basic education (MDG 2)</b>					
	Not at all	12	11.9	0	0.0
	A little	5	4.9	2	4.3
	Moderate	22	21.8	7	15.2
	Significant	19	18.8	8	17.4
	Extreme	43	42.6	29	63.0
<b>Development of slums in the cities and its associated ills</b>					
	Not at all	4	4.0	0	0.0
	A little	17	16.8	4	8.7
	Moderate	29	28.7	9	19.6
	Significant	12	11.9	9	19.6

<b>Declining enrolment and rising dropout rates for girls in sending communities</b>	Extreme	39	38.6	24	52.2
	Not at all	6	5.9	0	0.0
	A little	14	13.9	4	8.7
	Moderate	10	9.9	10	21.7
	Significant	17	16.8	4	8.7
	Extreme	54	53.5	28	61.0
<b>Uncontrolled civil society interventions</b>	Not at all	26	25.7	2	4.3
	A little	37	36.6	11	24.0
	Moderate	17	16.8	10	21.7
	Significant	3	3.0	5	10.9
	Extreme	18	17.8	18	39.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014

G.

**Images of the *Kayayei***



H.  
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**(KNUST), KUMASI**



## **KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB)**

### **PhD in Management Studies**

#### **Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case of female porters (*Kayayei*) in Ghana**

Dear respondent, I am a student of the KNUST School of Business (KSB), pursuing PhD in Management Studies. This programme requires me to conduct research and produce a thesis. I would therefore be very grateful if you could please participate in this study by providing some insights and sharing your knowledge on the topic above. This research is purely for academic purposes and responses will be treated with high confidentiality.

I count on your maximum cooperation.

Thank you.

#### **Interview Guide For *Kayayei* Research Participants**

##### **(A) Determination of the status of the *Kayayei* in terms of education/skills possessed and the factors explaining their current status.**

###### **(1) Activities of the *Kayayei***

###### **Probes:**

###### **How and why did you get into this activity? (Labour market)**

- I. How do you usually start your day's activities? II. How do you obtain patrons?
- III. What is the nature of goods you carry?
- IV. Is it difficult getting patrons/customers?
- V. What are the different specializations in your area of work? E.g. roaming about to look for patrons; standing in front of shops; offloading goods from trucks etc.
- VI. On a good day, how much do you obtain as income?
- VII. Do you do any other activities besides load carrying?

###### **(2) Knowledge/skills that aid their activities/livelihood Probes:**

- I. How do you bargain to get the highest charge for the services that you offer?
- II. How did you obtain these bargaining skills?
- III. What other skills do you employ in your activities?
- IV. What is your level of education?
- V. Have you undertaken any skills training? E.g. Dressmaking, Hairdressing, Baking, etc.
- VI. What stopped you from attending school; furthering your education; or undertaking some skills training?
- VII. What reasons will you assign for your inability to go to school; further your education; or undertake skills training back in your hometown? E.g. marriage; no school nearby; no teachers; lack of care; peer influence; labouring to support the family etc.
- VIII. If you had education and or skills, how would you use that to better your life?
- IX. What other thing do you have to say concerning your activities and your life?

**(B) Causes of the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana:**

Probes:

- I. How did you come here? Was it through friends or relatives? (Peer and family pressure)
- II. Why didn't you stay in your home town/village to work but had to travel all the way to Accra/Kumasi? (Push factors)
- III. What do you want to achieve working here? (Reasons for working)
- IV. Do you think you will achieve your aims for coming to Accra/Kumasi? (Pull factors)
- V. Did you get friends and/or relatives to support you with accommodation on arrival? (Squatting opportunities)
- VI. Do you regret coming here? (Opportunity cost of migration)

**(C) Consequences/effects of the *Kaya* trade on the individual *Kayayei*:**

Probes:

- I. What have you failed to do back at home because of your coming here?
- II. Did you have to stop doing something in order to come here? What was that and why did you stop?

- III. Do you have to support your family (here or back home) with the income you earn?
- IV. What do you use your savings for?
- V. Do you prefer some other work to the *kaya* trade? How do you intend to achieve that?
- VI. How will your family be affected if you stopped this work?
- VII. What problems do you encounter in terms of accommodation?
- VIII. Does your work affect your health in anyway?
- IX. Do people threaten you in the course of your work? In what ways?

I.

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(KNUST), KUMASI  
KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB)**

**PhD in Management Studies**

**Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case of *Kayayei* in Ghana**



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I count on your maximum cooperation.

Thank you.

**Interview Guide for Research Participants in Skills Provision:**

**(A) Causes of the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana:**

What in your opinion explains the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana?

Probes:

- I. Peer pressure
- II. Pressure to work to support family
- III. The need to buy items for marriage
- IV. Culture and religion/marriage system
- V. Squatting opportunities in the city/ urban attraction
- VI. Poor enforcement of FCUBE policy
- VII. Lack of opportunities for gainful skills training
- VIII. Poor enforcement of child labour laws
- IX. Declining livelihood opportunities for women in the rural areas/ Gendered livelihoods in the rural areas
- X. The tradition of landlessness among women
- XI. Lack of inclusive social protection for the poor (e.g. poor women)

**(B) Consequences/effects of the *Kaya* trade on the individual *Kayayei* and the nation as a whole:**

Probes:

- I. In what ways do you think the *Kaya* trade benefits the individual *Kayayei*?
- II. What negative consequences are associated with the *Kaya* trade?

(E.g. teenage pregnancy, prostitution, child-trafficking, child labour, STDs, reproductive health risks etc.)

- III. Would you say their activities help the nation in any way?
- IV. In what ways do you think the *Kayayei* phenomenon indicates a failure by the state to provide education and/or skills for the girl child?
- V. In what ways should the state intervene to improve on the livelihood activities of the *Kayayei* while preventing more girls from joining the trade?

### **(C) Relevance of NHRD Policies/ Strategies to Informal Sector Actors:**

#### **Nature of Skills Provision in the informal sector:**

##### Probes:

- I. Tell me about the skills mostly applied in this shop?
- II. How do you transfer these skills to your trainees?
- III. How do you upgrade/innovate to keep up with the demands of the market?
- IV. What level of education did your trainees have before enrolling into the training and how does their level of education affect their training?

#### **Policy Direction for Skills Provision in the informal sector**

##### Probes:

- I. Do you have any reference guidelines/syllabi for training your clients and who issues these guidelines/syllabi?  
E.g. entry requirement; duration of training; scope (syllabus); qualifications to be derived and accreditation to train?
- II. Tell me about the means by which your clients can upgrade their skills in the future after completion.
- III. Do you offer certificates to your clients after completing the training and what makes those certificates acceptable in Ghana and elsewhere?

- IV. Can you say there is any National Qualifications Framework (NQF) that defines a ladder for one to upgrade from the lowest grade to the highest grade in the area of your trade/profession?
- V. How are you recognised as a qualified trainer?
- VI. What are your views about certification in your area of trade/profession? Do you think there is something the state has failed to do?
- VII. What else would you like to say about your work as a trainer?



J.

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**KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB)**



## **PhD in Management Studies**

### **Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case of *Kayayei* in Ghana**

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Thank you.

### **Interview Guide for Research Participants from NHRD Policy/Strategy Formulation and Implementation Institutions: Social welfare, relevant ministries, MMDAs**

#### **(A) Causes of the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana:**

What in your opinion explains the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana?

##### Probes:

- I. Peer pressure
- II. Pressure to work to support family
- III. The need to buy items for marriage
- IV. Culture and religion/marriage system
- V. Squatting opportunities in the city/ urban attraction
- VI. Poor enforcement of FCUBE policy
- VII. Lack of opportunities for gainful skills training
- VIII. Poor enforcement of child labour laws
- IX. Declining livelihood opportunities for women in the rural areas/ Gendered livelihoods in the rural areas
- X. The tradition of landlessness among women
- XI. Lack of inclusive social protection for the poor (e.g. poor women)

#### **(B) Consequences/effects of the *Kaya* trade on the individual *Kayayei* and the nation as a whole:**

Probes:

- I. In what ways do you think the *Kaya* trade benefits the individual *Kayayei*?
- II. What negative consequences are associated with the *Kaya* trade? (E.g. teenage pregnancy, prostitution, child-trafficking, child labour, STDs, reproductive health risks etc.)
- III. Would you say their activities help the nation in any way?
- IV. In what ways do you think the *Kayayei* phenomenon indicates a failure by the state to provide education and/or skills for the girl child?
- V. In what ways should the state intervene to improve on the livelihood activities of the *Kayayei* while preventing more girls from joining the trade?

**(C) NHRD Policy/Strategy in Relation to Marginal Labour:**

- (1) What are existing national policies and strategies towards offering direct employable skills?

Probes

- I. How is the state involved in providing employable skills to the youth?
- II. What policies and strategies does the state employ to achieve this (I)?
- III. Which of the policies /strategies in your opinion relate to the *Kayayei*?

- (2) Inclusiveness, Continuity and Coordination of Existing NHRD Policies and Strategies Probes:

- I. To what extent can you say policies and strategies target all levels of society in terms of offering employable skills?
- II. Would you say the *Kayayei* are excluded?
- III. Tell me how these policies and strategies are continued by subsequent Governments?
- IV. What would you say about the implementation and coordination of these policies and strategies?
- V. Tell me how these policies/strategies facilitate skills development in the Traditional Apprenticeship Training (TAT) sector?

- endowments?
- IX. What else do you want to add to what we have discussed so far?
- K.
- KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
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**KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB)**



## **PhD in Management Studies**

### **Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case of *Kayayei* in Ghana**

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Thank you.

### **Interview Guide for Research Participants from Civil Society Organizations:**

#### **(A) Causes of the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana:**

What in your opinion explains the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana?

##### **Probes:**

- I. Peer pressure
- II. Pressure to work to support family
- III. The need to buy items for marriage
- IV. Culture and religion/marriage system
- V. Squatting opportunities in the city/ urban attraction
- VI. Poor enforcement of FCUBE policy
- VII. Lack of opportunities for gainful skills training
- VIII. Poor enforcement of child labour laws
- IX. Declining livelihood opportunities for women in the rural areas/  
Gendered livelihoods in the rural areas
- X. The tradition of landlessness among women
- XI. Lack of inclusive social protection for the poor (e.g. poor women)

#### **(B) Consequences/effects of the *Kaya* trade on the individual *Kayayei* and the nation as a whole:**

##### **Probes:**

- I. In what ways do you think the *Kaya* trade benefits the individual *Kayayei*?
- II. What negative consequences are associated with the *Kaya* trade?  
(E.g. teenage pregnancy, prostitution, child-trafficking, child labour, STDs, reproductive health risks etc.)
- III. Would you say their activities help the nation in any way?
- IV. In what ways do you think the *Kayayei* phenomenon indicates a failure by the state to provide education and/or skills for the girl child?
- V. In what ways should the state intervene to improve on the livelihood activities of the *Kayayei* while preventing more girls from joining the trade?

**(C) NHRD Policy/Strategy that relate to the *Kayayei***

Probes:

- I. To what extent do national policies/strategies on employable skills relate to people like the *Kayayei*?
- II. Tell me how the state can improve employability of people like the *Kayayei*?
- III. With policies and programmes such as FCUBE, School feeding programme, capitation grants to basic schools, and free school uniforms: what in your opinion accounts for streetism among girls like the *Kayayei* instead of schooling?
- IV. What else would you like to add with regards to the issues we have been discussing?

**L.**

**KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
(KNUST), KUMASI KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB) PhD in  
Management Studies**

**Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case of the *Kayayei* in Ghana.**

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I count on your maximum cooperation.

Thank you.

**THEME A: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS**

**1. Date of Interview:**.....

**2. Name of Respondent:**.....

**3. Age of respondent:**

i. Below 15

ii. ☐ 15-20 iii. ☐ 21-26 iv. ☐ 27-32 v. ☐ 33-38 vi. ☐ 39 and above

**4. Marital status:**

i. ☐ Married ii. ☐

Not married iii. ☐

Divorced iv. ☐

Windowed **5. Level of**

**Education:**

i. ☐ primary school ii. ☐

JHS iii. ☐ SHS iv. ☐

Vocational skills training v. ☐

tertiary education vi. ☐ never

**6. Religion:**

i. ☐ Christian ii. ☐ Muslim iii. ☐

Traditionalist iv. ☐ others (specify)

.....

**7. Ethnicity:**

i. ☐ Dagomba ii. ☐ Mamprusi iii. ☐ Gonja iv. ☐

Komkoba v. ☐ Wala vi. ☐ Others

(specify).....

**8. At what age did you start load carrying?**

i. ☐ Less than 6 years

ii. ☐ 6-8 years iii. ☐



9-11 years iv. ☐ 12-  
14 v. ☐ 15-17 vi. ☐  
18-20 vii. ☐ 21 and  
above

### **THEME B: APPROPRIATE SKILLS AND EDUCATION FOR LIVELIHOOD**

**10. If you have never been to school or not gone beyond JHS, which of the following would you say is the most significant cause?**

- i. Because I was sent to live with my auntie ☐ ii. Because I was made a mother's house child ☐ iii. Because I come from a large polygamous family ☐ iv. Because my parents did not have interest in girl-child education ☐ v. Because I was betrothed for early marriage ☐ vi. Because of the edge to come with friends to the city ☐

### **THEME C: SOCIO-CULTURAL CAUSES OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON**

**11. How important are the following Socio-cultural causal factors in accounting for the Kayayei phenomenon?**

**1 = not important at all**

**2 = Not important**

**3 = somewhat important**

**4 = important**

**5=very important**

1	2	3	4	5	Socio-cultural causal factors accounting for the Kayayei phenomenon?
					Large family size leading to lack of care for the girl-child
					Girl-Child- bondage under Auntie
					Girl-Child bondage under Grandmother
					Girl-Child belonging to the mother's family
					Betrothal and early marriage
					Lack of interest in Girl-Child education

					The edge of the Girl-Child to acquire items in preparation for marriage
--	--	--	--	--	---

#### **THEME D: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CAUSAL FACTORS**

12. How important are the following Human Development causal factors in accounting for the *Kayayei* phenomenon?

1=not important at all

2=Not important

3= somewhat important

4= important

5=very important

1	2	3	4	5	Human Development causal factors
					Poor teaching/learning environment
					Failure in the implementation of the free and compulsoriness of education at the basic level
					Poor teacher Supervision
					Inadequate qualified teachers in rural communities
					Lack of parents interest in girl-child education
					High dropout rate for girls due to socio-cultural factors
					Lack of skills training for employability after basic education
					Lack of opportunities for girls unable to progress beyond JHS

#### **THEME D: GENERAL CAUSAL FACTORS**

13. How important are the following General causal factors in accounting for the *Kayayei* phenomenon?

1=not important at all

2=Not important

3= somewhat important

4= important

5=very important

1	2	3	4	5	General Causal Factors
					Peer influence/influence of returnees
					Urban attraction
					Availability of squatting opportunities in the destination cities
					Ethnic-based social networking opportunities for new arrivals
					Escape from farm labouring
					Ignorance of the hassle in the city
					Opportunity to commercialize sex

**THEME D1: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE KAYAYEI THEMSELVES**

14. How would you consider the following as making positive effects (benefits) on your life as a *kayayoo*?

1= not at all

2 = a little

3 = moderately

4 = quite a bit

5 = extremely

1	2	3	4	5	positive effects (benefits) of <i>load carrying to the kayayei themselves</i>
					To acquire items for marriage
					To acquire some money for school
					To acquire some money and tools for skill training
					To survive the hardship that characterises the lean season in the north by engaging in load carrying as an economic activity
					To make remittances to dependents at home



					To survive the competition in a polygamous marriage as a wife
					To make money to undertake buying and selling for profit

**THEME D2: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE KAYAYEI THEMSELVES**

15. How would you consider the following as having negative effects on your life as a *kayayoo*?

1= not at all

2 = a little

3 = moderate

4 = quite a bit

5 = extreme

1	2	3	4	5	Negative effects of the phenomenon on the <i>kayayei</i> themselves
					Exploited by relatives and patrons
					Involvements of some <i>kayayei</i> in prostitution, stealing and smoking
					Suffered physical defects and accidents from heavy load burden and movement in-between vehicles
					Abused by the general public and patrons
					Heard cases of missing <i>kayayei</i> through trafficking and murder
					Heard cases of rape and robbery of some <i>kayayei</i>
					Lack of access to formal education and or skills training

**THEME D3: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE NATION**

16. To what extent would you consider the following as the effects of the increasing number of women and girls on the street as *Kayayei* on the nation?

1= not at all

2 = a little

3 = moderate

4 = quite a bit

5 = extreme

1	2	3	4	5	effects of the increasing number of women and girls on the street as <i>Kayayei</i> on the nation
					Children born on the street by street children
					Contraction and transmission of STIs through rape and prostitution
					Uncontrolled reproductive life of women and girls
					Child labour and child trafficking
					Social vices (Stealing, prostitution smoking etc.)
					Non achievement of universal basic education by 2015 (MDG 2)
					Development of slums in the cities and its associated ills
					Declining enrolment and dropout rate for girls in schools in sending communities
					Uncontrolled civil society interventions

### **THEME E:EARNINGS**

**17. How much money do you earn per day from the *kaya* trade?**

i. ☐ Ghc7-10

ii. ☐ Ghc10-15

iii. ☐ Ghc15-20

iv. ☐ 20-25 v.

other

(specify).....

**18. How many days do you work as *kayayoo* in a week?.....**

**19. Besides *kayayoo*, do you engage in any other economic activity?** i. ☐ Yes ii.

☐ No

**20. If yes, name them.....**

**21. How much money on average do you earn from these other activities per day?.....**

**22. How many days do you engage in these other activities in a week?.....**

### **THEME F: SAVINGS AND THE SAVING STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY THE KAYAYEI (FEMALE HEAD PORTERS)**

**23. How much of your total earnings do you save in a day?**

i. ☐ Ghc 2-3

ii. ☐ Ghc 4-5

iii. ☐ Ghc 6-7

iv. ☐ Ghc 8-9

v. ☐ Ghc10 and above

**24. Where do you save your money?**

i. ☐ Bank ii. ☐ Savings and

loans companies iii. ☐ *Susu* iv. ☐

Relatives v. ☐ others

(specify).....

**25. If not Bank, why?**

i.....



- ii.....
- iii.....

**26. Why do you save with the option(s) selected in (24)?**

- i. ☐ because they are always come to you to take the money
- ii. ☐ because they accept small amounts iii. ☐ because you trust them iv. ☐ because you can readily obtain your money when needed
- v. ☐ others (specify).....

**27. Do you pay for saving your money?**

- i. ☐ Yes ii. ☐ No iii. If yes, how much per month?.....

**27. Which ways do you invest your savings?**

- i.....
- ii.....
- iii.....

**28. Apart from safe-keeping your money, what other services do you obtain from your financial service providers?**

- i. Interest ii. Money transfer services iii. Credit iv. Others (specify).....

**29. What would you say discourages you from saving with banks and saving companies?**

- i. ☐ Feel cheated by them ii. ☐ long time spent in the bank iii. ☐ lack of trust in personal sellers iv. ☐ inability to read and write v. ☐ others (specify).....

**30. Have you been able to achieve your objectives for migrating here? i. ☐ Yes**

- ii. ☐ No

**31. If no, why?**

- i.....  
.....  
ii.....  
iii.....

**THEME F:RECOMMENDATIONS**

**32. In what ways do you think you can be assisted by government or welfare organizations to obtain alternative livelihoods devoid of the hazards you face on the street?**

- i.....  
ii.....  
ii.....

**33. Would you want to change job through learning a trade or going back to school? I. Yes ii. No**

**34. If yes, what king of skills training/schooling do you desire?**

- i.....  
ii.....  
iii.....  
iv.....

**Thanks you for participating in this survey.**

**M.**

**KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
(KNUST), KUMASI KNUST SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (KSB) PhD in  
Management Studies**

**Research Topic: The Missing Link in Human Resource Development: The Case  
of *Kayayei* in Ghana**

Dear respondent, I am a student of the KNUST School of Business (KSB), pursuing PhD in Management Studies. I would be very grateful if you could help provide some insights on the topic above. This research is purely for academic purposes and responses will be treated with high confidentiality.

I count on your maximum cooperation.

### **QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEMBERS OF CIVIL SOCIETY**

### **ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN THE INTEREST OF THE KAYAYEI.**

***Note: Please, tick the bracket representing your appropriate key of choice. Thank you.***

### **THEME C: SOCIO-CULTURAL CAUSES OF THE KAYAYEI**

#### **PHENOMENON**

11. How important are the following Socio-cultural causal factors in accounting for the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana?

*Please, tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:*

**1 = not important at all**

**2 = Not important**

**3 = somewhat important**

**4 = important**

**5= very important**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Socio-cultural causal factors accounting for the <i>Kayayei</i> phenomenon?</b>
					Large family size leading to lack of care for the girl-child
					Girl-Child- bondage under Auntie as part of the culture
					Girl-Child bondage under Grandmother as part of the culture



					A Girl-Child belonging to the mother's family as part of culture
					Betrothal and early marriage
					Lack of interest in Girl-Child education
					The edge of the Girl-Child to acquire items in preparation for marriage

#### **THEME D: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CAUSAL FACTORS**

**12. How important are the following Human Development causal factors in accounting for the *Kayayei* phenomenon?**

*Please, tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:*

**1= not important at all**

**2= Not important**

**3= somewhat important**

**4= important**

**5= very important**

1	2	3	4	5	Human Development causal factors
					Poor teaching/learning environment
					Failure in the implementation of the freeness and compulsoriness of education at the basic level (i.e. primary to JHS)
					Poor teacher Supervision
					Inadequate qualified teachers in rural communities
					Lack of parents interest in girl-child education
					High dropout rate for girls due to socio-cultural factors
					Lack of skills training for employability after basic education
					Lack of opportunities for girls unable to progress beyond JHS

#### **THEME E: GENERAL CAUSAL FACTORS**

**13. How important are the following General causal factors in accounting for the *Kayayei* phenomenon in Ghana?**

*Please, tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:*

- 1= not important at all**  
**2= Not important**  
**3= somewhat important**  
**4= important**  
**5= very important**

1	2	3	4	5	General Causal Factors
					Peer influence/influence of returnee <i>kayayei</i> girls on other girls to come to the city
					Urban attraction
					Availability of squatting opportunities in the destination cities
					Ethnic-based social networking opportunities for new arrivals
					Escape from farm labouring
					Ignorance of the hassle in the city
					Opportunity to commercialize sex

**THEME D1: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE KAYAYEI THEMSELVES**

**14. How would you consider the following as having made positive effects (benefits) on the lives of the *kayayoo*?**

*Please, tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:*

- 1= not at all**

2 = a little

3 = moderately

4 = quite a bit

5 = extremely

1	2	3	4	5	positive effects (benefits) of <i>load carrying to the kayayei themselves</i>
					Acquire items for marriage
					Acquire some money for school
					Acquire some money and tools for skill training
					Survive the hardship that characterises the lean season in the north by Engaging in load carrying as an economic activity
					make remittances to dependents at home
					Survive the competition in a polygamous marriage as a wife by acquiring basic household items

**THEME D2: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE KAYAYEI THEMSELVES**

15. How would you consider the following as having negative effects on the lives of the *kayayei*?

Please, tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:

1= not at all

2 = a little

3 = moderate

4 = quite a bit

5 = extreme

1	2	3	4	5	Negative effects of the phenomenon on the <i>kayayei themselves</i>
					Exploited by relatives and patrons
					Involvements of some <i>kayayei</i> in prostitution, stealing and smoking



					Suffered physical defects and accidents from heavy load burden and movement in-between vehicles
					Abused by the general public and patrons
					Cases of missing <i>kayayei</i> through trafficking and murder
					Cases of rape and robbery of some <i>kayayei</i>
					Lack of access to formal education and or skills training

**THEME D3: EFFECTS OF THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON ON THE NATION**

**16. To what extent would you consider the following as the effects of the increasing number of women and girls on the street as *Kayayei* on the nation?**

*Please tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:*

**1= not at all**

**2 = a little**

**3 = moderate**

**4 = quite a bit**

**5 = extreme**

1	2	3	4	5	<b>effects of the increasing number of women and girls on the street as <i>Kayayei</i> on the nation</b>
					children born on the street by teenagers on the street
					Contraction and transmission of STIs through rape and prostitution
					Uncontrolled reproductive life of women and girls

					Child labour and child trafficking
					Social vices (Stealing, prostitution smoking etc.)
					Non achievement of universal basic education by 2015 (MDG 2)
					Development of slums in the cities and its associated ills
					Declining enrolment and dropout rate for girls in schools in sending communities
					Uncontrolled civil society interventions

**THEME F: STATE/CIVIL SOCIETY COLLABORATION IN TACKLING THE KAYAYEI PHENOMENON**

Quite common among civil society organizations' (CSOs) efforts at dealing with street children have often involved some of the following (as provided in the box below). To what extent does state institutions support/collaborate in such efforts?

Please tick in the appropriate cell in the box by ranking the statements in the box according to the criterion as follows:

*1= Not significant at all*

*2= not significant*

*3= quite significant*

*4= significant*

*5= Very significant*

1	2	3	4	5	State/civil society collaboration in tackling the <i>kayayei</i> phenomenon
					Assessing the problems, needs and expectations of the <i>kayayei</i>
					Rehabilitation
					Advocacy and or education in sending communities

					Re-integration with families or communities
					Health care and sexual reproductive health education for the <i>Kayayei</i>
					Vocational skills training and livelihood start-up capacities for the <i>kayayei</i>

### **THEME H: Challenges in the implementation of TVET**

**To what extent can you agree or disagree that the following are the challenges emerging out of a lack of a long-term National Human Resource Development strategy for Ghana as a country?**

*Please, tick in the appropriate bracket by ranking the statements according to the criterion as follows:*

***Strongly disagree   disagree   slightly disagree   slightly agree   agree  
strongly agree***

***1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6***

1. Gender stereotyped programmes that limit diversified training options for girls  
[   ]
2. Smooth transition of trained graduates into the labour market or self-employment  
[   ]
3. Designing vocational skill sets to meet self –employment and paid employment  
[   ]
4. Incoming TVET providers have challenges of truly aligning their vision and philosophy with what actually exist as a national qualifications framework  
[   ]
5. Challenges in designing new models of training in TVET that truly meet industry and labour-market needs [   ]
6. Illiterates and people with education below SHS lack/have low levels of literacy and numeracy to cope with generic skills training methodologies and job performance in the labour market                      [   ]
7. Non-syllabi-based and long training duration in the informal apprenticeship system                      [   ]
8. ways of structuring educational programmes to meet the different needs of the population (e.g. *Kayayei*)[   ]



9. Building formal infrastructure that would give the *kayaye* access to education/skill set training in their own localities [ ]

**THEME G:RECOMMENDATIONS**

**32. In what ways do you think the government/ the state or welfare organizations can work to eliminate the *kayaye* phenomenon in Ghana?**

- i.....
- ii.....
- ii.....
- iv.....

**Thank you for participating in this survey**

