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ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE OF FEMALE KAYAYEI IN THE

TAMALE METROPOLIS

FATIMA IDDRISU ABU

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TAMALE METROPOLIS

BY

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DECLARATION

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part

of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere:

Candidate's Signature:…………...…………… Date:……………….………

Name: FATIMA IDDRISU ABU

SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised in

accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation/thesis laid down by the

University for Development Studies.

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ABSTRACT

The activities of kayayei (head porters) particularly in southern Ghana are a dominant phenomenon which characterises the business districts of metropolitan areas. In recent times, the phenomenon has gradually built-up in the Tamale Metropolis. This sets out to understand *the cultural and gender dynamics* that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo. To do this, I approached the subject from an ethnographic perspective. I used fieldwork as the main tool to gather information. Content analysis was used to analyse field information to arrive at conclusions. Through content analysis, it was revealed that there are gendered cultural factors such as 'talia' (the material things girls acquire to prepare for marriage), 'moni' (taking responsibility of cooking family meals) and 'ŋanbara' (providing bowls from which family members eat) behind the material, social and economic reasons already identified by existing literature. The study revealed that kayayei make gains to provide some of their basic needs, but given all the challenges they face, the study concludes that the trade can only be an option that sacrifices human dignity under the guise of pursuing wellbeing. Also, payment of bride price by the man, force marriage, polygyny and foster parenting of girls and other patriarchal practices have been identified to be responsible for kayayei activities. Current interventions, fall short of achieving the goal of getting kayayei to practice the skill they have been trained in. This is because the interests of benefactors (governments and NGOs) of training interventions are paramount in the implementation of such interventions. Given this, interventions are characterised with short duration for training, insufficient training materials and lack of start-up capital. The study, therefore, proposes a participatory approach to interventions by engaging kayayei in deciding the type of intervention to implement, how to implement them, when to implement them and way forward after implementation.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this to My Children; Daliri, Wunyurima and Puumaya.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Migration is a global phenomenon and it is largely a livelihood strategy. Since time immemorial, people have sought new life chances in other places when opportunities at home are scarce (Hall, 2007). Opportunities may take the form of but not limited to natural resources, financial, social or even psychological. For instance, if natural resources in a locality are not sufficient for the population, people may move to places where they think such resources are available. Also if societal norms are so restrictive such that they prevent people from exploring their environment to bring out the best in them, they may not be able to live fulfilled lives where they are, hence they may migrate to destinations with flexible rules. Regardless of the causative factor, such migrants are to search for better livelihoods. Most often, these migrants get to their destinations and realise that the formal job market has no place for them compelling them to do menial jobs in the informal sector.

Ghana produces relatively few international migrants with only 19 percent of all migrants going to international destinations, primarily, Western OECD countries (World Bank, 2011). Migration in Ghana up to the 1970s was mainly internal, with in-migration affecting the social organization, agriculture and population dynamics (Awumbila, Manuh, Quartey, Bosiakoh, & Tagoe, 2011). Popular opinion has often been dominated by concerns about the negative implications of internal migration on the destination communities, while the academic literature has generally focused on the positive effects of migration on migrants and sending households and communities (World Bank, 2011).

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In Ghana, human migration has taken place from pre-colonial, through colonial to the post-colonial period (Kwankye, et al., 2009, p.8). In the past, mainly male adults were those who migrated from the northern part of the country to the southern part to work in oil palm plantations, cocoa farms or the mining industries. This phenomenon according to Kwankye, et al. (2009) was male-dominated in the 1960s and early 1970s. In recent times, the trend has changed from a male domain to include mainly young females and women with little or no education or employable skills, migrating to the south to do menial jobs. Because of their lack of employable skills, they resort to working as head-porters, popularly called kayayei (Opare 2003, Berg 2007, Awumbila et al 2008, Kwankye et al 2009, van der Geest 2010, 2011, Ahlvin 2012, Ntewusu 2012).

Kayayo is a broad term used to describe migrants doing menial jobs in especially markets of cities in Ghana. In the class of kayayo can be found shop attendants, laundry service providers, metal scavengers, restaurant attendants, truck pushers and head porters. Kayayo, therefore, encompasses all these categories of menial workers. This research will, however, limit the use of kayayoo to refer to female head porters. Also, the terms kaya, kayayo, kayayoo and kayayei will be used in the work to mean as follows. Kaya will refer to luggage or things. Kayayo will refer to the trade while kayayoo will mean the female who carries kaya. Kayayei, on the other hand, will be used to refer to the plural of kayayoo.

Geest (2011) indicated there are three principal forms of migration in Ghana. The first form is north to middle belt who are mostly rural-rural migrants. The second group is from parts of the national capital to the city centre of Accra who are mostly urban-

urban migrants and finally Cocoa frontier settlement (to South-west) who are mostly farmer migration and include urban-rural. Some other migration experts have classified migration based on the duration of stay. In Economics of Adaptation to Climate Change (EACC) (World Bank, 2011), in terms of duration of stay of migrants, classified migration into short-term (seasonal), medium-term (only for a few years away from home) and long-term permanent movement involving extended periods of absence away from home. According to the World Bank, EACC as well indicated a fourth type of migration; tide migration or tide migrants. Tide migrants traditionally referred to as 'ayogba' (Dagbani), is usually dominated by women who travel short distances for material resources to assist the family go through adversity. Largely these material resources include the picking of shea nuts and the harvesting of groundnuts, maize and millet (World Bank, 2011). It is my conviction that, as a result of urbanization, this traditional form of migration has metamorphosed into kayayo. Also, the collapse of commercial agriculture and intensified mechanization through Structural Adjustment policies initiated in the 1980's through the 1990's has intensified the role of northern Ghana as a labour resource for southern Ghana. (Songsore 2003, Abane 2008, Yaro 2006).

Over the years in Ghana, it has been reported that labour migrates from the regions in the north of the country to markets in the southern sector to do menial jobs (Bryceson, 1999). These menial jobs can be best described as precarious because, they are characterised by uncertainty, risks, insecurity, flexibility, hazard among other risks. These migrants do menial jobs in the markets to earn a living because they have no formal skills to be employed in the formal sector. Confirming this, Ntewusu (2012), explains that northerners who migrate to the south in search of greener pasture

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generally lack formal skills that would have made them eligible for work within the civil service. Also, they lack ethnic affiliations, which would have enabled gainful employment beyond unskilled labour. He further reports that such migrants from the north are generally those who have received very little to no formal education. They neither can speak nor understand enough English language to be able to communicate with non-speakers of their native language. Also, they are unable to speak and or understand the Ga language, which is the native language of their host community. This deficiency in ethnic affiliation further puts them at a disadvantage when it comes to skilled employment. Hence they have been able to find employment only within the transport sector in Accra. According to Ntewusu, they engage in the loading of buses, picking of grains in the market, running errands, washing dishes, carrying of loads for a fee and selling petty items in the streets. Doing such menial jobs sometimes potentially endanger their lives because of the environment in which they work. Also, such jobs present little or no job security; how much a person earns within a specified period is determined by sheer luck, chance or by the benevolence of others. Economic activities or jobs characterised by the above-stated characteristics could not be classified as standard. They constitute what is defined as precarious labour. It is worth noting that jobs such as loading of buses, pushing trucks, sales of dusters, car wipes TV antennae and card cases are dominated by males while dishwashing, selling sachet water, picking of grains in the grain market and carrying loads on the head (head portage) are the preserve of female migrants.

In the initial observations as part of preparing for this study, I noted incidences of reverse migration, where migrants flow in from Kumasi in the Ashanti Region in addition to the usual north-south flow. Some of them also come from the surrounding

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communities of the Metropolis. Many of these migrants are seen doing the menial jobs mentioned earlier. One can tell apart, migrants who come from the other regions because of the language they speak and their inability to understand or speak the native language of the host community. Taking a walk through the Central Business District (CBD) of Tamale, one will observe that migrants from the Ashanti Region are mostly travelling salesmen and petty traders. They are seen selling ladies' footwear and second-hand shoes at the corners of main streets. On Sundays, these sellers take over not only the corners of main streets but also all pavements in the Central Business District. On daily bases one will find young boys on the roads, especially around traffic lights, selling car dusters and petty accessories. They potentially endanger their lives by moving between moving vehicles to advertise and sell their wares. They are also exposed to harsh weather conditions and human inflicted hazards. By definition, they are engaged in precarious labour.

By the language they speak, one is also able to tell that not only migrants do these menial jobs but also Dagombas who are natives of the region. This is contrary to what happens in the southern markets that only migrants engage in doing these menial jobs. In the Central Business District of Tamale, mainly Dagbani speaking females carry kaya. Migrants from Mampurugu mostly engage in laundry services and the sale of water. Those from the Upper East region are commonly found in 'chop bars'[1] serving as attendants. It is, therefore, the case that in Tamale unlike in the southern cities, these menial jobs are ethnically based. While the Mampurusi girls do laundry and sell water, the Frafras serve food, pound fufu and do the dishes in 'chop bars. Kayayo (head portage) in Tamale is the preserve of Dagombas who are the indigenes of the

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[1] Local restaurant

area. The question that kept prompting me as I interrogated the phenomenon was, what is it like to do this kind of work in one's backyard and why? Does it mean adolescent Dagomba girls and young women no longer travel down south to do these jobs? If yes why? If not, why have those in Tamale chosen to stay? Walking through the two major markets and major lorry parks in Tamale, one will see women and teenage girls carrying their head basins asking shoppers to allow them to carry their luggage. Another place that this act is commonly seen is in front of shops and supermarkets. As will be later seen, the colonial policy of turning the north into a labour resource for agricultural and industrial needs of the south continued to shape and defines labour migratory trends into the post-colonial era. Indeed, Tamale is beginning to acquire the character of a destination labour migration?

Head portage for commercial purposes according to Kwankye et al., (2009) was first introduced in Ghana by male migrants from the Sahelian countries in West Africa, mainly from Mali. It was virtually an exclusively male domain and those who practised it were called 'kaya'. Kaya is a Hausa word, which means load (Opare, 2003, Kwankye, et al., 2009, Ahlvin, 2012). Ntewusu reports that the trade has been around since the colonial era and dates as far back as 1908. He explains that in the colonial era, they were called kayakaya. The kayakaya in the past apart from carrying goods also carried human beings (colonial masters) from one place to the other. They served as human transport. Kwankye et al., (2009) explain that the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 saw these migrants go back to their country creating a vacuum in the 'kaya' business. Men who used hand-pulled trucks to carry the loads filled this vacuum. In all probability, the north supplied the labour to fill the vacuum.

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Figure 1 1 A picture of load being conveyed on a hand-pulled truck

Source: Field picture

With time, it became increasingly difficult to use the hand-pushed trucks in the markets of our cities and towns because of the increase in market structures, vehicular and human population. The hand-pulled trucks became part of the mechanised traffic and most often, obstructed traffic flow. Movements became difficult for them. As the population increased, market structures also increased and became denser than before making allays for the passage of these trucks narrower. Conveying goods to shop owners in the market became difficult to complete the chain of transporting goods to their final destination. This necessitated carrying loads on the head for easy movement through the crowd.

In Ghana, especially the north, carrying loads on the head is one of the gendered roles of females. Their male counterpart use bicycles or hand-pulled trucks. So the change

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from using hand-pulled trucks to carrying loads on the head provided young females from the north with something to do. According to Kwankye et al, (2009) and Ntewusu, (2012), this was the first time the service was being provided predominantly by females, hence the need to qualify the service provider by adding the suffix 'yoo' to 'kaya' ('yoo' meaning 'female' in the Ga language of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana). 'Kayayoo' then is a female head porter (the plural of which is 'kayayei').

Figure 1.2: narrow passages for conveying goods

Source: Field pictures

The kayayo phenomenon has taken a national dimension for about a decade and has gained prominence in national media discourse. The trade is generally perceived as a social menace. Governments, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Traditional Authorities and the general public have all in one way or the other have called for kayayo activities to be stopped. 'The Social Affairs Services', a Non-Governmental Organisation is reported by the Ghana News Agency to have proposed a multi-sector body to study, brainstorm and find a lasting solution to the 'kayayo' menace. According to the NGO, "the menace threatens the total development of women". The NGO also opined that the kayayo menace deprives "the north of much-needed hands

in agricultural production" and "contributes to congestion leading to population explosion in the area where they migrate to" (GNA, 2009, April 16). Opare Asamoa in his feature article of 6th June, 2009[2] also opined that hawkers, in general, are "looked upon as pest in the society and should be gotten rid of at all cost" though the hawkers have argued that there is some 'economic relevance' to their activities. The argument put forward by kayayei and hawkers, in general, is not enough to change the perception people have of their work. Abu Sadiq, a northern musician sung a song titled, 'Azindoo'. The song tells of a girl (Salmu) who wants to migrate to join the trade but her brother, will not allow her. In this song, Abu Sadiq brings out all the reasons why Salmu, his sister should not go to kayayo; no accommodation, kayayei are maltreated, raped leading to unplanned/teenage pregnancy and a high rate of acquiring sexually transmitted infections/diseases among others. These are given as reasons why Salmu should not go to kayayo (Sadiq, 2014). The government on its part has responded to the precarity of kayayo in diverse ways, from the provision of accommodation to skill training. The kayayo subject has gained so much currency in national discourse to an extent that it has found its way into the political party manifestoes of the two leading political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). While the NDC in its 2016 manifesto promised to give employment to ten thousand (10,000) head porters, the NPP on its part promised to provide free accommodation for them (citifmonline 2017, September 14)[3]

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[2]htts://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/business/article.php?=163217
[3] htts://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/NDC-to-employ-10,000-kayayei-Mahama-469737

Abu Sadiq's song articulates well reasons why the kayayo trade is perceived as precarious; a menace. Considering the difficulties that characterise the trade and the meagre income they get from labouring so much, kayayo can best be described as precarious labour. The migrants' dream of entering the southern industrial enclave appears to be a facade upon arrival in the city. To cope with the realities of urban life, the informal economy becomes their major employer, where they engage in menial jobs such as 'chop bar' (local restaurant) attendants, shop assistants and heavy load carriers (Awumbila et al., 2008). The first challenge the kayayoo faces on arrival in the city where there is no family is a language barrier. Not being able to communicate makes it difficult for the new arrival to generally get anything done. Away from home, they make slums their home. They are exposed to physical and psychological abuses such as assault, verbal abuse, theft and sometimes rape (Opare 2003; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008 and, Ahlvin 2012). According to Adom-Asamoa, (2017), in a citifmonline report, carrying heavy loads on the head has serious health implication on the porters and sometimes their children whom they carry on their backs while transporting goods. The risks kayayei are exposed to are so unpredictable and sometimes serious.

One would wonder why kayayei are prepared to endure such painful challenges for so little; a job best described as "hand to mouth" (Adom-Asamoa, 2017; Boateng, 2017). One would think that not too many people would want to be kayayei because of its risks. On the contrary, the number of kayayei in our cities goes up daily. The Tuesday 28th September (2010), issue of the Daily Express (reported that, the numbers of young women migrating from the three Northern Regions to the capital, Accra in search of jobs have gone up. According to the Daily Express, this was brought to light

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following attempts by officials of the population census to enumerate the porters on census night before they head out to their day's job the following day. Adom-Asamoa, (2017), in a citifmonline report, gives lack of employment opportunities in the three northern regions which have led to acute poverty and impoverishment, as the compelling factor that pushes young women and children who are determined to better their lots, move to the southern belts to carry loads. Farming is the mainstay of the people of the north. Serbeh, Adjei & Yeboah (2016) argue that prolonged drought in the savannah belt together with increasing unpredictability of rainfall patterns expose farmers to high risks of crop failure and loss of livestock, resulting in a significant loss in productivity. They opine that these environmental conditions have combined with colonial and post-colonial policy dispensations in intensifying the poverty, vulnerability; and hardships for majority of people in northern Ghana (Serbeh, et al., 2016, p. 5). Outmoded socio-cultural practices such as forced marriages and female genital mutilation are also cited by Boateng (2017), as reasons for their migration and subsequent engagement in kayayo.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The kayayo business has become so prominent that its existence is no longer limited to the southern cities and markets. Tamale is fast becoming a hub and the challenges associated with the trade are so obvious that stakeholders have moved in to intervene. Governments, NGOs and individuals have tried various ways to help ameliorate the difficulties kayayei face. They have mostly done this by short-term training in skills like beadwork, hairdressing and dressmaking. In recent times, proposals of a provision of decent accommodation and scraping of tolls paid by kayayei have been made. Thinking through the implementation of these strategies, I ask for instance,

what skill can be learnt well enough in six months to enable the beneficiary practice? Considering the mass presence of kayayei in our markets, how many of them benefit from such proposed skill training? With the proposal to provide decent accommodation for them, the questions are: is it to encourage more people to engage in it? If truly the provision of accommodation will ease their stress in any way, will all kayayei be accommodated? Do politicians mean it when they say they want to help ease the challenges kayayei face? As for the issue of scrapping the payment of tolls by kayayei, I ask myself how would not paying such amounts a day give the kayayoo enough to make her get out of this precarious job? In sum, is it a matter of mobilising the pain of kayayei to create wealth for themselves? Or it is a genuine move to help improve the lives of kayayei.

A good number of scholars have investigated the subject of kayayei. For instance, Awumbila, et al., (2008) look at the subject from a migratory perspective. Again, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) also presents the topic in light of migration as a livelihood strategy. Opare, (2003) focuses on migration and finding immediate factors responsible for the migration of these females. Ntewusu, (2012) on one hand examines the subject from a historical perspective. Although Ahlvin, (2012) discusses the socio-cultural and economic factors of kayayo, they are presented as challenges in their line of work and not factors leading to their choice of work. Many more authors have examined the subject either from a migratory perspective or a livelihood perspective. What this work seeks to do differently is to present it from a socio-cultural and gender perspective. This work, therefore, contributes to the subject area of a localised form of migration in the context of socio-cultural and gender dimensions.

Furthermore, this study, therefore, seeks to understand the real motivation, (both remote and immediate) behind socio-economic and material reasons for young women and girls engaging in kayayo. In this respect, the lived experiences of kayayei in the Central Business District of the Tamale Metropolis will be examined critically to identify any socio-cultural and or gender motives. The ultimate purpose is to chart a course for a socio-political agenda to improve the lives of kayayei and to address cultural and gender motives behind these already identified economic, material and social factors.

1.3 Research Objectives

With the maltreatment, verbal abuse and sometimes physical abuse meted out to them, one would expect that very few people would be willing to go into the trade. On the contrary, the numbers keep swelling by the day. What explains the attraction to the undesirable? Literature has largely identified socio-economic and material factors as being responsible for the migration and further engaging in kayayo of females. This work looks beyond the socio-economic factors, which have been identified by research as causes of kayayo to examine the culturaland gender factorsthat lead young girls and women to engage in the trade.

The way this research seeks to find out is to investigate the lived experiences of kayayei, which entails their history, religion, social and economic lives. Getting close to them and immersing oneself in their lives especially at their workplace will uncover hidden events of their lives. Also, given the challenges they experience in the trade, this study interrogates how they negotiate the challenges associated with the

trade to earn their livelihood. With the population coming from a patriarchal hegemonic society, it is my interest to find out how cultural and masculine hegemonic order influences their lives as kayayei. Also, this work has explored the possibility of a socio-political agenda to be put in place to improve the lives of kayayei.

The main research objective is therefore to; examine the cultural, and gender factorsthat lead young girls and women to engage in the trade. To achieve this, the study aims at,

1. Providing an in-depth understanding of cultural and gender-based push and pull factors of female head portage (kayayo) in Tamale.

2. Examining how kayayei negotiate their daily challenges of precarious labouring as they work to earn their livelihood

3. Interrogating the patriarchal hegemonic dynamics that influence their choice of trade.

4. Exploring a socio-political discussion on the subject leading to informing an agenda that can help improve the lives of head porters.

1.4 Research Questions

The main question to be answered is;

What are *the cultural and gender dynamics* that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo?

Sub-questions:

1. What cultural and gender factors motivate females to engage in head portage (kayayo) in the Tamale Metropolis?

2. Locating kayayo in a socio-cultural and economic milieu in which gendered power play is at work, what gains are there in head portage (kayayo) as kayayei negotiate their daily challenges to earn a living?

3. How do the power dynamics of male dominance in a patriarchal society influence kayayei and the choices they make?

4. What social/political agenda can impact positively on the lives of kayayei in the Tamale Metropolis?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Researchers have already identified factors that contribute to the prevalence of the kayayo trade, which I put under three broad headings of economic, material and social. This work goes beyond these to identify what remote factors precipitate these economic, material and social factors. To achieve this, I first verified and confirmed these factors through fieldwork and then went ahead to find out from participants what made them consider these economic, material and social factors so compelling. The remote cultural and gender factors were uncovered. This study, therefore, fills the Knowledge gap of unearthing the underpinning cultural and gender factors that exist in literature. It is hoped that this knowledge will help find a workable and lasting solution to the problem of Kayayei.

Again, skill training, provision of free accommodation and abolishing payment of tax are some ways that have been proposed and implemented by stakeholders to deal with the issue. These proposals have proven not enough as the presence of Kayayei with their attendant challenges in our markets keep increasing by the day. It is hoped that this work will inform improved and or new ways of tackling interventions. Ultimately

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it is hoped that this study will inform policy initiation and formulation to deal with the issue at hand. the study, therefore, will engender a new approach that will make the practice of kayayei sustainable strategy for both source and destination communities.

From the literature review, it was noted that the dominant research methodologies for the study of the subject are quantitative approaches and in some rare cases only the commonly used qualitative approaches like (grounded theory methodology and archival research). This study has presented a novel pathway where it has scientifically used ethnographic research design to undertake the study of kayayei within the socio-cultural and gender context in the Tamale Metropolis. As succinctly put by Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang (2012), here, I played a role as a researcher to understand the subjective reality of the kayayei to be able to make sense of and understand their motives, actions and intentions in a meaningful way.

The study has a component of action research and advocacy component which required participants to engage in conversations that helped them to describe their training, understand the gaps and thereby come up with possible tasks that if implemented will minimize their vulnerabilities. This process, therefore, helped the participants to realise that they needed to take actions within their capacities that will change their social and economic situations. Hence this research will fill the *policy initiative gap* that other researches have not addressed.

1.6 Justification

The choice to investigate kayayo in Tamale Metropolis is informed not only by the ever-growing presence of kayayei in the city's markets which hitherto did not exist but

also justified against the background that, it will be beneficial to NGOs, policymakers and serve as a resource material for awareness creation for the empowerment of kayayei.

It is anticipated that this study will uncover factors that hinder beneficiaries from deriving maximum benefits from intervention packages. It is therefore hoped that the study guide NGOs and all benefactors of kayayei to package interventions to meet the needs of beneficiaries.

This study is tailored to influencing policy formulation. If the finding of the study is made available to especially Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) and also Traditional Authorities, it will serve as a guide to policy formulation so that policies are formulated to reduce the vulnerabilities of kayayei.

Generally, the study will also serve as an awareness creation document on the lived experiences of kayayei and their vulnerabilities. When stakeholders are made aware of the lived experiences of kayayei, what their hopes and aspirations are and what they expect benefactors and clients to bring to the table, it will influence their perception, reaction and treatment of kayayei.

1.7 Marriage and Family Life

Generally, among Ghanaians and particularly the people of the Northern Region, the institution of marriage is often seen as a rite of passage into adulthood, but reproductive reasons for marriage are perceived as primary. Among the people of the study community, marriage usually involves the settlement of some form of

bridewealth commonly called the bride price. This practice is accepted both customarily and religiously (Awedoba, 2015).

A man often has to settle the bride price to be recognised as formally and legally married to his wife (refer to Kane, (2008). Unaffordable bride price demands and their potential repercussions on conjugal and gender relations are domestic violence, practices such as forced marriages, girl child betrothal and women being subservient to men among others (Awedoba, 2015). according to Awedoba, in the whole of the north, forced marriage and child betrothal are practised. But with the spread of education, its enforcement has been challenged in recent times. This notwithstanding it is an issue mainly in parts of the north, where fostering of girls by their father's sister is also prevalent. This practise is common among the Mole-Dagbani Ethnic group (Awedoba, 2015). Apart from culturally established and accepted practice of fostering of the girl child by their paternal aunts, there are other types of fostering of other relations commonly found in the area. Migrant relatives may live with family members who live in urban areas when they move there to seek jobs or go to school. This could be any member of the family who happens to live in the destination area. Such relatives assume responsibility for the migrant relation for the time that they stay in the place.

Polygyny is also a commonly accepted practice in Tamale. As in the payment of the bride price, polygyny is customarily and religiously accepted. Islam, which is the dominant religion in the area, allows men to marry up to four wives. Also, customarily, a man can marry as many wives as he can afford to. Men are the heads of these polygynous families. The polygynous households have subunits where each

wife who becomes a mother assumes the head of her sub-household, while the polygynous husband retains overall headship of the household (see Kane, 2008).

1.8 Occupation

Farming is the mainstay of the economy of the people. Unfortunately, the area is relatively dry with only one rainy season that begins in May and ends in October. This means that during the dry season the farmers have nothing to do to earn their livelihood. Many of them are compelled by this circumstance to migrate to towns and cities in the south to do menial jobs to put body and soul together.

Apart from the single farming season, there are irrigation facilities like the Bontanga and Libga irrigation facilities, which unfortunately are underutilised. There are also animal husbandry and artisanal works that are not affected by the season but only a minority of the people residing in the area engages in them. The youth are the majority in artisanal works while the elderly are those in animal husbandry and farming.

The study area for this research is the Central Business District (CBD) of Tamale, the capital town of the Northern Region of Ghana. Tamale, officially called Tamale Metropolitan Area, is the only city in the northern region of Ghana. The choice of Tamale for this research is premised on the reason that kayayo is known to be a phenomenon in the southern markets. So its presence in the Tamale market is a cause enough for an investigation.

The Tamale Metropolis is one of the sixteen (16) districts in the Northern Region. The northern region covers an area of 70,384 square kilometres or 31 percent of Ghana. In December 2018, the Savannah Region and North East Regions were created out of it. Tamale is located in the central part of the Region and shares boundaries with the Sagnarigu District to the west and north, Mion District to the east, East Gonja to the south and Central Gonja to the southwest. The Metropolis had a total estimated land size of 646.90180sqkm until the creation of two other regions from it. Geographically, the Metropolis lies between latitude 9º16 and 9º 34 North and longitudes 0º 36 and 0º 57 west (GSS, 2014).

Also, the strategic location of the Metropolis within the region enables it to gain from markets within the West African sub-region. Ghana Statistical Service notes that Tamale gains from countries such as Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and the northern part of Togo and also migrants and traders en-route through the area to the southern part of Ghana (GSS,2014). It is, therefore, the main transit between the north and south of the country. It has been and still is a migratory route for people of the upper regions of the northern part of the country. It has also been a historic migratory route for people from Burkina Faso and the northern part of Togo to the country's capital, Accra. Ntewusu (2012) reports that migrants from Mali started kayayo in the country. These migrants made a stop in Tamale before proceeding to the nation's capital. Apart from this, the city was the capital of the Northern Territories and now Northern Region. Tamale Metropolis as it is called now has been the capital of the north from the colonial time to date.

MAP OF TAMALE METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY
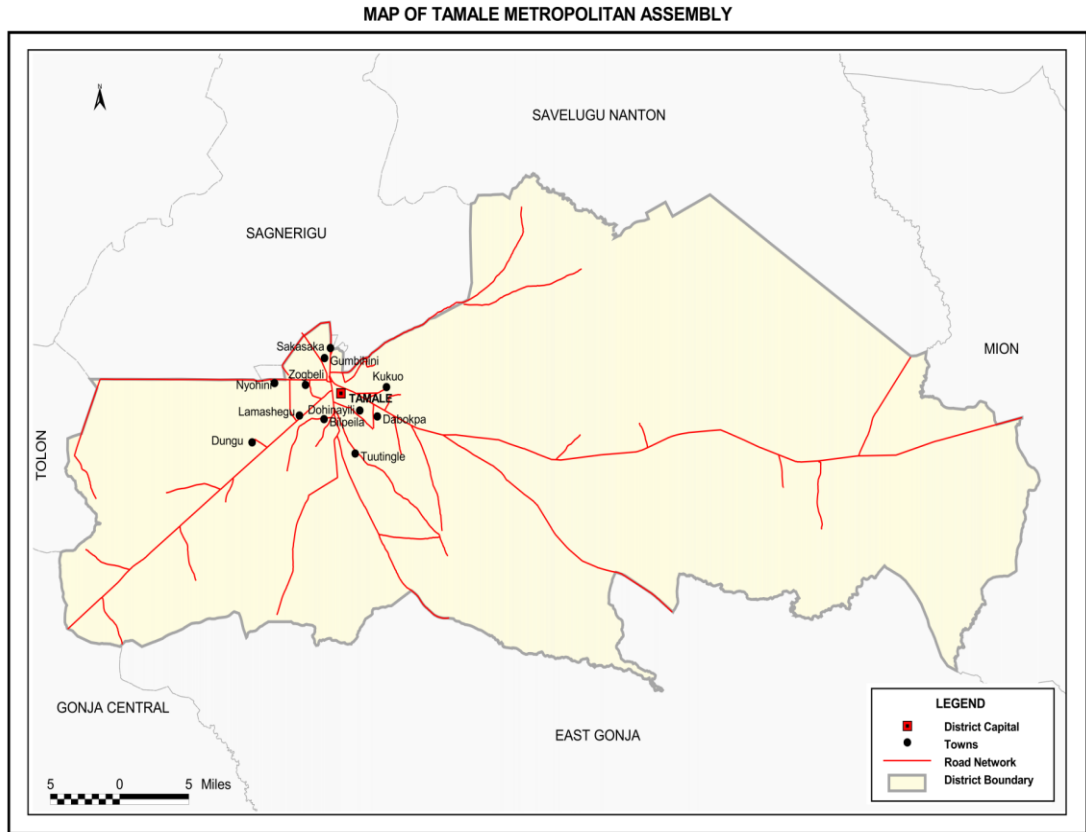
Map 1.1: Map of Tamale Metropolis
Source: Ghana Statistical Service

Currently, there are four major markets in the Metropolis namely: Central Market, Aboabo, Kukuo and Lamashegu. In addition to these, there are satellite markets in other communities. The central market comprises of mini shops and stalls. The Central Business District (CBD) is also fast developing with new business ventures.

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Figure 1 3 : Sections of Tamale Old Market (Taxi rank, Barimansi line and second gate)

Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=tamale+metropolis

Figure 1 4 : Aboabo Market, Main Entrance

Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=tamale+metropolis

1.9 Research Outline

This research is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the research work that gives a background to the study, states the problem and objective of the research, as well as justification and scope of work.

Chapter two reviews the literature on relevant topics in connection with the subject of study, kayayei. The key thematic areas that are reviewed include; north-south migration resulting in the kayayo phenomenon, reasons for migration and its impact, current trends of migration. Other areas reviewed include Structural Adjustment Programme, conflicts and military intervention all resulting in migration and subsequently kayayo.

Chapters three discusses the research methodology used, the study design and the theoretical framework. Here, positionality and ethical considerations are discussed. It also spells out the steps taken in carrying out the research and the tools used to collect data and shows how data is analysed. The study approaches the subject from an ethnographic perspective, therefore shooting a bud in the methodological approach to kayayo. It uses fieldwork as the main tool to gather information and content analysis to analyse field information to arrive at conclusions.

Chapter four presents field data and discussions concerning how kayayo is plied in the Tamale Metropolis. It also presents cases and music through which the general perception of the trade is discussed and the hidden nuances of the trade are revealed. Also, the resilience of kayayei and political articulations about the trade are examined. From the discussions, it is found that kayayo in the Tamale Metropolis presents a new

crop of kayayei who are school-going girls. They ply the trade after school and during weekends. Hitherto, kayayo consisted of school dropouts, young girls preparing for marriage and married women. So in addition to these categories of kayayei in the markets of Tamale is the schoolgirl who also doubles as a kayayoo.

Chapter five examines how kayayei are manipulated in the name of bringing help to them. Here, the implementation of various programmes and projects are looked into and improved ways of implementation are explored. Implementation of interventions such as training in dressmaking, beadwork, soap making weaving and batik tie and dye are discussed with participants to unravel why kayayei still go back to kayayo even after they have received training. The discussion reveals that the interest of benefactors (governments and NGOs) of such interventions is paramount in the implementation and not the interest of kayayei who are beneficiaries of such training. Given this revelation, the study proffers a participatory approach by engaging kayayei in deciding the type of intervention to implement, how to implement, when to implement and way forward after implementation.

In line with the objectives of the research, chapter six presents an overview of gender and gender roles. Gender roles in contracting marriage, gender socialization, exclusion processes as practices in the family and gender roles in a patriarchal society are discussed as tools used to define the woman's place in the family and society at large. Gender is explained to be a set of expectations associated with the perception of masculinity and femininity. In line with this, bride price payment by men, men regarded as family heads against women's subservient role, outdoor work of men against indoor work of women, upbringing of boys by excluding them from indoor

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chores and boys imitating male adults in the family (father) against girls imitating female adults (mothers) are the gender-related factors that influence females and their choice of kayayo as a livelihood strategy.

In chapter seven patriarchy as a masculine hegemonic order and how it influences females' decisions leading to they becoming kayayei is explored. In addition to this, religion as an enforcer of patriarchal masculine hegemonic order is also discussed. The chapter explains patriarchal society as that in which both men and women support a hegemonic masculine order and ensuring that subordinate groups accept the way things are, and live by the rules prescribed to them. Marriage and religion are revealed to be used to effect masculine hegemonic order. This is achieved through the payment of bride price by men, accepting the man as the breadwinner of the family, God is seen as male and the creation of Adam before Eve. The chapter also reveals that although some authors argue that religion does not prefer one sex over the other, the reality of how religion is practiced in the study area reveals that religion encourages patriarchy by making man head and woman subservient to man.

Chapter eight is the final chapter that presents findings, conclusions and some recommendations that emanated from the study. And based on the conclusions some recommendations were proffered on the way forward.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The review of literature was guided to appropriately shoot a bud from the existing knowledge on how migration has led to the phenomenon of kayayo in Ghana. In the light of this, the history of migration in Ghana and North-South migration especially are looked at. Major factors leading to the feminization of the trade such as the Structural Adjustment Programme, military interventions, conflicts in the north, high population growth among others have been identified by literature in this section

2.2 Kayayo, a result of Migration

The kayayo phenomenon has been linked historically to migration. It started with migrants from the Sahelian countries and later was joined by migrant men from the north of the country after the departure of the foreigners back to their countries. This time, the Ghanaian northern migrants used push trucks until they were challenged by vehicular and human traffic. For easy movement, the head pan was introduced leading to female migrants largely from the north taking over the trade. Hence the trade has been kept alive since time past up to date by migrants.

2.3 North-South Migration; A Historical Perspective.

Migration has always been with us and it is said to be as old as man. People have always found reasons to move from one place to another either for a short while or a long term, to a near destination or far away destination. According to Awumbila, et al. (2008), there is a long history of both internal and international migration in Ghana. Quartey, (2009)

also states that Ghana's migration history is both dynamic and complex, and rooted in historical antecedents. This emphasises the point earlier made that migration has been with us all the time and it is as old as man. Quartey, (2009) adds that, Ghana has had a long history and tradition of population mobility and that international migration within West Africa and between the region and the rest of the continent, goes back to time immemorial. In adding to the migration discussion, Yaro (2007), argues that migration forms the basis of 'colonisation' by the various tribes inhabiting the different parts of the country. This includes the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group comprising the Moshi, Mamprusi, Nanumba and Dagomba (Abdul-Hamid, 2010). Initially, much of the migration in the 1960s was within the borders of the country and involved groups and individuals of different ethnic groups (Awumbila, et al, 2008). The reason for such internal migration according to the authors is for new land safe for settlement and farming.

The decade of the 1960s saw many farmers and farm employees move internally from their native regions into other regions (Addae-Mensah, 1983 and 1985; Addo, 1971; Awumbila et al., 2008). In pre-colonial times, migration occurred largely in search of security and to find new land safe for settlement and fertile for farming both food crops and cash crops (Yaro, 2007, Awumbila et al, 2008). The introduction of cocoa in the late nineteenth century resulted in an unprecedented migration of farmers around Ghana (Awumbila et al., 2008). Internal migration since the colonial era, especially north-south migration has been said to be an important direction flow in entire West Africa including Ghana (Quartey, 2009, p. 53). Quartey assigns the different ecological zones in the sub-region as one of the reasons for the migratory phenomenon. He says that, in Ghana, it has

also been observed that the cattle herdsmen in the savannah ecological zone send their animals to the forest and the coastal belts during the dry season to look for pasture. Agreeing with Quartey, Yaro (2007), adds that, most tribes in the region (north) moved southwards to the present locations in search of better ecological conditions and safe havens. Aside from the ecological zone, the developments in rail and road construction and other infrastructure works have also been mentioned to have triggered major rural-rural migration of farmworkers and rural-urban migration of skilled and unskilled workers, traders and students (Yaro, 2007, p. 3).

Awumbila et al, (2008), citing findings of Nabila, (1975) and Songsore, (2003), to have indicated that traditionally in Ghana, migration involved males who travelled over long distances as well as for short to long periods to the agricultural and mining communities in the south. The colonial policy of turning the Northern Territory into an army of labour source for the plantations and mines in the south played a major role in the North-South migration (Brukum, 1998). Boakye-Yiadom & Mckay (2006), Awumbila, et al., (2008)**,** further state that, female-only migrated to join their spouses or relatives to help socially and economically

2.4 Reasons for Migration

The human quest for a better life has led him to move from one place to the other in pursuit of better livelihood opportunities. "Migration in West Africa is an age-old practice propelled by economic, security, social and political reasons" (Yaro, 2007). In the world today, different forces account for why people move or stay.

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Several reasons account for the internal and external movement of Ghanaians. Awumbila, et al. (2008, p.8) argue that internal migration is fueled by the search for infertile soils and lack of local services in Ghana's North. The authors quote Mensah-Bonsu (2003), as saying "that rural out-migration in northeast Ghana is for employment purposes, and that, it is dominated by young people". Awumbila et al, (2008) however argue that though internal migration is said to be purposely for employment there have also been forced migrations in Ghana. In this respect, Black et al (2006 p. 33) are cited to observe that, "from 1994 to 1995, about 100,000 people were estimated to have been forced out of their homes in northern Ghana as a result of ethnic conflict". According to Quartey, (2009, p. 75) one important driver of migration is limited employment opportunities, especially for young labour market entrants. This view agrees with Mensah-Bonsu whose position is that internal migration is purposely for employment. Quartey further explains that higher wages coupled with better opportunities in migrant destination motivate people to migrate to developed destinations. This acts as an important pull factor for highly skilled migrants.

Kwankye, et al. (2009, p.34) adds that the basic reason for migration is "poverty and the hope that their moving away from home will bring some economic relief to both the migrant and their household". Serbeh, et al. (2016:5), suggests that lack of jobs and poor living standards have rendered the northern part of Ghana a major source of unskilled labour for the buoyant southern economy. This may explain the ever-growing numbers of kayayei in the southern markets. According to Awumbila (1997) cited in Yeboah (2008)

indicates that in 2007, 97% of female head-porters in Accra were migrants from the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions. Economic reason underpinning the north-south movement is evident in this assertion by a female migrant.

"We come here to work because there are no profitable works to do back home in the north and we cannot watch our children starve and die of hunger... I can say that we have exhausted all the means of survival in the north and we do not have any other option than to come to Accra and work for money. Things have become really difficult for us as women". (Yeboah, 2008:141).

This is a clear manifestation that migrants who engage in kayayo do that out of necessity and need. She could not have put it better than she did; "things have become really difficult for us as women". If they had a better option, they will gladly go for it.

Also, Anarfi and Kwankye (2003), Awumbila, et al., (2008) observe that generally, migrants move from resource-poor to resource-rich areas implying the northern part of the country has a higher tendency for movements to the southern cities because of its poor resource base. In the light of north-south migration pattern, some authors (Awumbila, 1997; Songsore & Denkabe 1995,) argue that it is due to spatial inequalities in levels of development brought about by a combination of colonial and post-independence economic policies and environmental factors among others. Falling from this, Awumbila et al. (2008) explain that, in Ghana, the decision to migrate is often a reaction to economic, social and political and environmental factors such as poverty, landlessness and economic dislocations. These factors are also often linked to factors

such as trade, urbanisation and the growth of administrative sectors, agriculture, land degradation and rural poverty to induce migration, both internal and international.

Since northern migrants who live in the southern cities lack formal skills that would have made them suitable for work within the formal economy, and also lack the ethnic membership that would have enabled gainful employment beyond unskilled labour they carry wares as an only option. Their muscle power being the only advantage they have, they were and continue to be employed as porters in the big cities like Accra (Ntewusu, 2012: 65).

On the part of young girls and women, they move down south to serve as kayayei because, as school dropouts or unschooled youngsters, they possess hardly any skills. They engage in the kaya business because they see it as the only self-employment that could enable them to acquire minimum assets for either a better marriage or prospects for future investment in more lucrative ventures.

Apart from these causes, peer influence, abuse, poverty and betrothal are factors that cannot be overlooked in the discussion of causes of migration of young females to the southern markets to serve as kayayei.

Peer influence is another thing that has been identified to cause young females to migrate to southern cities. Peers are a major source of information about the destination areas. According to Kwankye, et al, (2009) when girls see their peers returning home from the

South with items like clothing, utensils, sewing machine, they also yearn to go to acquire some of these items.

Peer influence occurs in different ways such as peers directly persuading their friends to join them in the business or peers talking about the material things they have acquired and making no mention of the difficulties they face. Also, it takes the form of the perceived improved way of dressing and quality of clothing used by those who have been to the South to engage in the Kayayo business. Kwankye, et al., (2009), says the little bits of Twi vocabulary used by returnee Kayayei is also big encouragement to those who have not joined the trade.

Berg (2007, p.47), confirms this by arguing that, one important reason for girls or women in the northern part of Ghana deciding to migrate to one of the cities in the southern part of the country is because they hear the stories of other girls who have been working in the cities and return to their villages. Because of their stories, the way they dress and the goods they bring home, other girls are encouraged to go south as well.

It is reported that a kayayoo in Accra said she did not know anything about Accra except how she saw those who had been there looking. They looked good, have nice clothes, 'permed' hair and a lot of things like utensils and sewing machines and their parents were also happy. So she decided to migrate to Accra and also become a Kayayoo (Kwankye et al., 2009). A Kayayoo added that "People who have been to Accra all say life is good here. Some friends also told me there is work here and this influenced my decision to

migrate to Accra". The influence of peers operates not only in stimulating potential child migrants' desire to acquire material possessions. Some of the new entrants already have friends and family who are kayayei in Accra. Hence the presence of both family and friends in destination areas also strongly impacts on migration behaviour. Alima, a kayayoo in Accra is also reported to have said that,

"Based on what I saw of those girls in our community who had come to Accra and returned home, I also wanted to come to Accra. So I talked to both my mother and my father, who agreed that I should go and even gave me ¢150,000 for transport" (Kwankye et. al., 2009, p.24).

Berg (2007) cite a kayayoo to have said that, "My mother used to insult me whenever some of my peers returned from Accra and looked good and had bought pieces of cloth for their parents". Reports from young kayayei in the CBD of Tamale also indicate that parents are aware and approve of their presence in the market as kayayei

According to Berg (2007), most young girls who engaged in the trade are those staying with their aunties. Among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group especially the Dagombas of the northern region of Ghana, there is a tradition that the oldest girl child of a man is given to his sister (the child's aunt) in foster care. Most often than not, these aunts do not cater for the needs of their nieces. They are left to provide most of their basic needs by themselves. Also, they are maltreated and abused verbally and physically most of the time. For some of the girls, this was another reason for them to migrate and get involved

in the Kayayei business. Related problems that are indicated are parental neglect and irresponsibility and indifference of parents. Many parents do not feel obliged to take care of their children. Berg quotes UNICEF as reporting that, "Another factor that is indicated by the situation analysis is child abuse. The document refers to the Exodus study in which 900 out of the estimated 15,000 children on the streets of Accra fled home on grounds of abuse within and outside their family settings" (Berg, 2007, p.44). Poverty is another factor mentioned by some respondents as accounting for their migration. They lament that the inability of their parents to take care of them, which they attributed to poverty drove them to migrate to Accra to carry kaya. According to Kwankye et. al., (2009) a mother whose daughter was in Accra explained that,

"As a mother, it is my responsibility to provide the three basic necessities which are food, clothing and shelter. I don't have a job. How then do I cater for her? More importantly, there is nothing in this village that she could lay her hands on to get money. So I decided that she goes and works so that she can take care of herself and help me cater for the younger ones (p. 21).

Socio-cultural elements also account for the independent migration of young girls. It is a common practice for a girl to migrate to acquire certain household items, such as cooking utensils, in preparation for marriage. This is a common reason why girls and young women migrate from the north to the south. Kwankye et. al., (2009) suggests that this might explain why more girls than boys migrate from the north to the south. In this regard, Serbeh, et al. (2016) cite a female migrant to have lamented thus,

"I only came to Accra to work and save money to buy the things I need for my wedding. I have been betrothed to a man in my village but my parent cannot pay for the wedding expenses, which they are supposed to pay. They are supposed to buy cooking ware, clothes and shoes and also give me a sum of money so that I can take with me to the marriage. My parents cannot afford to do that, so they decided that I should come to Accra and work to buy those things as most other girls from my village do" (Serbeh, et. al. 2016, pp. 49).

During my interaction with kayayei in the market, some of them who had been to the south to serve as kayayei on two or more times revealed that on the second occasion, it was to either to prepare to marry or to get things in preparation to take charge of the family meal. Culturally, it is required that parents (particularly mothers) provide their daughters with marital accessories. These are consisting of cooking utensils and clothing, and are considered to be an essential component of marriage. Parents expressed regret that they could not provide their children with (money for) the expected items and sometimes encouraged their daughters to leave (Berg, 2007:44). In the case of one of them (Meri), she was encouraged by her aunt to migrate.

The motivating reason for the use of head-load porters otherwise known as kayayei differs between the colonial times and now. According to Ntewusu (2012), during colonial times, carriers were critically needed and their services crucial because of the lack of or insufficiency of transport facilities. There were few substitutes such as

motorised transport. At present, despite the availability of taxis and trotros[4], the services of kayayei are still needed.

Kayayei have and continue to provide indispensable service to traders and passengers, especially those in the poor and middle-income group. They carry goods to most parts of the city. The worth of their services is realised any time the country experience fuel shortages (Ntewusu 2012). During these times, many commercial vehicles are unable to run because they don't get fuel. Those who can get some fuel increases lorry fares making a greater percentage of the public unable to afford. During these times, the services of kayayei come handy.

Even when petroleum is in abundance, the fees charged by kayayei are still seen as very moderate when compared with the motorised system. Petty traders therefore frequently use the services of kayayei. Also, when there is heavy vehicular traffic, the preferred means of transport for goods is kayayei. This is because kayayei can meander their way through the thick vehicular and human traffic more easily (Ntewusu 2012, p., 89).

Ntewusu reports that a trader from James Town in an interview said, most of them would be out of business or their business would be reduced in size without the kayayei. The reason given was that the kayayei charge much less making the cost of their services more affordable than taxies and other motorised transport. The author further puts it that customers who patronise the services of the kayayei agree that in addition to their

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[4] Trotros in Ghana are mini busses used as commercial busses to carry passengers from one destination to another for a fee.

affordable fees, kayayei are also able to convey goods to destinations that motor vehicles cannot reach. In such cases, the use of kayayei becomes suitable and proper since they can use footpaths.

Also, the fact that some taxi drivers are reluctant to carry certain loads such as fresh fish or meat compels people to use the services of the kayayei. The taxi drivers are reported to complain that blood from meat makes their vehicles dirty, while fish makes the vehicles smell. Some of the taxi and trotro drivers refuse to pick up passengers with goods and baggage generally. They complain that the process of loading and off-loading goods is cumbersome and therefore reduces their chances of getting passengers they are competing for with other drivers.

The structure of markets and lorry parks call for the use of human transport. This is because vehicles that bring goods into the markets and parks cannot have access to all the individual stands and stalls erected by the traders. There is, therefore, the unceasing need for the services of kayayei to complete the distribution network. The services of kayayei are therefore necessary, and without them, the informal transport system would not be complete. Due to the dense structural plan of markets made worse by increased population, the services of kayayei are needed to complete the distribution chain of goods in the markets. Also, the low price charged by kayayei is another incentive for their use against motorised transport. Anytime there is a fuel shortage, shoppers have very little option than to use kayayei to transport goods since there will be fewer commercial vehicles. Kayayei's ability to reach where motorised transport cannot reach also makes

them indispensable in our markets. Refusal of some drivers to transport certain type of goods (especially fish and meat) makes the transportation of such goods the preserve of kayayei.

One only needs to shout out the name 'kayayoo' to engage the services of one. When the name 'Kayayoo' is called, about two or more will run to the customer. In the colonial period, the 'head-load carriers equally responded to the 'kayakaya' call to render services to customers. Hence the way of soliciting the services of the kayayei is not too different from the colonial period when the Nigerian men operated. However, the difference between the 'kayakaya' and the 'kayayei' is that prices for carrying goods were predetermined in the colonial era or under the colonial administrator. But today, the amount paid for carrying a head load depends on the negotiating skills of the kayayoo and the nature of the goods (Ntewusu, 2012).

The researcher also reports that during the era of 'kayakaya', men dominating the trade. Their main ambition was to buy a bicycle. Bicycles in those days were seen as a sign of modernity and progress. The kayayei today have different technological and material ambitions. In most cases, their ambition is to buy a sewing machine; the symbol of success in the kayayei business. It is expected that the sewing machine could help the kayayei undertake an apprenticeship in their respective villages and hence diversify into sewing, a comparatively less strenuous activity than portage. Besides the ambition of acquiring a sewing machine, some kayayei who have yet to marry and even some married ones invest in clothes and culinary items. Some have the ambition of going into buying

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and selling. Those who want to go into trading are usually modest in the acquisition of material things, especially clothes.

According to Berg, (2007), kayayei consist of three groups; the roamers, sitters and caregivers. Berg (2007), reports that the sitters sit in front of shops and supermarkets to help shoppers with their loads when they come to shop. This group of kayayei is treated with care because there is trust between client and service provider. This trust is partly because clients believe they can always trace the kayayoo to the store should something go wrong. Knowing this, shop owners will not allow just any kayayoo to sit in front of their shop. So the kayayoo has to build trust between herself and the shop owner to be allowed to sit in front of the shop. Berg, (2007) reports that, though most kayayei agree that those who sit in shops are better off than the ones who roam, they remain indifferent in choosing between being roamers and sitters because the sitters are sometimes accused of stealing.

Just like the carriers of colonial times, kayayei today can also be grouped into three (Ntewusu, (2012). Ntewusu identifies three groups of kayayei in Tudu Accra. These are the 'caregivers', the 'roamers' and the 'sitters'. The caregivers are mostly elderly women. They remain at 'home' to take care of children of other kayayei while they are at work. The roamers, on the other hand, are the regular kayayei who roam the markets and lorry parks in search of potential clients. The sitters are a group of kayayei who sit in front of stores/shops to help customers carry their goods after they finish shopping. Sometimes, they are allowed by shop owners to come into the shops to help arrange items on shelves

and to pack and unpack goods as and when the need arises. There is normally trust between shop owners and the sitters. Today, in the southern markets, these three categories of kayayei exist but in Tamale, the caregiver group does not exist. This is because kayayei in Tamale have not migrated from far but from not too far distant places where they can go back home at the close of work. The few of them from the Upper regions have found accommodation with friends. This is partly because the people of the Upper West, Upper East and the Northern region see themselves as a family from the same decent.

2.5 Impact of Migration

Migration has become an integral part of the survival strategies of many households in Ghana. The consequences of migration can be both negative and positive. Positively, migration has on a whole contributed to sustainable development through remittances, skill and knowledge transfer, investment, and diaspora networks. Unfortunately, the subject has often been discussed in the context of the "push-pull model", which looks at the push factors that drive people to leave their homes and the pull factors that attract them to their new destinations. Analysis of the subject according to Quartey (2009) tends to focus on the negative impact on the sending (source) country alone. However, migration creates both opportunities and risks for the sending and receiving countries. He, therefore, proposes the need for a holistic approach in analysing the impact of migration.

The survival of most families and poor countries now hinges on remittances as it represents over twice the official overseas development assistance from the EU to West African countries (Yaro, 2008, p.10). According to Yaro, (2008), monetary transfers made by migrants are substantial and constitute a major source of income for many households. Kayayei who are migrants from the north are on record to have said that they send monies home to help take care of the family need. This is especially the case where the kayayoo is married and has children back home (Berg, 2007). Serbeh et. al (2016, p.48) reports Castaldo et al. (2012) to have "revealed that between 2007 and 2008, the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions received internal "remittances amounting to ¢324 billion, ¢26.4 billion and ¢26.4 billion (USD 35 million, USD 2.9 million and USD 2.9 million) (Exchange rate in 2006: USD1 = ¢9,200. Figures are in Old Cedis (¢) respectively". Also, Ackah and Medvedev (2010), report that remittances to the north constitute 11% of household income". These monies are used for education, food and enhanced access to health services. Through this, the recipients escape from harsh poverty. This may explain why despite the potential costs of discontinuing one's education and consequently getting into low and irregularly-paid menial jobs young girls will still opt to migrate to the southern cities. Kayayei also earn enough income to be able to remit to their families back home in cash and/or in kind.

Also, migrants in the diaspora have contributed in varied ways to develop the country. Ghana being a migrant-sending country has benefited from diaspora networks through improved communication, trade relations, and capital flows between the sending and host countries (Quartey, 2009). Migrants, especially in the western world, have been a key

stakeholder in national development through various community-level development projects. Unfortunately, the contribution of internal migrants to development is minimal. Beyond remitting family and friends they have not been recorded to do any major contribution towards development through their networks. Unlike internal migrants, their counterparts in foreign countries help "development projects through the decentralised local government system or chieftaincy institution in the areas of health, education, skills training, etc (Quartey, 2009, p. 93)". Internal migrants especially those who migrate to work in plantations in the south also represent an important source of energy, ideas and improved agricultural management techniques in many rural areas (Yaro, 2008, 10).

Internal migration has been shown to have some positive implications for poverty reduction (Serbeh et al., 2016; Castaldo et al., 2012; Dwshingkar & Grimm 2005). Others like Dang (2003), see it as counter-productive. According to Serbeh, et al., 2016, p. 43, there is, therefore, an emerging academic and policy debate about whether internal migration should be used as a conventional poverty reduction tool.

Yaro, however, sees the relationship between migration and development as highly depending on context and history thus making migration work as an agent of personal and spatial development. The question of whether migration should be prevented or harnessed is posed. In response to this, Yaro (2008), opines that "migration is 'life' and without movements, there is no civilisation. Our task is, therefore, to tailor movements to the benefit of both sending and receiving areas. Tailoring migration to the benefit of origin, destination and migrant, which is a win-win situation, is the major challenge of

the 21st century. The important thing today is to formulate policies to minimise the ills and to maximise the opportunities" (Yaro, 2007, 12).

Migration though has its positives, it also has some negatives. Among them, one can identify the social cost of migration. It negatively affects families, especially when the spouse or children are left behind. Migration creates a pool of single-parent families, since most of the time, only one parent works outside their home and leaves the spouse and children behind (Quartey, 2009, p. 90). In this respect, ILO (2004), observes that when mothers migrate, the consequences can even be more serious as their children oftentimes "drop out of school or find themselves in vulnerable situations of neglect and abuse, including incest". The separation of couples, in some instances, results in extramarital affairs, which create social tension. That those who migrate outside their country without proper documents may feel compelled to enter extramarital relations to regularise their stay (Quartey, 2009). This situation applies to migrants from the north to the southern cities of the country. Though they don't need permits to stay in their destination, they equally leave their families behind for the other parent to take care of. Some of them for the sake of their security enter into relationships with men at their destination.

Migration source may also surfer shortage of skilled persons to migration destination especially in the case of international migration. A significant proportion of the Ghanaian South-North migration is highly skilled. Forty-six per cent of tertiary-educated Ghanaians migrate, mostly to the US and Europe. Highly skilled emigration is likely to exacerbate

already-existing labour shortages in critical sectors such as health and education (Quartey 2009, p.95).

Because of their migrant status and their desperation to earn a living in a destination far from home, migrant workers are usually underpaid. Their earnings are too low to cover all their expenses; accommodation, food and health needs. This leads migrant to live in an unsanitary environment exposing them to all kinds of health risks. Children of migrants may also be malnourished due to their parents' inability to provide a balanced diet. According to Kwankye, et al. (2009:29), migrants complained of not making as much money as anticipated, financial problems, no job, difficult work, unsatisfactory income and general hardship in their present location increase their poverty level. Quaicoe (2005) and Serbeh, et al (2016) suggest that the poverty among female migrants from north to the southern cites of Ghana manifest in their poor working conditions, exploitation by clients, inadequate access to health care and decent housing, harassment from city guards and tedious nature of work. They also agree that the lack of decent accommodation is a fundamental poverty condition for these migrants. More than 94% of a sample of 100 migrants subsists in abandoned wooden structures that are smaller than standard single bedroom due to the challenge of high rental charge by landlords for a decent accommodation in Accra, (Yiran et al. 2014). About 49% of migrants live in wooden shacks, shops and verandas and slums with average room occupancy rate of 4-5 persons, although the average room occupancy as stipulated in Ghana's national housing policy is two persons per room (Kwankye, et al. 2009).

That they are exposed to physical and sexual harassment because of the poor accommodation is evident in the lamentation of a kayayoo in Awumbila & Ardeyfio-Schandorf (2008). "At night thieves come to harass us and if others try to rape anyone of us, the victim shouts and we all get up and hit the thieves with our pans and they run away" (178). The only weapon they have is the head basin, which is the most valued asset of the trade. In cases where they are unable to defend themselves, they make money out of it by prostituting. "…Their reason for doing that is that...men harass them for sex and some even rape them so instead of letting the men have it for free, they will rather sell it to make money out of it" (Yeboah, 2008, p.153). Yeboah adds that internal migrants unlike international migrants are screened for diseases and are subsequently vaccinated. There are no such measures to reduce the risk of infection among internal migrants. Therefore the insecure atmosphere and the subsequent engagement in prostitution by some migrants expose them to health hazards, which endanger their lives.

Regardless of how assertive the view that migration has contributed to development through remittance and skill and knowledge transfer, empirical evidence differs markedly from this conviction. Tellingly, the skills migrants acquire from menial jobs (Awumbila et al., 2008) may be of limited relevance to their home regions. Serbeh, et al. (2016:8) proposes that, until proponents of this view prove that skills acquired through carrying heavy loads, selling dog chains and washing plates at chop bars (local restaurants) may be successfully brought to bear on agriculture (the mainstay of the northern economy), this argument remains flawed. Skill and knowledge transfer may stand true for

international migration but may be argued that migrants may have very little to offer in terms of local-level development.

Serbeh, et al. (2016, p.11) concludes that the so-called better living conditions may be unfulfilled realities given all the risks and poor conditions of service associated with the work. Thus contrary to the assertion that migration is the first step towards livelihood diversification (Yeboah 2008, Ellis, 2003). The discussion above suggests that migration may not always result in such pleasant outcomes as migrants strive to eke out a living at their destinations. Living in congested rooms, poor access to essential services and lower incomes are not indicative of good quality life. It could, therefore, be argued that the north-south movement should not be conceived as an expression of migrant's agency to reduce poverty but rather an option that may sacrifice human dignity under the guise of pursuing well-being (Serbeh, et al. 2016).

2.6 Current Trend of Migration

In the past, the north-south migration was men dominated but in recent times, the trend has significantly changed to female-dominated. Studies of the phenomenon have therefore shifted to examine the emerging trend of the youth particularly young females from the northern parts of Ghana to the southern cities, particularly Accra and Kumasi to engage in menial jobs (Awumbila, et al., 2008). It is observed that in the past, women only accompanied their spouses to migrate over shorter distances (ibid). Reference is made to Surdakasa who notes that, until the 1970s, the size of the female component of Ghanaian migration was small. Males were the subjects of the migration discourse

because they migrated to the coastal cities of the country for fishing or from the north to the south for farming. Women were left behind to tend the farms, care for the children and maintain village cohesion. This phenomenon has changed in recent times. Women according to Awumbila, et al. (2008) now move independently within and outside the country for economic as well as other reasons such as education and career development. The movement of women internally has been discussed by Abrefi-Gyan (2002). But some literature on female migrants throws light on the economic and social independence and reproductive role of women and the young female (Brydon 1992, Tanle 2003, Wong 2006, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Women migrants are increasingly drawn to both the formal and informal wage labour market as a survival strategy to augment meagre family income Yaro, (2008), Yaro observes that the traditional male-dominated short-to-long-distance migratory streams in West Africa are increasingly feminised. Now independent female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in the sub-region. The feminisation of the migratory stream is also observed by Awumbila, et al. (2008). They write that young females now form the majority of people migrating internally from northern Ghana to urban centres in the south. They mostly work as 'kayayei', (head-porters) in market centres and lorry stations (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008, Anarfi, Kwankye, Ofosu-Mensah & Tiemoko 2001, Anarfi & Kwankye 2005, Tanle, 2003). Many of these female migrants move independently through networks of friends and relations. According to Adepoju (2004), Wiredu (2004), Anarfi et al. (2006), Awumbila et al., (2008), this goes contrary to earlier studies that identified women as

migrating mostly to join partners, making them dependants. Young females in the current migration flow tend to be autonomous migrants who have made their decision and move even though there may be no family member at the destination area.

Economic factors have been identified as main causes especially of internal migration in Ghana. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities have also been noted to contribute to why many young people move from their rural communities to urban centres (Adu-Gyamfi 2001, Anarfi et al. 2003, Anarfi and Kwankye 2005, Awumbila, et al., 2008, Geest 2011, Ntewusu, 2012; Ahlvin, 2012).

In sum, poverty, lack of education and employment possibilities, socio-cultural factors such as marriage, the need to purchase items for marriage and acquisition of household items for use after marriage among others have also contributed to the exodus of female migrants, especially by female youth and children in Ghana in recent times (Nabila 1975, Anarfi et al. 2003, Anarfi and Kwankye 2005, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008).

2.7 Kayayei: The Shopping Bag

The role of kayayei in the economic history of Ghana cannot be overlooked because of the centrality of their contribution to the colonial and post-colonial economic history of Ghana. Kayayei have received very little attention in discussions about contributors to the nation's economic growth. In situations where they are given any attention at all, the assumption has always been negative and that head-load portage is a modern-day affair and mainly involves women. However, in Ghana in general and Accra in particular, most

head-load porters until the 1980s were wage labourers and the trade was dominated by men (Ntewusu, 2012).

In looking at the reason(s) why women and young girls leave their place of origin and migrate to towns and cities only to engage in kayayo, Opare (2003) posits that the fact cannot be denied that, given sufficient opportunities for employment, income, personal fulfilment, a more equitable distribution of resources, wealth and so on, most people would not move away from their loved ones and their culture" (p. 33). On the other hand, in the absence of such an ideal world, people will move to where these things are. This may explain why young girls and women migrate to the better-endowed southern cities in search of better conditions of living.

An Aljazeera witness episode aired a documentary titled "kayayo: Ghana's living shopping basket". This story talks about a ten-year-old girl who left home when she was only eight years old to Accra the capital city of Ghana, to better her lot. She finds herself in Accra with no skill and no education but has to survive. She becomes a kayayoo and carries kaya for two years. During this period, she is lonely and misses home. She returns home after two years only to be told by her father to go back because there is nothing at home. This aligns with Opare (2003), Ntewusu (2012) who intimates that, in Ghana, some commentators see the migrant labour system as a useful adaptation to the unequal distribution of resources, particularly between the rich forest and coastal south and the poor savannah north. This points to the North as less endowed compared to cities in the Southern part of the country. The migration of young girls from the savanna north to the

southern cities can, therefore, be explained by Merton's social opportunity structure framework. Merton (1959) postulated that social systems have structures of opportunity that enable individuals and groups to pursue and achieve their individual and collective goals and aspirations. Merton argues that the chance to be rewarded is dependent on the way society or institutions are organised or structured. This theory postulates that people will naturally move to where they can easily meet their basic needs. Therefore if resources are not evenly distributed to ensure that people everywhere are given equal opportunities to meet their basic needs, they naturally will move to where they think there are opportunities for them to meet their needs

In the Aljazeera documentary, Bamunu is seen in the video carrying heavy loads. She is verbally and physically abused by her client when she complains about the fee paid for carrying such heavy loads. She is told by her client to either take it or leave it and shoves the money into Bamunu's palm. Bamunu walks away with tears in her eyes. This brings to the fore how kayayei are generally treated. They are underpaid for the services they render and sometimes verbally and or physically abused when they complain.

Through Bamunu, we also get to know the hustles and bustles of the kayayoo living in the markets of our big cities. Bamunu's daily life as a kayayoo begins at dawn when she has to wake up to buy water to bath. She pays for using the washroom and pays for her accommodation. So before the kayayoo makes any money for the day, she would have spent so much, making it compelling to get something to carry. This explains why they compete to carry loads even when they know clients are cheating them. For a child like

Bamunu, she should be in school and her needs taken care of by her parent. Unfortunately, she has to feed, clothe and find shelter for herself and still saves to send money home. Although what she makes at the end of the day is meagre, she manages to send monies home. Although her daily routine is so stressful, she is full of hope that one day, she will make enough and go back home. Bamunu has not seen her family in the whole of the two years she has been in Accra.

She is lonely and misses her family, especially her younger siblings dearly. She returns home, happy to see and live with her family again. Her hopes were dashed when her father asked her to go back to the loneliness she escaped from. At her age; eight (8) years, one would expect that it is the responsibilities of her parents to provide her basic needs. Ironically, in this video, Bamunu's father tells her to return to Accra to carry kaya. He threatens that he will not put up with her if she refused or failed to go back to Accra to serve as a kayayoo. Like the shopping basket, the kayayoo has to supply the needs of the family. The family reaches into the basket for its needs. So does the father in the video, sending his child away to a far destination to bring home what he should have provided. The shopping basket is only important as long as it can carry the needs of the family. It is not surprising therefore that, Bamunu's father can not put up with her if she fails to go back to the kaya trade.

To the client, the kayayoo is an ever-ready basket that all sorts of items are deposited in. Items including but not limited to food staff, culinary items, cosmetics, clothes and others are put in it. The client does not ask to know whether the basket (kayayoo) can carry the

weight of the items put in it or not. At the end of the day, very little appreciation is shown the kayayoo. The kayayoo accepts any amount paid the client for bringing her shoppings to the desired destination.

It is very clear that kayayei are important to both family and society how do the family and society appreciate the work of the kayayoo? The answer can be gotten from the video where father threatening not to put up with child if she refuses or fails to return to the city to carry kaya and the client shoving money into the hands of the young kayayoo, telling her to take it or leave it.

'Shopping baskets' has therefore been metaphorically used in the title, 'Kayayei: Ghana's Living Shopping Baskets' to bring out how both family and society benefits from kayayei but show very little appreciation if any at all.

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2.8 History of Kayayo in Ghana

The history of 'head-load portage' (which has come to be known in recent times as kayayo) dates back to the colonial times as discussed below. Also, the concentration of the trade in the southern cities of Ghana has a historical antecedent. Historically northerners have migrated to the south to engage in this trade for various reasons. In Ghana, the unequal distribution of resources, particularly between the rich forest and coastal south and the poor savannah north is seen as one of the reasons for labour migration.

Also, because the north is largely dependent on rain-fed agriculture for its survival and development, seasonal migration from the north to the south has become an ongoing phenomenon. For this reason, people from the three northern regions migrate to the south to look for jobs that will enable them to survive the dry season until the next rains. Therefore seasonal migration is considered an integral part of the social and economic lives of the people.

Closely linked to the seasonal nature of farming which is the main occupation in the three northern regions is the role of the British colonial administration in contributing to the literature on seasonal migration of labour from the north to the southern big cities. Colonialism has also been blamed for the migration of labour from the north of Ghana to the Southern cities. The colonial administration encouraged southward migrations in an attempt to correct the imbalance in resources between the north and the south. Instead of enhancing the productive capacity of the Northern economy through industrialisation, the colonial administration rather encouraged north-south migration. The commissioner for the northern province in 1928 is cited by Ntewusu, (2012) to have written as follows;

"Owing to the great damage to the crops in the Zuarungu district caused by heavy falls of rain at the period of harvest in 1927 conditions of almost famine proportion obtained at the beginning of the year under review. The areas affected were chiefly that inhabited by the Nankani tribe and to a certain extent by the Talensi and Builsa tribes and involved a population of approximately 100,000 people. As a result of this and previous similar

occurrence, *the policy of Government has been to endeavour to persuade the people to migrate southwards"* (Ntewusu, 2012, p.67).

Not only did the seasonal nature of farming compel people from the three northern regions to migrate, but they were also forced by natural disasters like heavy rains and droughts as suggested in the reference above. The situation was compounded by the colonial administration who persuaded and encouraged north-south migration in an attempt to solve the problem of near-starvation when there was low farm yield due to heavy rains or drought. For instance, the commissioner is said to have reported in 1931 that;

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

Again Ntewusu, (2012) states that in connection with the government's policy of encouraging north-south labour migrations, private people in the south were allowed to make requests for labour, to the district and regional commissioners in the Northern Territories. This led to the institutionalisation of north-south labour migration by 1949. Some of the migrants engaged in head-load portage (what has come to be known as kayayo in recent times) in Accra. The author narrates that, in the case of head-load portage in Accra, archival sources and oral evidence showed the dominance of men in

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head-load portage in Tudu from 1908 until 1980. From 1980, northern women rather than men became the most numerous in head-load portage.

One of the main differences between head-load portage in the colonial and early post-independence period and that which happens now is that it was a male-dominated trade. Ntewusu (2012) highlights the importance of migrants from the northern regions to the big cities in the south of the country when he says that northerners have contributed to the growth and development of Accra in particular and the whole country at large through their involvement in the transport and trade business. Also, the social and economic life of West African countries is largely influenced by seasonal labour migration. To trace the transition of kayayo from a male to a female-dominated trade, I put the history of kayayo into two-time frames; the era of male dominance, 1908-1980 and the era of female dominance, the 1980s – present.

2.8.1 The Era of Male Dominance (Kayakaya): 1908-1980

As observed above, the utilisation of head-load porters existed long before now. Head-load porters were simply called 'carriers'. The researcher reveals there were three groups of head-load porters; those who carried loads and human beings such as missionaries and administrators, those who were permanently hired by individuals to work for them and those who were freelance carriers. He reports that in the past, administrators and missionaries depended on their officers and private individuals to organise carriers to carry them and their loads from one place to another. This was because motorised transport was not available for such journeys. Apart from the colonial administrators,

private individuals also engaged the services of the carriers. Because of the nature of the things they carried, men dominated the trade. They carried heavy loads in large quantities and travelled long distances. This could also account for why females hardly engaged in the trade.

2.8.2 The Era of Female Porters (kayayei): 1980 to present

From the 1980s, the dominance of men in the business of head-load portage shifted to female. Several reasons account for that and we are turning our attention to why women and young girls have become the dominant group in the business of kayayo from the 1980s to present.

2.8.2.1 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The current trend of women's dominance of head-portage came about only during the 1980s, with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (Ntewusu, 2012 p.25). As a result of depressing socio-economic performance, Ghana in the early 1980s adopted the World Bank-inspired Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). SAP sought to bring about economic liberalisation, privatisation and a general restructuring of the state's role in the economy. Although the implementation of these measures had restored in some level of economic growth and stability at the macroeconomic level, it is also argued that it came at a high social cost because most vulnerable groups were affected adversely both directly and indirectly (Offenhawer 2005, Ntewusu 2012). For instance, the implementation of SAP brought about the withdrawal of subsidies on social services, retrenchment of labour, and general increases in prices of goods and services (see Baden et al 1994; Ntewusu 2012). Farmers could no longer produce commodities affected by

subsidy removal leaving them with little other choices than for them to migrate to the south; particularly to Accra to look for wage employment. Women who inter-cropped vegetables in their husband's farms lost the privilege of doing that because their husbands had migrated southwards (Addati & Cassirer 2008, Quartey 2009, Ntewusu 2012). Most northern women who also served as farmhands during farming seasons, from which they earned some income lost the opportunity. With the migration of the men, they invariably lost their livelihood. At the end, not only men migrated to the south for wage employment but their women migrated too (See Bryceson 1999, Addati & Cassirer 2008, Quartey 2009, Offenhauer 2005, Alenoma 2012, Ntewusu, 2012).

To buttress the point that SAP adversely affected the rural poor, Herbst (1993) is of the view that SAP in Ghana harmed the rural people. This view I identify with because though SAP was supposed to benefit the rural communities, its implementation in the country led to an unforeseen consequence, which in the end had a positive urban impact. Farmers and farm labour were encouraged by the prevailing circumstance to move to urban centres. SAP increasingly tightened restrictions on the local economy and increasingly connected Ghana to the global economy (see Allenoma, 2012). This was because the policy required that trade restrictions on imports be relaxed. At the end of the day, SAP resulted in international trade liberalisation resulting in negative trends that affected rural economies, particularly the economy of northern Ghana, and encouraged the expansion of towns and cities through migrations, particularly to Accra. This was possible because SAP demanded that all subsidies on agriculture be removed. The northern economy then had depended heavily on the production and sale of local rice,

maize and tomatoes. As a result, both men and women who depended in one way or the other on farming and agri-business had to migrate to the southern cities to look for jobs.

2.8.2.2 Military Intervention

Another reason for the shift from male to female dominance in the kayayo business is the military intervention of 1981 that led to a reduction in the cultivation of maize and the collapse of some agricultural activities such as rice cultivation. The coup d'tat in 1981 in Ghana exiled emerging capitalist rice producers and destroyed their agricultural equipment. The military blamed Ghana's economic woes on market women and expatriate businessmen. Before then the north produced rice to satisfy demand from the south. Rice production, therefore, offered employment to both men and women. Rice producers mainly depended on women for harvesting. According to Ntewusu, (2012) for every week of labour time during harvesting, a bag of raw rice was given to each woman as compensation. Consequently, women could no longer make a living so they migrated to the south to engage in carriage of goods as a way of getting income

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2.8.2.3 Conflicts

It is reported that the period under review saw so many lands, chieftaincy and ethnic related conflicts in northern Ghana. It is worth noting that, Structural Adjustment also coincided with these conflicts in the northern part of Ghana, which further aggravated the problem of especially women and children migrating to the southern cities for safety, shelter and their livelihood. Women and children lost their husbands and fathers respectively to the conflict. Generally, breadwinners of families were lost to the

numerous intra and inter-ethnic conflicts in the northern part of the country, which contributed to the presence, and dominance of females in the kayayei business especially in Accra (See UNDP-GH-NPC, 2012; Ntewusu, 2012 and Awedoba, 2015).

Ntewusu (2012) reports that, since 1980 up to the time of his research, there have been thirty conflicts in the three northern regions. Gonja attacked and destroyed a Battor village at Kafaba in 1980 and again destroyed Tuna in the same year. Gonja was involved in wars with the Nawuri and Nchumburu in 1991, 1992, and 1994. Gonja fought among themselves at Yapei and Kussawgu in 1992 and Daboya in 1994. Nanumbas and Konkombas fought in 1980, 1994, and 1995. Dagomba and Konkomba fought in 1994. In 1991 Dagombas fought among themselves at Vogu and Zabzugu. Between 1980 and 1986, Mampruisi and Kusasi fought three times in Bawku area. In 1988 and 1994, Bimoba also went to war with the Komkomba. In 2000, there was another conflict between the Mamprusi and Kusasi, and in 2002 there was a very serious conflict in Dagbon regarding the occupancy of the Yendi skin. Since 2002 the Mampruse and Kusase have fought between themselves more than 12 times in Bawku. (77)

To add to the list of countless conflicts in the north of the country, I add that to date (2015) there are still conflicts between Mampruse and Kusase in Bawku. As if to say, 'we don't want to be left out in the recent history of conflicts in the north, Frafra fought among themselves in May 2015. The long locked chieftaincy dispute was renewed when Naba Martin Adongo Abilba III, the immediate-past paramount chief, passed away on September 26, 2013. There have since been several reprisals of that conflict in Bolgatanga from 2015 to date. Nanumbas in Bimbila also had their share of conflict to

add to the list of recent conflicts. Ghana/Starrfmonline.com reported death toll in Bimbilla had risen to nineteen as a result of a protracted chieftaincy conflict.

Even the Upper West Region of the north, which is known to be the most peaceful among the three regions of the north, also had their share of conflicts. According to UNDP-GH-NPC- draft report (2012) for conflict analysis, the Upper West region recorded two chieftaincy related conflict between 2007 and 2012. The Nadowli skin affairs and the Wallembele skin affairs. The report states that there has been an outstanding chieftaincy dispute in Nadowli from 1999 up to the time of the report. The report explains that the dispute was as a result of the death of the then Nadowli chief Naa Daplaah Dasaah. Since then Nadowli has not gotten a substantive chief. This was as a result of resistance to a non-native becoming chief even though the records show that that particular family had produced chiefs in the past.

The other chieftaincy related conflict is Wallembele skin affairs. In this case, a long-standing dispute is reported to be between the chief on the one hand and the people of Wallembele on the other hand. The elders of the town are reported to have said that, the chief has consistently refused to perform certain rituals as required by custom. He is also accused of greed and misuse of power. The people and the kingmakers decided to dis-skin him. The chief sued the people and the kingmakers in court and won the case. However, the people and the kingmakers have refused to recognize him as chief and do not pay allegiance to him. This is the case of people wanting accountable and transparent rule against a chief who thinks that power must go with servitude. Wallembele now has a

chief recognized by the courts of Ghana but not the people. The report has it that what caused the conflict was the insistence of the chief to have his son-in-law, who does not come from the area nominated by then-President Kuffour as DCE when the people all wanted a native of Wallembele to be nominated.

The UNDP-GH-NPC (2012) summarises its report by saying that,

"Northern Ghana has been described as plagued by various inter and intra-ethnic conflicts for several decades. The first major ethnic conflict in terms of severity and duration was the Konkomba-Nanumba war of 1981.These two ethnic groups went to war again in 1994 and 1995. The February 1994 conflict referred to, as the 'Guinea Fowl War' was particularly devastating and had strong implications for inter-ethnic relations in the Northern Region. The conflict, which engulfed seven districts, saw at least 2,000 people lose their lives, 441 villages destroyed and over 178,000 people displaced. The government declared a state of emergency in the seven districts that lasted until August 1994" (**79**).

A close look at the above will reveal that almost all the ethnic groups in the north have been involved in one conflict or the other within the time in question.In conclusion, the effect of the numerous ethnic/chieftaincy related conflicts in the north is that it has left farms destroyed, men killed, and villages burnt down. Most women lost their husbands, fathers, and brothers to the wars. And the effect of such destruction was the migration of women and children to the urban centres for safety and to engage in the kaya trade. Some of the men remained to cultivate the land and others migrated to the urban centres,

particularly Accra. They got involved in alternative economic activities, the most notable ones being the collection of garbage and scrap and the use of hand-pulled or push-carts, popularly called 'trucks', to convey goods.

Figure 2. 1 Picture of the head basin

Source: Field picture

The head-basin made from steel is round in shape and mainly used in carrying water and foodstuffs. Some also use it to wash clothes. In the market, the head-pan is just like the cart for the horse. It remains the most important asset in the kayayo business. The head-pan being the only physical investment to start kayayo is relatively cheap as compared to capital that one may need to start a trade. It can easily be obtained probably because old ones are usually used. Ntewusu, 2012 reports that "it is usually the old head-pans that are used for the trade" (83). Female kayayei stay in the southern markets is usually shorter than their male counterparts. The author further states that they usually spend "three

months at least and six months at most and hence makes economic sense to invest in the cheaper head basin to be able to acquire what is most needed" (84).

Apart from the fact that the head basin enables the kayayei to practice their trade; it also has an array of uses. The head-pan is highly versatile in use. It is used as a stool when the kayayei are not working; they turn the head-pan down and sit on it. In the evenings when they gather to eat, they turn their head-pans down, sit on as stools.

Figure 2. 2Kayayei sitting on their head pans

Source: Field picture

Also, it is used as an umbrella on rainy days. On rainy days, Kayayei turn the head basin upside down to cover their heads to seek shelter from the rain. Kayayei also use the head-pan as a defensive tool when they are threatened. Because most of them sleep in poorly secured places, they are sometimes threatened by evil-minded people at night. Such evil-minded people threaten to steal from them or rape them. The head basin becomes handy under these circumstances. Closely linked to its use as a defensive tool, is its use as a pillow. After work, they turn the pan upside down to use as a pillow

Kayayei unlike their male counterparts (truck boys) operate as individuals. The head-pan is easy to lift by one person or in some situations if the load is very heavy with the assistance of the customer. Owing to the busy nature of the lorry parks and markets where they ply their trade, it is easier to use the head-pan as they can easily meander through the crowd.

After work, they usually use the head-pans to draw water for bathing. In the same way, some of the kayayei who have children usually bath their children in the head-pans. In places, which lack bathroom facilities, some of the mothers also take their bath in the head-pans and pour the water on the streets. Some times where there are bathhouses, some bathe in the head-pans as a way of saving money. The several uses of the head-pan as indicated above, therefore, makes it more attractive to the kayayei (Ntewusu, 2012).

2.9 Networks of Kayayei

According to Ahlvin (2012:14), some studies have shown that kayayei live and work in closely linked groups held together through strong social networks. Observing kayayei at work, one would see that there is some degree of organisation in their activities. They do not operate in a disorganised manner but operate in well-defined spaces largely based on ethnicity. Such grouping according to Awumbila &Ardayfio, (2008) are carved out for specific ethnic groups to avoid or minimize conflicts. In a trade like kayayo, one of the importance of network is dealing with the uncertainties of the city and providing support and security for one another.

The very first social network every individual belongs is his or her family and friends. This network is called the social safety net (Berg 2007). Other researchers also point to the importance of social networks as an asset that can be called upon in hard times, enjoyed for its own sake or used for material gain. Kayayei identify with family members who are already in Accra when they arrive. Networks take different forms and shapes and people may belong to more than one social network. According to Ntewusu (2012), the social network can be looked at from a spatial point of view.

The urban landscape of Accra is a place where most kayayei are noted to work. Taking Accra as an example, kayayei rely on the spatial location of zongos and consider zongos as important networks. This is explained by the fact that majority of them inhabit Agbogbloshie, Konkomba Market, Timber Market and Sodom and Gomorra; all these four settlements grew out of Old Fadama, which was a zongo formerly inhabited by

Hausa and currently heavily settled by the Dagomba (Ntewusu, 2012) and members of other ethnic groups of Northern Ghana origin. Because the inhabitants of these areas are northerners, new arrivals will always find their way there.

Though the kayayei mainly operate as individuals they nonetheless sit in groups of between four and ten. Usually, the roamers sit according to their towns or villages of origin, or if they are many from the same village they sit according to clans or families. To examine the social capital of kayayei, two types of social networks/capital are cited by Berg, (2007); bonding and bridging social network/capital.

Bridging social network or capital, on the other hand, is one that exists between two individuals or groups with characteristics that are not similar. An example is a friendship that exists between the kayayei and officials. This kind of friendship closes the gap between the two groups. Kayayei in the southern markets do not rely so much on the bridging social capital.

2.10 Challenges

There are risks involved in the kaya work considering the heavy loads they carry and the long distances they walk. In big cities, they face more challenges as they compete with moving vehicles to get to their destination. The risks kayayei face plying their trade is many and varied. According to Berg (2007), kayayei face several risks and shocks when carrying out their work. The risks they face are categorized into four namely,

accommodation, working conditions, financial situation and health (including the availability of food and water).

2.10.1 Accommodation

Shelter is one of the basic needs of mankind and its type and quality is core to the wellbeing of humanity. The type of accommodation of kayayei over the years has not been the best or even close to a decent type. On arrival in the big cities with no one to turn to for any kind of help, be it food, financial, health or accommodation related, they find shelter in the environs of lorry parks and markets they work in. Usually, the sitters have the opportunity of sleeping on the verandas of shops they sit in. The type of accommodation in these places is makeshift structures made of mostly wood. These structures are poorly constructed and set out. They are also poorly lit and drainage is an eyesore. Owing to the insufficient income on the part of Kayayei, this is the kind of accommodation they can afford. Electricity here is mostly illegally connected exposing these 'homes' to frequent fire disasters. Because the original plan for these places was not meant for human habitation, there is very little to no drainage system in these areas making them constantly filthy. Hajia Alima Mahama, sometime Minister of Women and Children's Affairs said on the occasion of the 16th General Assembly of the Future African Federation in Accra in April 2005 that 'the most worrying aspect' about the kayayei phenomenon is the lack of shelter for the girls (Berg, 2007,p. 65). 'Home' is described by Berg as a very wide concept, which embodies many ideas such as comfort, belonging, identity and security. The author makes a distinction between three groups of homeless people. The first consisting of people sleeping in the street or other places not

meant for human habitation. The second group consists of people living in inadequate shelter situations. The last category is combining concealed homelessness (taking shelter with a relative or friend). The risks of homelessness include eviction, release from an institution and substandard housing. It is worth noting that many of kayayei's accommodation can be put in the first two categories of 'home'. That is sleeping in places that are not meant for human habitation such as the verandas and lorry parks and living in inadequate shelters like the makeshift structures they live in.

Comparing the accommodation problem of today to that of the colonial times, Ntewusu (2012) reports that kayakaya lived in lorry parks or shop verandas, and a few also slept in canoes on the beach. One will not be wrong to conclude that in terms of the location of accommodation of kayayei there isn't much difference. I will be quick to add that in terms of population, there is a striking difference. Now our towns and cities even without the presence of kayayei are overpopulated. Overpopulation comes with its associated health and other risks. These risks did not exist in the colonial era. Even if there were signs of them, they were very negligible and posed no threats to the kayakaya.

2.10.2 Health Challenges

According to Opare (2003), the unsanitary nature of the place where kayayei live exposes them to all kinds of diseases. Diseases such as malaria, typhoid fever and diarrhoea in addition to fatigue more or less are routine illnesses of kayayei. Also when plying their trade, they are exposed to the mercy of the weather. Sexual harassment has been reported to be one menace that kayayyei have to contain. Decent looking men on rainy days

occasionally offer the girls accommodation only to take advantage of them and sexually abusing them in the long run (Opare 2003). It is not surprising then that the incidence of unwanted pregnancies is so high among these women. Indeed it has been indicated in newspaper reports that each month about 50 per cent of all children born to kayayei at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra are abandoned by their mothers (Weekly Spectator 1999:6).Ntewusu, (2012) also suggests that **a** lorry park is an important place of sexual abuse and rape of the kayayei. That, shoeshine boys who roam about in the lorry parks because they equally do not have a place to sleep use the lorry park as a sleeping place. They sometimes rape the girls and this sometimes leads to unwanted pregnancies and/or sexually transmitted diseases.

2.10.3 Work Conditions

The kayayo work is characterised by harassment and intimidation by officials and the general public. Sometimes, these harassments lead to fights between the kayayei and the public. Kayayei have fought several times with the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) officials over daily tolls (Ntewusu, 2012). Kayayei pay daily income tax to their host assemblies. It is reported that, in Accra, the officials from the assembly demand the money whether or not the kayayei have made money yet. This is met with displeasure by the kayayei that further generates into arguments between them. A kayayoo explains that, "They [referring to AMA staff] have nothing to do rather than take our money, seize our pans or beat us. They take money from us but do not do anything for us. If they take money from the drivers they repair roads for them. If they take money from us what do they do for us in return? We pay for everything here, food, water and accommodation if

even it is on a veranda we pay for". (See Ntewusu, 2012: 97). The kayayoo is not happy about the general conditions under which they work.

Kayayei coming from different language backgrounds, they have to contend with the difficulties language barrier comes with. Ahlvin, (2012**)** posit that, in their home setting, Dagbanli or Mampruse are the languages that are used. In Accra, Twi /and/or Ga are used and they have to negotiate prices and communicate among their customers using Twi or Ga. Their inability to communicate well in Twi and/or Ga has often led to quarrels between the kayayei and the clients over the price that was demanded at the onset.

Because of the insecure nature of their accommodation, sometimes common criminals and thieves (drug addicts) steal their money and clothes. Sometimes when a thief is caught people around help beat the thief. Although these petty thefts happen daily, interestingly, such criminal acts are not reported to the appropriate authorities for the necessary action to be taken. It happens almost every day.

2.10.4 Financial Situation

Money is the chief reason among other reasons why kayayei are in Accra (Ntewusu, 2012). For this reason, the kayayei' ability to get money in a day is paramount. First of all the huge number of girls and women working as kayayei causes high competition, to the extent that there is not enough work for all kayayei in the city. The kayayei have several strategies to deal with this risk. Their workdays are quite long, to get as many loads to carry as possible. They start early in the morning and keep looking for loads to carry until

it is getting dark, which is around 6:00 pm. The urgent need for money propels kayayei to put in such energies in plying their trade to an extent that they exhaust themselves to the point of falling ill. The average working time for the kayayo is twelve (12hrs).

Not getting money in a day works against the kayayei on several fronts. For instance, they pay daily for their sleeping place. They also pay for facilities such as the washroom and toilet. Further, if they must eat, they buy food from 'chop bars', all these on a daily basis. This is an indication that, if they don't make enough money to take care of all these expenses, they may have to face some difficulties in getting these things done. Borrowing from friends will only ease the problem temporally until a time that they make enough money to take care of the expenses plus pay the debt and make a profit.

After going through thick and thin to get the money, they now face a problem of how to keep the money. Some lose the money again as they struggle for more loads to carry. When competition becomes keen, the call of "kayayei" sets them running towards the customer and some in the process lose their money.

Also, because they lack properly secured accommodation, thieves easily steal their monies from bags where they hide the money. For those who save their money with, 'susu'[5] collectors, it is easy for the susu collector to abscond with the kayayei' money. This is possible because the activities of kayayei are more localised. They operate within specific markets and lorry parks. Susu collectors, therefore, find it easy to run away with their clients' money to another part of the city or divert into another profession altogether.

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[5] Informal banker

For instance, Ahlvin (2012) reports that a kayayoo in one of the markets in Accra said she earns an average of GHS9 every day. Unfortunately, all of her savings were kept with a susu collector (an informal banker) who ran away with her money.

All these challenges notwithstanding, Ahlvin, (2012) concludes that the kaya trade has some positives not only to the kayayoo but also to clients and family. Kayayei are employed by travellers, shop owners, general shoppers, or traders and are used to offset the difficulty of vehicles accessing the centre of markets to load or discharge goods.

2.11 Theoretical frame;

Given their marginalised and exploited nature, I locate kayayo within the theoretical field of precarious labour because of the hazards, risks and uncertainty associated with it. With all the odds against kayayei in their line of duty, the kaya work can best be described as 'precarious' because of the limitless risks it exposes kayayei to. The term precarious is represented in literature in different ways. According to Arnold & Bongiovi (2011)**,** concepts and terms in the academic literature include precarious employment, informalisation, casualisation, contractualisation, non-standard jobs, flexible labour, irregular labour, and contingent employment, among others. In defining the term, literature (ILO 2012, Arnold & Bongiovi 2013, Tucker 2002, Chang 2008 & 2011) agree that there is no one particular way that precariousness is defined. It is a collection of characteristics that combine to classify and determine the level of the precariousness of a job. The ILO classifies all work that is typically non-permanent, temporary, casual, insecure and contingent as precarious. Arnold & Bongiovi (2013), on their part, defines

precarious employment from the remuneration point of view. They classify all work for remuneration characterised by uncertainty, low income, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlement as precarious. The set of criteria may include but not limited to work with low job security, low wages, higher safety and health risks, little or no control over workplace conditions or hours of work, and limited opportunity for training and skill development (Tucker, 2002). To determine the level of precariousness, a number of these characteristics will combine. In this respect, kayayo is not only a precarious job but a high-level precarity. As already noted above, their income is so low that, it is described as 'hand to mouth' (Ahlvin, 2012). The risk the job exposes kayayei to is beyond measure; health, physical, psychological and environmental risks as well as verbal abuse. In plying their trade, most of the time, patrons pay what they decide. Kayayei are left to the mercy of weather all year round as long as they continue to ply the trade, during the rainy season, they are left to the mercy of the rain since they have no shelter in the markets. Shop owners sometimes verbally and or physically abuse them if they try to seek shelter on the verandas of shops. They have no control what so ever on their condition of work. They have to accept and make do with whatever condition that is meted out to them by their patrons. Because of the risky conditions under which they work, their low wages and no opportunity for training or skill development, kayayo in my estimation is highly precarious.

However, Tucker (2002) explains that an unstable job or a low paid job is not necessarily precarious, given that there may be other compensatory characteristics of the job. He, however, agrees that a combination of factors causes precariousness. He proposes that a

set of indicators relevant to the job context should be considered in determining whether a job is precarious or not. He exemplifies that students are more likely to have a higher preference for temporary or casual jobs than adults who are `primary' earners in a household with dependents. In this scenario, the student who is working as a temporary hand will not see his job as a precarious one. Tucker calls this the interaction of the nature of jobs and worker preferences. To him, this should determine what constitute precarious employment.

Even with Turker's proposal of the need for interaction between the nature of job and worker preference, one can only talk about the nature of the job with the kayayo work. There is no 'worker preference' since they have no other alternative. The life of the kayayoo has compelled her into kayayo and left her with no other choice but to accept whatever conditions the job comes with. Work preference could not apply to them if they had an alternative. A kayayoo in the Tamale old market said: "if I had something better to do, I will not be a kayayoo ". Tucker explains that the reason students may opt for casual or temporary work is as a way of supplementing income while studying. The work skills gained from these kinds of employment arrangements are likely to be less important than the educational qualifications, therefore, the concern over whether these jobs are stepping stones or traps may not be an issue for students who view them as short-term jobs whilst studying. Temporary jobs can also be useful for those workers who wish to `job shop' as a way of gaining work experience in different sectors and assessing available work opportunities or potential employers. Unfortunately, this cannot be said about kayayei who do what they do out of necessity. Ashanti regional news of Ghana web reported that

"Head Porters Below Ten Years Invade Kumasi". In the report, the minors were asking the government to provide them with accommodation. They were quoted to have said that, "we prefer being head porters (kayayoo) to being in school because our parents are poor and could not see us through school. Some of us have to travel all the way here to support our family".

Also, Aljazeera witness episodes aired a documentary titled, "kayayo: Ghana's living shopping basket". It told the story of a ten-year-old girl who said she had not seen her family for two years. She migrated to Accra when she was eight to work as a kayayo. I, therefore, conclude that kayayo is a precarious job by all standards and those who engage in it do it out of necessity.

In the developed economies where unstable employment is on the increase, insurance schemes are put in place to cushion the workers from income variations. For instance, in Canada, Employment Insurance (EI) programme has been put in place to provide temporary income to unemployed workers while they look for work or upgrade in skill (Government of Canada, 2017). Also, workers who are unable to go to work due to pregnancy, childbirth, illness, or have a critically ill or injured family member, benefits from this programme (Canadian social employment insurance). However, to benefit from this program, workers are required to contribute to the fund for at least a year and also meet other qualifying and entitlement conditions. Unfortunately, such schemes are not in the developing economy like Ghana.

2.11.1 The Precariat

The precariats are those who do precarious work and usually come from the vulnerable class of society. They are mostly women, youth, people from an ethnic minority, recent migrants, less skilled and unlettered, less well informed of their employment rights hence less capable of bargaining effectively and are less likely to be unionized (Wilson & Tucker, 2004). Kayayei are women and young girls who migrate to the southern cities of Ghana in search of greener pasture. They are mostly unlettered and possess little to no employable skills. Due to their lack of skill, they end up carrying people's loads for money. Their patrons will pay at their discretion and the kayayoo has to accept any amount given as payment for services rendered. Most often they are not paid well. According to Standing (2009), the precariat is socially and economically vulnerable and subject to anomic attitudes and without any social memory on which to draw to give them a sense of existential security. The economic and social vulnerability and the lack of security of kayayei make them fall in the class of precariat.

2.11.2 Women and Precarious Work

Throughout the world, women are those most affected by precarious work. This is because their access to full-time work has always been very difficult because they are those who take care of the home. Formal work conditions make it difficult to fit. Action & Precarious (2007) reports that precarious employment increasingly compounds the already existing gender discrimination. Working time insecurity creates enormous difficulties for women with child care responsibilities. This difficulty makes women prefer part-time work with predictable hours, losing sight of the fact that most part-time

works are temporary and the availability of permanent part-time work is decreasing. Proving that globally women are the most affected by precarious employment, Action & Precarious (2007), further reports that, "in Australia one in three women workers are non-permanent, paid 21 per cent less than permanent workers and have no access to holiday leave, sick leave or public holidays; In Canada 40 per cent of women's jobs are considered nonstandard, or precarious employment, and in Japan about 30 per cent of metalworkers are atypical or contract workers and women form a high proportion of such workers" (Action & Precarious, 2007, p. 20-21).

Alfers (2012) reports that in Ghana, levels of informal employment makes up 91.3% of total employment, with 53.9% of the total labour force working in the informal agricultural sector and 37.4% working in the non-agricultural informal sector (Heintz, 2005). In the non-agricultural sector, self-employment, including own-account work, makes up a higher percentage of total female informal employment (37.5%, of which own account workers make up 35.9%) Heintz (2005). This type of employment also makes up the largest share of female employment, which is consistent with the fact that informal market trading is largely a female profession in Ghana. It is therefore not surprising that kayayei have taken over our markets and their number is increasing by the day.

2.12 Conceptual Framework

The main objective of this study was to provide an in-depth understanding of cultural and gender-based push and pull factors of female head portage (kayayo) in Tamale, with the

aim of opening discussions on the subjects (participants) to bring about an agenda for positive change in the lives of kayayei. Having the objective of this work in mind, I premise my work on the assumptions of advocacy/participatory claim that seeks to create political debate and discussions to bring about change (Creswell 2003). According to Whitehead (2002), the advocacy/participatory claim proposes for the researcher to participate in the research with the object of study, to assist the object of study in empowering themselves to overcome certain problems that they experience. Empowerment, therefore, is a main focus of the advocacy/participatory claim. Not only does this knowledge claim seek to empower participants, but it also aims to link inquiry to politics and political agenda in collaboration with participants to bring about change (Whitehead 2002, Creswell 2003, Madison 2012). This objective is based on the belief that inquiry should go a step further to include an action agenda for reform. They, therefore, tend to investigate issues of empowerment, domination, inequality, suppression, oppression and alienation (Creswell 2003). Hence the groups that are studied under this assumption are the marginalized, disadvantaged and or the minority in society (Fay 1987, 2005; Creswell 2003; Madison 2012).

Critical ethnography, which takes its roots from the advocacy/participatory claim, is appropriate for this study because Kayayei who are the study subjects of this work are a group of people who are dominated and suppressed in their line of work and for that matter need to be empowered. Ahlvin (2012) reports that kayayei in Accra have often been faced with the threat of eviction by the Accra Metropolitan Authorities (A.M.A.) without providing alternate land or housing. The A.M.A. claims that kayayei are illegally

occupying government land. Kayayei have also suffered derogation and discrimination from the city authorities; the A.M.A., the press and the general public by referring to their settlement as "Sodom and Gomorrah". They are marginalised and their social status and self-worth are reduced to the barest minimum by the way they are treated (Afenah 2010, Ahlvin 2012). Also, kayayei are exploited by their patrons and hassled by police and city authorities (Yeboah 2008, Ahlvin 2012). Ahlvin 2012 reports that they are so harassed by patrons of their service; who are mostly women that a source refers to it as "exploitation of women by women (Ahlvin 2012, p. 14-15)." Because kayayei stay in slums in the cities where they migrate to ply their trade, they face insecurity and sexual predators often exploit their vulnerability. Berg 2007 p. 6 cites Daily Guide of September 15th 2006 to report that a group of Kayayei expressed extreme worry about abuse of some of their colleagues by individuals who share the same neighbourhood as sleeping places with them in the night. One would think that having to contain such harassment, marginalisation, derogation and suppression, the risk would be commensurate with their incomes. Unfortunately, their wages are best described as meagre. As migrants in lands far from home, they spend this meagre earning on accommodations and basic needs (Opare 2003, Berg 2007, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008, Ahlvin 2012).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology and design adapted to achieve the objective of the study. The central objective of this study is to understand the cultural and gender dynamics that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo in Tamale. The specific objectives of the study are: (1) to understand cultural and gender-based factors of female head portage; (2) to understand daily challenges associated with kayayo; (3) to interrogate the patriarchal hegemonic dynamics that influence their choice of trade and finally (4) to explore a socio-political discussion on the subject leading to informing an agenda that can help improve the lives of head porters. In many instances, research methodology and design are directly distilled from how the research question(s) are stated. Therefore, in the subsequent sections, I espouse the study design taking into consideration the research questions.

3.1 Research Approach

There are three major research approaches are the quantitative, qualitative and in between them is the mixed method. Every research approach emanates from a philosophical background of knowledge claim (Creswell 2003 and 2009). Quantitative research employs the assumptions of scientific research or empirical science, which believes that cause, determines outcomes or effects. They, therefore, identify and assess causes that influence outcomes (Creswell 2009). Qualitative research relies specifically on scientific evidence, such as experiments and statistics, to reveal the true nature of how society operates. They believe that some laws or theories governing the world which need to be

tested and refined for us to understand the world. The procedure, therefore, is that, one begins with a theory then collects data to either support or refute the theory and makes revisions to the theory before additional tests are carried out. Data collected is numeric. This knowledge claim accepts that theories, background, knowledge and values of the researcher can influence what is observed.

On the other hand, the philosophical underpinning to qualitative research is constructivists' assumptions. The constructivists believe that individuals seek to understand the world they live and work in to create subjective meanings of their individual experiences. Using this approach, my objective is to look for complexities in the varied meanings that individuals make of their experiences instead of limiting meaning to a few categories. The meaning individuals make of their experiences is largely influenced by what is historically, socially and culturally accepted (Creswell 2003, 2007, 2009, Schutt & Chamblis 2013). Because meaning is largely determined by historical, social and cultural factors, context is an important meaning determiner. Thus, participants' background shapes their interpretation of events. Narrative research, phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory studies and case studies are strategies of inquiry that qualitative researchers use.

In spite of the above difference in philosophical assumptions, qualitative and quantitative methods are not as discrete as they appear and should not be looked at as 'opposites' but rather representing ends of a continuum (Creswell 2009). For this reason, the choice of one against the other can be a difficult task. It involves a trade-off between the breadth

and generalisation of the quantitative method, and the depth and detail of qualitative research (Asher & Miller 2012, p. 3). While qualitative research tends to generate hypothesis; that is, helping the researcher make informed guesses about how or why a process happens, quantitative research, on the other hand, tends to test hypothesis and helps the researcher determine how true such an informed guess is across a population. Some authors see the use of words (qualitative research) instead of numbers (quantitative research) and the use of open-ended questions (qualitative research) instead of closed-ended questions (quantitative hypothesis) as the main difference between the two approaches (Crewell 2003,2009, Schutt and Chamblis 2013).

From the discussion above, I dare say that quantitative research is premised on the hypothesis generated by qualitative research. This background goes to support Creswell (2003, 2009) intimating that qualitative and quantitative approaches are ends to a continuum. Both approaches play complementary roles and therefore are equally important. Each has its unique and individual purpose to perform. Likewise, both methods have their strengths and weaknesses. Between the two approaches is the multiple methods of research popularly known as mixed methods research.

With mixed methods, data collection involves the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods in one research endeavour. This means that the strength of both qualitative and quantitative are brought to bear in one research project. The level of permutation of the two pure approaches determines the type adopted and the subsequent research design chosen for the study. The earlier methods explained are mono. That is qualitative or

quantitative (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang, 2012). With the mixed-method approach, depending on the research questions one may use inductive, deductive or abductive approaches to the study.

In most cases, the inductive study starts with data collection and leads to theory development. This is mostly associated with qualitative study, particularly grounded theory methodology and ethnography. Since this study sought to understand the cultural and gender underpinnings of kayayo trade, an inductive approach was adopted for the study. This means that deductive and abductive goes with quantitative and multiple (mixed) methods respectively. However, the choice of inductive, deductive or abductive (a combination of inductive and deductive) are not exclusive to a particular research approach because of dynamism in recent research approaches. What is important is that, at every level of a study, there should be justification for the choice of one strategy over others.

It must, however, be pointed out that one thing that can influence the choice of one approach over the other is the researcher's background and knowledge. People by their natural leaning may be more inclined to one thing or the other. A researcher's learning and knowledge is a factor that influences his choice of topic and subsequently method. If a person's learning is towards measurements and estimations, the person is more likely to do more quantitative research than qualitative research. Whitehead, (2004) in this light intimates that these different philosophical orientations will frequently dictate the selection of methods to be used in social research, and how those methods will be carried

out. Thus differentiating researchers in terms of their experience and learning backgrounds may be more useful than trying to differentiate them based on methods because researchers of different research philosophies may use either qualitative or quantitative methods, or both (Whitehead, 2004, p. 8). Also, people go into research for different reasons and have different natural inclinations and come from different learning backgrounds. Two people may research the same topic but if their purpose and background differ, they influence the purpose of their research and their choice of method. The method each one uses to carry out the research may also differ.

The purpose of undertaking research is one important factor that also helps determine the approach to use. A case in point is taken from Whitehead (2004). Whitehead tells of how he nearly got himself fired as a second-year research assistant professor in the Health Education Department of the University of North Carolina's School of Public Health. His contract was under review because he was failing to bring an anthropological perspective to his work. The following is what Whitehead's employers said to him to justify the need for him to use ethnographic methods.

"We hired you to bring an anthropological perspective to our community efforts. But you seemed bent on spending your time trying to become a biostatistician. If we wanted a biostatistician, we would have hired a real one; not someone who is trying so hard to become some quasi-statistician"(Whitehead 2004:p. 2).The department needed an anthropological perspective-experience in ethnographic and qualitative research. Since Whitehead had a PhD from the University of Pittsburgh; one of the nation's leading departments of anthropology, he was hired for that purpose.

They justified why Whitehead would be fired if he did not change his approach to the job he was given by telling him that their use of quantitative methods for more than half a century has not yielded any new understanding of the human condition (Whitehead, 2004).The purpose of undertaking research determines the method to use. The purpose of the research Whitehead was hired to undertake was to "understand the human conditions" which was not feasible using quantitative research methods. In this light, my choice of qualitative research method is informed by the purpose of this research which is to understand the compelling conditions socio-cultural and gender factors that propel young women and girls into the kayayo business. To achieve this, I immersed myself in their activities to discover and examine their lived experiences. This, when done, was aimed at creating a platform for the discussion of the plight of kayayei for a course of action to be drawn, to bring about a positive change in the lives of participants. According to Whitehead 2004, the use of qualitative research methods has the advantage of better assessing context, process, and socio-cultural meaning that underlie human behaviour. Hence to understand the context as well as socio-cultural underpinnings of the kaya trade and the processes involved in plying the trade, I will use ethnography, a qualitative research method.

Based on the purpose/objective of this research, the qualitative research approach was used over the quantitative. There are several approaches to qualitative research depending on the field of study. Jacob (1998) puts forward six approaches to qualitative inquiry in the field of education. She identifies human ethnology, ecological psychology, holistic

ethnography, cognitive anthropology, ethnography of communication, and symbolic interaction (see Jacob 1998). Creswell puts qualitative inquiry into two; socially constructed knowledge claim and the advocacy/participant knowledge claim. Under the socially constructed knowledge claim, he intimates that the purpose is to appreciate and understand the socio-cultural events and experience of a people. The strategy of inquiry for this claim is ethnography. This work relies heavily on the concept of critical ethnography. Critical ethnography studies culturally marginalized group(s) seeking to uncover what is normally hidden and unspoken in the culture and questions the assumptions Naidoo (2011). it plays the role of advocacy/participation to address issues of social justice and bring relief to the marginalised in society. Under this claim, Creswell identifies five sub claim; feminist perspective, racialised discourses, critical theory perspective, queer theory and disability theory (Creswell 2003).

This research leans on the socially constructed knowledge claim to understand the socio-cultural events and experiences of participants. As already observed above, ethnography is the strategy of enquiry under this knowledge claim. Therefore, ethnographic research approach will be used. Ethnography is most appropriate for this research because it will allow me to observe participants closely in their natural environment placing me in a position to better understand the issue of kayayo as well as the socio-cultural and political underpinnings of their trade. Having settled on the qualitative research approach, I further engaged in the academic discourse on this descriptive manner of conducting research.

3.1.1 Qualitative Research Approach Critique

The increased use of qualitative research has given birth to tensions and subsequently debates among researchers. These debates have questioned the quality and reliability of qualitative research in general. Many are those who see qualitative research as mere journalism that produces highly descriptive stories based on hearsays and not in the least analytical. These people see qualitative data as mere anecdotes, which are essentially not validated (Brewer 2000, p. 15). Brewer reports that the critiques see qualitative data "as interesting anecdotal hearsays which are essentially unproven". The author further observes that though Journalism shares some similarities with qualitative research writing, there are important differences based on the researcher's commitment to a greater depth of thought, more sustained periods spent on investigation and a more rigorously self-critical approach.

The use of small samples in qualitative research as against the large samples of quantitative research has largely been criticised (Astalin 2013, Creswell 2003, 2007, 2009). But some scholars argue that this criticism is flawed by the purpose of the approach; qualitative research seeks to interpret meanings, metaphors and symbols of society (Creswell 2003, 2007, 2009). To interpret meaning, in-depth interaction with the object of research is required. For this reason, it tends to use a small number of respondents to have enough time with participants to bring out meanings that otherwise would not be gotten from a one-time interview (Brewer 2000, Leech & Onwuegbuzie 2007, Dugbazah 2007). Generally, qualitative research would ask questions that will demand narration therefore its data are generally narratives. On the other hand,

quantitative research is largely based on numbers. It, therefore, requires the use of large numbers of respondents. Data is also primarily numeric and answers questions about how many, how much or how often a phenomenon occurs (Leech & Onwuegbuzie 2007, Andrad 2009, Asher et al 2012)

Also, the flexibility and open-ended nature of qualitative research approach against quantitative approach have seen some criticism too. To reduce the influence of extraneous variables, the natural sciences have highly structured methods (Creswell 2003, 2009). Therefore, quantitative research scholars advocate structured methodologies and distrust qualitative research findings because they are not guided by agreed-upon procedures (See Lotto & Huberman 1986). They consider data collection tools of the qualitative field worker as unstructured and unsystematic because of their flexibility and open-ended nature and argue that; validity and reliability are compromised as a result (Brewer 2000, Genzuk 2003). According to critics of this approach, the lack of structure does not allow for assessment of data due to differences that may arise because of the way data is collected. They argue that procedural rules are necessary to do away with the effect of both the data collection tool and the researcher. Qualitative researchers agree to the lack of agreed procedures for doing qualitative research, they, however, see it as strength and not a weakness. They explain that qualitative analysis is a result of deep and intimate knowledge of participants' world, moments of insights and intuition (Jacob & Furgerson 2012, Astalin 2013, Schutt & Chambliss 2013) and this cannot be achieved if the process is strictly structured.

Of interest to quantitative researchers is the involvement of the fieldworker in the lives and daily activities of participants. To them, this presents another avenue for critique. As a matter of thumb, they (quantitative approach researchers) do not allow the researcher to be a variable in experiments. The fieldworker in the qualitative research, on one hand, has to closely interact with the object of study to come out with social meaning(s) that is sought. Therefore the quantitative researcher (natural sciences) sees as unscientific the way qualitative (ethnographic) research is carried out (Brewer 2000, Bergold & Thomas 2012). They believe that the close interaction of the researcher in the daily lives of participants brings to bear on the research outcome the bias of the researcher, therefore, making it unreliable. But Whitehead (2004) observes that "Various hypotheses, theories, and interpretive frameworks brought by outside investigators may have little or no meaning within the emic view of studied individuals, groups, societies, or cultures (p. 16)."

Whitehead, (2004) justifies the close interaction of qualitative field worker with its hosts by arguing that close interaction between the researcher and the researched does not change the underpinning meanings of the researched (the host). In light of this, he disagrees with the critique that close interaction with hosts does not ensure validity and reliability of outcomes of qualitative studies. This view I identify with, I further agree with the argument that close and long interaction or immersion complements the emic (insider viewpoint) with an etic (outsider) viewpoint. He argues that immersion is important for understanding the manifold aspects of the lives of participants. Using and balancing the two viewpoints provides what Whitehead calls 'emic validity';

understanding from the perspectives of qualitative field worker's hosts through rigorous and iterative observations, interviewing, and other modes of qualitative inquiry.

I, therefore, conclude by arguing that the critique of qualitative studies as against quantitative research can only serve as a means to justify the methods used and provide a reason to make them more rigorous. Considering these critiques as weakness of qualitative work has no basis. This is because qualitative and quantitative methods serve complementary roles. Moreover, qualitative research enables the researcher to make informed guesses about how and or why things happen the way they do. It is therefore said to be inductive and hypothesis-generating. On the other hand, quantitative research enables the researchers to tell how true/valid such guesses are across a population and therefore said to be deductive and hypothesis testing. From this background, instead of seeing qualitative research as one that lacks validity and rigour and therefore not reliable, it should be seen as one that lays the strong foundation for the successful take-off of quantitative research. For its purpose, qualitative research is reliable and valid.

Ethnography was selected out of the many strategies under the qualitative approach to undertaking to achieve the objective (understand *the -cultural and gender dynamics* that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo in Tamale) of this study. Ethnography was selected because of the peculiar features it offers for the study of kayayo within the socio-cultural and political context. Historically, ethnography is one of the earliest qualitative research strategies and it was used to study groups and later in the 1920s changed as a result of the work of some faculty at the University of Chicago.

Consequently, ethnography was used to study social and urban problems within cultural groups in the USA. The choice of ethnography to study kayayo, an emerging phenomenon is most methodologically appropriate, as this phenomenon of kayayo, in some way, is a problem for both source and destination communities of these migrants.

3.2 Study Design

Broadly put, the study design is a plan and procedures for research that includes decisions made from broad assumptions to detail methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). The research design is a plan that guides the researcher in the process of doing research (collecting, analysing and interpreting data). Abonyi (2011) puts it that in the most elementary sense, the research design "is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research question and ultimately to its conclusion (p. 36)". This study, which attempts to understand *the -cultural and gender dynamics* that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo in Tamale, leans on the principles of ethnography.

Ethnography leans on the socially constructed knowledge claim of qualitative research. The use of ethnography in recent research is on the ascendancy in spite of its critique. This phenomenon has been assigned to researcher desire to go beyond finding the cause(s) of phenomena to understanding these causes (Whitehead 2004, Fife 2005, Creswell 2007, Fetterman (1989). The contribution of ethnographic findings to social sciences and health care systems and programs is phenomenal (Whitehead 2004 and Fetterman, 2010).

Ethnography goes beyond just observation to relying heavily on personal experience and possible participation, of the researcher in the lives of research participant (Genzuk 2003)**.** According to Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008), the task of ethnographers, therefore, is to document the culture, the perspectives and practices of the people in their natural settings. Aiming to 'get inside' the way each group of people sees the world. Similarly, Spartley (1980) cited in Whitehead (2004, p. 17) states that "ethnographic fieldwork is the hallmark of cultural anthropology". To further drive home that participation for that matter fieldwork is the bedrock of ethnography, Whitehead refers Agar (1980) who argues that the very name for "ethnography" is fieldwork. A primary reason for fieldwork is to achieve the emic validity that ethnography is promised on. Dijk (2010) therefore states that participation aims to enable the ethnographer to identify with these people; to build up an empathic understanding of their practices and routines, and what they care about. This allows the ethnographer to work from the perspective of participants to discover relevant pieces of their daily lives.

To get this insider understanding of the people, Hammersley (1990) outlines five-point features that characteristics of ethnographic studies. Whitehead (2004) on the other hand outlines fourteen (14) features that should characterise ethnographic studies. A close look at Whitehead's fourteen-point characteristics of ethnographic studies reveals that it contains all the features proposed by Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) and expands on them. I, therefore, conclude that ethnography relies heavily on fieldwork and seeks to understand meanings individuals bring to their experiences in their natural setting. To get

to understand this social meaning, it is only natural that I associate closely with the object of research. This close association requires that I employ several approaches to fieldwork. Some methods employed in the field to collect information are observation, in-depth interviews, long conversations, participant observations, and document among other field approaches. Brewer (2000) captures this when he explains ethnography as

"the study of people in naturally occurring settings or employing methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, to collect data systematically but without imposing meaning on them externally" (Brewer 2000, p.10).

I specifically chose and used multiple fieldwork approach. The use of multiple approaches allows more than one method to be used with associated analytical procedures (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). I used this method because of its strength of both methodologically as well as data triangulation. Consequently, this created space for me to use participant observation, personal experience, semi-structured interview, focus group discussion and participant observation as approaches to fieldwork.

Genzuk, (2003) explains how participation is used in carrying out an ethnographic study. Genzuk states that immersion of the researcher in the lives and activities of participants will be of different degrees depending on the subject and the setting. Situations and events differ and for that matter have different levels of permissible involvement by a third party. Some events and activities only allow the participation of a particular person. For instance, in carrying out this research on Kayayei in the Tamale Metropolis, I did not

become an active participant by carrying kaya because of the setting. Any such attempt by me to carry loads would have been misinterpreted to mean a mockery of the trade. This is because the research is located in my native area where I live and work. I am known to be gainfully employed as an educationist who many know. It would have looked very artificial and therefore not effective. This could have negatively affected data collection. The extent of my involvement as a participant-observer was passive. I engaged the attention of the kayayei and interacted with them. This allowed me to observe from a distance and to interact with them closely. Gradually, I succeeded in building trust with them and they accepted me and talked freely during focus group discussions, interviews and observations.

Genzuk (2003) observes that the extent to which the observer is also a participant in the program or activities being studied is fundamental. That it is not a simple choice between participation and nonparticipation. That the extent of participation is a continuum which varies from complete immersion in the program as a full participant to complete separation from the activities observed, taking on the role as a spectator; there is a great deal of variation along the continuum between these two extremes.

Coming from the background that the extent of participation is a continuum varying from complete separation to complete immersion in the phenomenon under study, participant-observer can either be an active observer or a passive one. In this research, I have been a passive participant observer. Observation, in-depth interviews, long conversations, focus group discussions participant observations and field notes together constitute fieldwork.

Therefore fieldwork and document analysis are the main tools I used in carrying out this ethnographic study. Data collected was in the form of narrative reports, descriptions and excerpts from documents culminating in narrative description. This research, therefore, falls within the ambit of ethnographic studies that use observation, long conversations, focus group discussions, participant observation and document review to develop knowledge on kayayei.

In carrying out an ethnographic study, one could choose from an array of approaches depending on the purpose of the research and the field of study. Ethnographic study can come in any of the following forms; autoethnography (self-examination within a cultural context), ethnographic case study (case study within a cultural perspective), postmodern ethnography (study of particular challenges or problems of a society), feminist ethnography (the study of women and cultural practice) and critical ethnography (a study of culturally marginalized group seeking to uncover what is normally hidden and unspoken in the culture and question the assumptions. Naidoo (2011).

The list of approaches to ethnographic research could go on and on depending on the purpose and field of research. I have used the principles of critical ethnography in my work. I chose critical ethnography because I sought to understand the experiences of kayayei and to bring their untold stories to light to create the platform for addressing their plight. I hope that this research will contribute to the socio-political debate of kayayei that will lead to policy enactment or change to truly bring about positive change in the

lives of kayayei. To properly situate the specificities of the research design, I further engaged in discourse on critical ethnography as discussed below.

3.2.1 Critical ethnography

Critical ethnography emerged in the 1980s and 1990s as a reaction to the post positivists' assumptions; quantitative research and the constructivists' assumptions; holistic ethnography (see Creswell 2003). Proponents of critical ethnography felt the positivists (quantitative research) imposition of structural laws and theories did not adequately address marginalised individuals or groups and issues of social justice. They also saw the constructivists' approach as not enough because they did not include a course of action to assist the marginalised in society (Kemmis & Wilkinson 1998, Creswell 2003). It seeks therefore to link inquiry to policy so that there is an agenda or course of action for reform that may positively impact the lives of participants (Creswell 2003).

Hence, the critical ethnographer has the ethical responsibility of addressing processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular lived domain. Madison (2012) explains "ethical responsibility," as a compelling sense of duty and commitment based on moral principles of human freedom and well being, and hence compassion for the suffering of living beings.Critical ethnography probes possibilities that challenge institutions, regimes of knowledge and social practices that limit choices, constrain meaning and denigrate identities and communities (Madison 2012). To achieve this, I did not consider only plain meaning but went below surface appearance to disrupts the status quo and unsettle both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure

operations of power and control in the lives of participants (Carspecken 1996, Reason 2004, Hardcastle, Usher & Holmes 2006, Akita 2010, Madison 2012). Critical ethnographer resists domestication and moves from "what is" to "what could be" (Carspecken 1996, Denzin 2001, Noblit, Flores & Murillo 2004, Thomas 1993). Resisting domestication is explained by Madison (2012) as using. "the resources, skills, and privileges available to the ethnographer to make accessible—to penetrate the borders and break through the confines in defence of—the voices and experiences of subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained and out of reach" (p. 5).

In this regard, the research questions the basis of male dominance and female subordination in patriarchal societies in modern time. It aims to open discussions on the merits or otherwise of male dominance and female subservience in modern times. Critical ethnography, therefore, takes the stance of activism aimed at intervening on hegemonic practices to serves as the mouthpiece that exposes the material effects of marginalized or and disadvantaged while offering alternatives.

Regarding the above discussion, it is my conviction that critical ethnographic approach is best suited for this work because the population of the research is drawn from a group that is perceived as a disadvantaged group and I seek to bring their plight to light for a possible course of action to positively impact their lives. Also, this approach is appropriate because it is radical in purpose and designed to explore and explain the impact of power, privilege and authority on those who are subject to these influences or

marginalized by them. Similarly, this design adopts an advocacy role to bring about internal and external change (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang, 2012).

3.3 Development of Instrument

I employed three key instruments to collect primary data to provide answers to the research questions raised under this study. The research instruments include interview guide for kayayei, Key Informant Interview (KII) for marriage contraction – Islamic perspectives and KII for marriage contraction – traditional/cultural perspective.

Interview guide for the head porters consisted of six sections and it is attached as appendix 1. The first section collected information on the demographic characteristics of the participant. The essence was to help us understand the issues within the socio-cultural characteristics of the participants. The issues range from family background, marital status and educational background. The second section explored the care and protection of the participant. Specifically, I sought to find out the social protection of the participant in tandem with aspirations of the participant. The third section, Life and Working of the participant, I sought to understand the nature and manner of the work of the average kayayoo. This was inclusive of, time of work, why kayayoo, the push and pull factors into the trade, and some restrictions they face in the trade. The next section of the guide looked at the nature of work and residence nature of the participant. Under this section, I also explored the issues of experiences of the participants and the challenges they face in the work. This led me into the last two sections; challenges these workers face and also how to address them (way forward).

The Key Informant (KII) interview guide is attached as appendix 2. This interview guide provided the framework on how marriage is contracted culturally and also according to the Islamic faith. This was necessitated by findings from the fieldwork on kayayei in the Tamale metropolis. As they (participants) portrayed the picture that their trip was induced by the need to raise resources to meet either cultural or religious obligation or both and this resulted in the need for me to further explore the area of marriage contraction according to Islam and the traditions of the people. This guide also contains five sections. The first section provides an introduction to the research project and also the rationale for the KIIs. The second section sought to gather information about the interviewee (participants). The body of the work is contained in section three which is how marriage is contracted in Islam or according to tradition/culture. The fourth section of the KII, explores another related area, foster care, as practised by participants in their respective culture. Finally, I explored the participant's perspective on the benefits of kayayo to the people.

3.4 Validity and Reliability of Research Instrument

Every piece of measurement equipment should be an accurate counter or indicator of what we are interested in measuring. Also, it should be easy and efficient to use. As a result, various forms of validity and reliability measures were performed on the research instruments to enhance their quality, dependability and usability before they were used for gathering data. Largely these tests included: validity, reliability and practicability.

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How validity, reliability and practicability were employed in this study is elaborated in the subsequent sub-sections.

3.4.1 Validity

Validity refers to the extent to which a test measures what we wish to measure (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). In this respect, we talk about content and construct validity. Content validity, according to Kumar (1999), is designing research instruments including items or questions to cover the full range of research questions being measured as well as having a balanced coverage of issues under study. Thus, content validity concerns itself with what the instrument contains and seeks to address its relevance to the subject under study. Each aspect of the issue under study had its sub-themes adequately covered by questions or items. This was addressed with the support of three people who had expert knowledge on issues of kayayo and or migration. These experts helped address content validity issue. They included my supervisors, a female expert on migration. The experts were tasked to carefully study the items in the instrument for recommendation to be included in the final instrument. These individuals were specifically required to study the research instrument as against the areas of the research to increase its content validity.

Similar to content validity, construct validity was also addressed using the expert's knowledge. According to Kumar (1999), construct validity aims at "ascertaining the contribution of each construct to the total variance observed in the phenomenon" (p.139). Therefore, the experts ensured that the research instrument had full coverage of the

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objectives and research question to ascertain its contributions to the variance of the issue under study.

3.4.2 Research reliability

Reliability refers to whether your data collection techniques and analytic procedures will produce consistent findings if they were replicated by a different researcher (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang, 2012). Guba and Lincoln (1989) cited in Saunders et. al., 2012, formulated terms like dependability (reliability), credibility (internal validity) and transferability (external validity) to assess the reliability of research data under the qualitative research design. Under this project, the focus of reliability issues placed on the research process. In order words, I ensured that literature had been adequately reviewed and the themes for research are adequately identified so during the data collection I stuck to these themes. Also, I leveraged on my over twenty years of experience as a teacher and examiner. Some critical skills include thinking on one's feet while on the field, probing on emerging related issues, appropriate flow of questions such that it does not influence responses and further ensuring participants were comfortable in the environments where these interviews were carried out. As noted earlier, the emphasis on trustworthiness and diligence of the process gave rise to good data without gaps. Data collected told full stories that are not replicable as no socio-cultural environment is the same. Besides, the target of the research is not to generalize to a population but theory. I also worked in the community for a longer period to ensure the dependability of the data gained. Similarly, to ensure the data dependability and trustworthiness similar data was collected from different sources and also key informants were consulted for additional information. Data

collected from the different sources were triangulated to further make it valid and reliable.

3.4.3 Practicability

Practicality is concerned with a wide range of factors of economy, convenience and interpretability. As a result, the study area was delineated into three groups to make it convenient for participants in the Aboabo market, old market and the Bus Stop area. Also to enhance the practicability of the work, participants were categorized into sitters and roamers on one hand and women (married and single) and young girls (schoolgirls and dropouts) on the other.

3.5 Access to the field and ethical Considerations

Access to the field and the participants was made relatively easy for me for several reasons. First, I already employ the services of the participants. Second, I am quite familiar with the environment in which the participants operate. Also, head porters do not work under any formalized structure, except that some of them operate in groups and usually stationed in front of stores (shops) and so had some blessings from these store owners. Finally, I had a letter of introduction (appendix 3). Consequent on the earlier observations and local knowledge of the language, I had access to the field as explained below.

3.5.1 Access to the field

Having settled on the study population and the instruments to be used, I worked to address the issues of access to the field. I considered two key aspects of access to the field. They are physical and cognitive access. Although I had a letter introducing me as well stating the rationale of the work, it was only used in establishing rapport with storeowners and some few cases of persons in the market. The second part and most critical aspect of access is cognitive access. Cognitive access allowed me access to the precise data that I needed from participants to be able to address my research questions (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang, 2012). I successfully gained cognitive access to head porters to engage in conversations by explaining the rationale of the project. This was achieved by employing some key ethical considerations as explained below.

3.5.2 Ethnographic entry

I assumed that being a native of the area and speaking the same language as the research participants, entry was going to be easy. I must confess that entry did not come that easy until I learnt a few lessons. I faced a few challenges that made me reconsider my approach to entering the study site. The very first challenge was with two young kayayei who I met in front of my aunt's store while they were taking a compulsory rest because the market was not good.

As usual, I had gone round the market to observe kayayei at work and had come to my aunt's store to write down notes on what had been observed. I interacted casually with the girls on the first day. Subsequently, they got very interactive but later started to withdraw as I tried to get to know them better. They practically avoided me until one day they

confessed their parents had warned them against getting too close to strangers. According to them, though I was friendly and did not appear to pose any threat, they only saw me in the market and did not know where I live. That was reason enough for them to be cautious. The reason for this caution by their parents was that two children had gone missing in their neighbourhood not long after I met them.

This incident made me realise that entry could be affected by remote factors for that reason, the fieldworker should not take the events of the environment of the research participant for granted, no matter how minute or remote it may be. With this realisation, I slowed down on my attempts to get close to these girls although, I continued going to where they plied their trade. I casually greeted them any time I encountered them. As they saw me interacting with other kayayei, they sometimes joined in our conversation. With time, they got to know that, the store in front of which they sat to rest was my aunt's. this knowledge helped to remove the fear they had because they didn't know where I lived. Once they knew my aunt, I was no stranger to them. So you see, what happens around research participants could positively or negatively affect entry and fieldwork in its generality.

Another challenge I encountered was in one of the supermarkets. The owner took me for a human rights activist who had come to accuse her of making the girls carry loads for her clients. She did not take kindly to my presence in her shop to talk to the kayayei. She among other questions asked me "will the government feed them if they stop carrying kaya? This question to me spoke volumes. Interventions by the government have mostly been to get kayayei out of the markets and the streets and ultimately to get them out of

the trade. This question brought to my mind many questions among which are, what can the government do to enable kayayei to have a better livelihood? What is or are the real motivation of benefactors' of kayayei when they say or make attempts to help them? To get answers to the questions, I will keep this question "will the government feed them if they stop carrying kaya?" in mind when interacting with kayayei who have been beneficiaries of government intervention.

Now, back to the confrontation by the shop owner, it took the intervention of her daughter who happened to be my former student in the teacher training college. She heard her mother speaking in a high tone and wanted to know what was wrong. When she came out, she saw that I was the one being addressed by her mother. She greeted me and asked her mother what was the matter. After listening to her mother, she explained to her that I was her former teacher who was now in school and collecting data for my research. Her mother apologised and explained her encounter with a man who thought the kayayei should be in school and not the market. She told me I was welcome to her shop to interact with the kayayei at any time. I thanked her and told her I will be talking to her too sometimes if she would permit me. From that time on, I did not have any time I visited Forsmuel Shopping Centre.

Once again, I was accommodated because of my relationship with the shop owner's daughter. From that time, I knew that in ethnographic studies, especially for researchers doing ethnography at home, all things, events and people in the study area affect the fieldwork and its outcome. The ethnographic fieldworker should, therefore, take

advantage of the network of relationships while taking note of those that will adversely affect outcomes.

3.5.3 Ethical considerations

It is a prime responsibility of researchers to ensure that the ethical rights of research participants are not breached. In this respect, in order not to harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom I come in contact within the conduct of my research, I positioned my ethical framework on the American Anthropological Association' (2009) code of ethics. The AAA postulates that researchers have the primary obligation

"1. To avoid harm or wrong, understanding that the development of knowledge can lead to change which may be positive or negative for the people or animals worked with or studied

2. To respect the well-being of humans and non-human primates

3. To work for the long-term conservation of the archaeological, fossil, and historical records

4. To consult actively with the affected individuals or group(s), to establish a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved" (American Anthropological Association, 2009, p. 2)

To achieve the above, I determined beforehand whether the host wishes to be anonymous or receive recognition. I obtained consent from my host and did not exploit my host. I also adhered to an obligation of openness and informed consent.

My very first ethical approval came from my school; University for Development Studies, Ghana. Going to the research site, I also got verbal approval from kayayei and shop owners, in front of whose shops the kayayei sat. Shop owners were met to create their awareness of the research work and to seek their consent to talk to them on the subject and to be allowed to hang around their shops to talk to kayayei who operated there.

Participants were met at different places and times, in different groups and as individuals. This was because apart from those who identified with particular shops, the rest worked as individuals and only sat together to rest or when there was no work. Because of the individualistic nature of their work, they had no formalized leadership. That notwithstanding, I got the consent of participants in their various groups and as individuals to use the information that will emanate from my interaction with them in my research. This was only possible after I had explained the purpose of my study and what was required of them as participants. They gave their verbal consent because participants were largely non-literates. To recognize cultural diversity, verbal consent is a valid way of getting approval from a participant in anthropological research. Participants may not understand written consent if they are unlettered. Also, the different levels of literacy, as well as the political environment, may influence participants to be hostile to written consent (Fife 2005). Verbal consent, therefore, is as valid as a written one especially that it creates room to include participants from all manners of background. Moreover, the American Anthropological Association (2009) states that "informed consent, does not

necessarily imply or require a particular written or signed form. What is important is the quality of the consent, not the relevant format" (p. 3).

Anytime I had the opportunity to interact with participants whether in their groups or as individuals, I sought their consent this way, participants were allowed to review their consent or withdraw from participating. This increased the quality of participant consent (Fetterman, 2010).

To ensure the confidentiality of participant identity, pseudo names were assigned to all research participants although some of them permitted for their names to be used. Also, participants gave their permission for me to use photographs and recordings from our interactions (Fetterman, 2010). Making research findings available to participants is one of the responsibilities of the researcher (Fife 2005). In this respect, I was unable to make my transcripts available to individual kayayei for their inputs because they were largely non-literate and could not read or write in the English language. I, however, got some shop owners who were professional teachers to read and make input to the content of the transcripts. Another critical ethical issue that was observed during the interview was securing a conducive environment (Interview Site) that allowed interviews to be carried out without disturbance and interruption from other persons in the market arena.

3.6 Study Setting

Tamale Metropolis, the capital of the Northern Region is the study setting. It is home to people with different cultural and language backgrounds. Its location has made it a

destination of choice for people from other parts of Northern Ghana who do not want to travel far to the southern cities of Accra and Kumasi in search of greener pasture.

The city lies on the crossing of three ancient trade routes; the North-South from Navrongo through Bolgatanga to Tamale, the North-West from Daboya through Tamale to Yendi and the third that links Gushegu to the Gonja kingdom; Damango. Its location facilitated its growth into a commercial centre for Northern Ghana from the colonial period to present, (Tamale History, n.d). Also, the strategic location of the Metropolis within the region enables it to host migrants from within the West African sub-region such as Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and the northern part of Togo en-route through the area to the southern part of Ghana. Therefore Tamale's location has made it a cosmopolitan area, which houses not only the indigenous people but also settlers from the Upper East and Upper West Regions and migrants from neighbouring Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Northern Togo, (GSS (2014).

The Upper East, Upper West and Northern Regions together form the north of the country. Though these regions are separated with geographical boundaries, the people of the north have a lot more in common. They are reported to have a common ancestry (Abdul-Hamid, 2010). According to Awedoba (2015), Dagomba, Mamprusi and Gonja are the dominant groups in the north and "they claim descent from warrior immigrant groups that invaded the area and imposed their rule over the indigenous peoples. They intermarried with these people whose daughters they took as wives and whose languages and social norms they eventually adopted". For this reason, the Damba festival that is the

major festival in the area is celebrated by these ethnic groups including the Nanumbas, Gonja, Mampurusi, Dagomba, Kokomba, Baasare, Nawuri Chekosi, Bimoba, and others. For this historical fact, people of northern Ghana have a lot in common in terms of culture and language.

3.6.1 Interview Site

To have discussions with minimal interruptions and distractions, sometimes individual participants were invited to a quiet place to have the interview over a drink. I visited some of them at home sometimes and we found a place under a tree to talk. In the case of focus group discussions for the bus stop group, we had to use the State Transport Yard (STC) some times. The STC yard provided enough room for our discussion with very minimal noise. The place was usually noisy when they were loading a bus for a journey. Knowing this, we only used the place when there was no bus being loaded in the yard. For participants in the Aboabo area of the Central Business District, we used a mosque behind one of the stores that the kayayei sat. The quiet atmosphere of the mosque was conducive for discussions. Participants particularly preferred the place because; they did not have to travel long distances to their workplace after our interactions. Informal interviews (long conversations) took place at places participants sat to rest or when there was no work. These venues attracted many kayayei since they were common places for any kayayoo who wanted to rest.

3.7 Ethnographic location (Population)

The population for this study included all Kayayei in the CBD of Tamale Metropolis, shop owners and those who patronise the services of kayayei (shoppers), the environment in which kayayei work, including the physical structures and the way they are planned. The reason for the inclusion of physical structures and plan and the general environment within which kayayei work, is because the setting is a major meaning marker in qualitative studies. This accounts for the small samples of qualitative studies. For this reason, I have not only relied on what kayayei do or say to make meaning but have also relied on the physical setting and environment in which kayayo strive, as well as opinions and perceptions of shop owners and patrons of kayayei.

The specific place where participants were drawn was the Central Business District (CBD) of Tamale Metropolis. This area houses the two major markets in the town; the Central and Aboabo markets as well as big shops like Forsmuel Shopping Center, Quality First Shopping Center, Modern City Shop, Melcom Shopping Center, Nasam Ventures, Zuuks Supper Market among others. Financial Institutions such as Bank of Ghana, Barclays Bank, Stanbic Bank, HFC, Eco Bank, Ghana Commercial Bank Man Capital, Agricultural Development Bank and others are also found here. The State Transport Corporation Bus Terminal, the Tamale Central Bus Stop (the main trotro Station), Metro Mass Bus Station, OA Bus Terminal, Kingdom Bus Station and VIP Bus Stations are also housed here. Government organisations such as the VRA/NEDCo Area Office and Ghana Telecom Office are also in this vicinity. Picona Hotel, one of the big hotels in town is also located here.

With all these organisations, shops, markets, transport service providers and banks, it is obvious where the area got its name. It is also obvious why I chose the area. The CBD is a hub for all kinds of businesses and services and if kayayei will do business in any area in Tamale, it would have to be here. The area covers a total land size of 844.287.172 (9.087, 87, 831. 48ft2) and a distance of 3.69km (2.29ml); calculated using Google Map. Having clearly defined area and population for the study, I proceed to define the procedures for the identification and selection of samples for the study.

3.7.1 Sampling

There are two main ways of sampling. These are probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is most useful when the sampling frame is available and so each participant has an equal chance of being selected. However, in this study, there is no sampling list and so this lends the study to non-probability sampling method. Non-probability sampling is most appropriate because of the emergent nature of the study.

Under non-probability sampling, there are some techniques including; convenience, snowball and purposive (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). According to the authors, purposive sampling has two key types; judgment and quota sampling. The former, (judgment sampling) is used to select or sample members to conform to some criterion. While the latter, (quota sampling) is largely used to ensure representativeness. After I carefully observed participants in their natural field of work, participants were initially selected using purposive quota sampling to ensure that all categories of kayayei observed (young

girls and women) were represented. From these groups, purposive judgmental sampling was used to select information-rich participants to achieve the objectives of the research questions. The source of knowledge of those selected was their own lived experience and varied and multiple social realities. In light of this, they were experientially seen as experts in the subject under investigation (Patton 2002),

To further ensure diversity of the issue of kayayo under discussion, I employed again, purposive quota sampling to achieve representation from the different actors of the study. There were two major groups, Roamers and Sitters. Also, both groups could be made of adults (married, single and devoiced) and adolescents (school girls, dropouts and unschooled). As a result, I, in considering the overall objective and nature of the research questions to be investigated in this work and aiming to ensure a representative sample, selected respondents strategically from different units/strata within the study area (Fife 2005). I drew respondents from the supermarkets, the lorry station, the central market and Aboabo market. From these places, respondents included those attached to stores in the market and those who were in the open market. Using multiple variation sample technique, participants selected also included girls in school who do kayayo as a part-time job, girls who have never been in school, married as well as single women. Choosing participants from across all section of the population ensured that all categories of kayayei were represented. This, therefore, made it possible to understand how kayayo affects all parties and how these different groups coexist in the pursuit of their job.

Furthermore, according to Goddard (1997), qualitative research is open to a variety of sampling techniques but as indicated earlier, I employed a purposive sampling technique in selecting key informants during the data collection process. Part of the rationale in using a purposive sample was to select "information-rich" and illuminative participants who offered useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest (Patton 2002). According to Paton, the power and logic of purposive sampling are derived from the emphasis on in-depth understanding that is why the selection of information-rich cases is important. On his part, Bryman (2008 and 2009) indicates that the goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants strategically so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed. In other words, the researcher samples based on wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions.

Besides, purposive sampling was used to address the different shades of issues on gender and social inclusion. For instance issues peculiar to the roles of married women and unmarried women, girls as well as divorced women. Similarly, I wanted to understand whether there were differences associated with source communities of migrant kayayei. Finally, I sought to discover differences in socio-cultural and political factors attributed to formally and informally educated female kayayei.

The grounded theory concept of theoretical saturation has been suggested as a marker of sufficient sample size (Guest et al., 2006). I employed it for purposes of data saturation. Saturation is the point at which the researcher does not see new information in the data related to the codes, themes, or theory (ibid.). Saturation as a marker of sufficient sample

has however been criticised. O'reilly & Parker (2012), Guetterman (2015) questions the relevance of theoretical or thematic saturation beyond grounded theory methodology and argued for more transparency in how researchers achieved saturation.

In determining sample size, research questions and the purpose of the study were considered. Since the work sought to understand a phenomenon of Kayayo, it required an in-depth understanding of the issues and for that matter a small sample size (Guetterman, 2015) to make room for detailed discussion and long observation of study environment. For purposes of avoiding the abuse of point of saturation, Morse (1994) however, makes suggestions for various qualitative approaches: to understand the essence of an experience (phenomenology) it requires six participants; while ethnography requires 30 – 50 participants/informants; and a similar number for grounded theory methodology. But Creswell (2013) argues for the collection of extensive details about a few sites or individuals. However, Baker & Edwards (2012) in contributing to the discussion of qualitative research sample size posit that a variety of factors can influence the amount of data qualitative researchers gather. According to the authors, the sample size in qualitative research is not measured only by numbers of interviews, but also by the presence of participant-observation, where applicable. It is therefore justified to use a small sample size to achieve depth.

Guetterman (2015), argues that, superfluous sampling brings several concerns. First, as data tend to become repetitive, the qualitative analysis will lose depth. Second, the study

will consume more resources than needed. Finally, I question the ethical implications of burdening more research participants than we need as researchers (p. 15)

Hence in carrying out this work, I lean to Baker & Edwards. (2012) who states that a variety of factors influence the amount of data qualitative researchers gather and that sample size in qualitative research is not measured only by numbers of interviews/participants, but also by the presence of participant-observation. It is therefore justified to use a small sample size to achieve depth. This research does not put any emphasis on sample size as it is not a requirement in ethnographic studies as a result of the use of fieldwork.

This study, therefore, employed a combination of purposive sampling strategies: quota, judgemental/critical case, maximum variation or heterogeneous sampling and stratified sampling. From the selected group, participants were purposively selected using critical case sample purposely to include participants who have the knowledge, which is critical to the subject of discussion, especially key informant. Such participants are referred to as 'information-rich' participants (Patton 2002). Maximum variation sampling on the other hand deliberately and strategically selected participants with characteristics that vary widely from one another. The aim was to identify central themes, which cut across cases/informants (Phrasisombath 2009). Deliberate efforts were therefore made to select participants who were information-rich at the same time varied in their characteristics. This informed my selecting participant from the strata of single and married women as well as schoolgirls and school dropouts.

The sample for this work is drawn from the Central Business District of Tamale Metropolis. It consists of both adult and young female kayayei in the metropolis. This also includes shop owners, patrons of the services of kayayei and the architectural structure of our markets.

The ethnographic research methodology is used to carry out the research. I consider this approach appropriate because the research aims to unveil the lived experiences of participants and how ***culture, the concept of gender, and gender role*** interplay to influence females in the study area to engage in kayayo. To achieve this, I am guided by Genzuk (2003) who says that, ethnography relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers. I, therefore, immersed myself in the lives of participants in their natural setting (the market) to uncover what they go through.

For this reason, I used information-gathering tools such as observation and participant observation (passive), interviews (in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and key informant interviews), field notes and documentary review.

3.8 Field Work

There are two key principal sources of data for any research work. They are secondary and primary data sources. How primary and secondary data sources were used in this study are presented below.

3.8.1 Primary sources

Data collection in qualitative research may come from six sources: documents, archival records, in-depth interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin 2003, Abonyi 2011). The authors assert that a major strength of ethnographic study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources. However, in this study, I specifically used observation and interview as the methods for data collection. In respect to observation, I used observation and participant observation while with the interview I used focus group discussions and key informant interviews to carry out the research. The two data collection methods were used in a step-wise approach and some cases as the iterative process. The observation was used as a base to create information to identify participants for the interview in both the group and key informant interviews as explained below. When in the case of the iterative process, data generated from observations served as a basis for further probing and clarification during interviews.

3.8.1.1 Observation/ Participant Observation

According to Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Wang (2012) there are four types of participant observation (complete participant; complete observer; observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer) distinguished by two separate dimensions. In one dimension researcher's identity is revealed (overt observation) while in the other the researcher identity is concealed (covert observation). I adopted the overt observation because this first data collection method was used to create space for the purposive selection of participants/informants in the second stage of data collection method (interview method).

Specifically, I used the participant as observer method because, in participant-as-observer, it allows the researcher to both take part in the activities of participants and also reveal his or her purpose as a researcher.

I used this method at two levels. I observed kayayei from afar to discover strategies used in plying the trade. Similarly, I also used participant observation to observe them closely. I assumed a passive participant position to achieve maximum results from my data collection. I used the services of kayayei and became a passive participant. On the other hand, if I was not using the services of kayayei, I simply observed from afar. The dual role of researcher and client allowed role changing from an observer to participant observer. So as an 'engaged' researcher I became participant observer on one hand who tried to experience the taken-for-granted world of the social actor and on one hand seek to be the continuously questioning researcher exposing its hidden assumptions (Lawrence 1998, Jacob 1998, Geertz 2003). This means both methods of data collection (observation and participant observation) were used simultaneously throughout data collection.

Figure 3. 1 : Observation on a sunny day

Source: Field Pictures

Figure 3. 2 : Observation on rainy day

Source: Field Pictures

3.8.1.2 Interviews

The interview was used as a tool to collect data. Both formal (pre-arranged semi-structured) and informal (ad hoc interviews; conversations and discussions) were used to

collect information. Semi-structured (formal) and informal interviews were used but most of the data was generated through the informal interviews. Therefore data collection moved from semi-structured to conversational to reveal concerns and cultural issues as seen by participants. Fetterman (1989) states that; 'An informal interview is different from a conversation, but it typically merges with one, forming a mixture of conversation and embedded questions. The questions typically emerge from the conversation.

The pre-arranged semi-structured interviews took between thirty minutes (30min) to forty minutes (40min). This was because participants easily lost interest if kept for long periods. They were conscious of the money they stood to lose because they were talking to me. So we agreed on the time and duration before such interactions took place. These interviews were recorded and transcribed later. The informal conversations were recorded with the permission of participants any time it was possible. When not possible I took note of verbal interactions as soon as possible after the event.

It was only when information gathered started recurring that I stopped the interviews. This was an indication that there were no new ideas to emerge from participants. In qualitative data collection, this point is referred to as saturation point (refer to Collector & Module 2005, Brikci & Green 2007, Leech & Onwuegbuzie 2007, Elo & Kyngas 2008, Asher et al 2012).

3.8.1.2.1 Focus Group Discussion

Focus groups were formed to allow participants to discuss selected issues, agree or disagree with each other. This way, insight was gotten into how the group thinks about the issue raised and about the range of opinion and ideas. This also brought to the fore inconsistencies and variation that existed in the study community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices. These discussions were carefully planned and carried out. The objective(s) of every discussion was identified, key questions developed and how to record session planned. There were three focus groups membership of each ranging between six and eight. The rationale for the use of small groups was to ensure each participant's voice was projected and heard in the conversations. Also, the use of small groups ensures that I probed deep enough to bring out socio-cultural and gender issues influencing the choice of head portage as a trade. One group was in the old market, another in the Aboabo market and the third in front of a supermarket.

Figure 3. 3: Field pictures: Long discussions

Source: Field Pictures

3.8.1.2.2 Key Informant Interview

Another form of interview used was the key informant interview. It was used to get rich information about culture/traditions; including cultural practices, beliefs, religion and the concept of gender. During the interviews participants who demonstrated a good understanding of the issues under study were purposively selected to take part in the key informant interviews. In all nine persons were selected for the key informant interview. They included; a married elderly woman, a single young girl, a shop owner, a schoolgirl, a school drop-out, an uneducated girl of school-going age, an elder in the community and two Islamic scholars. These people were selected to bring different perspectives to the issues under study.

3.8.2 Secondary sources

Fied data was complemented with secondary sources. I sourced relevant content from published and unpublished sources including electronic and audio-visual materials. The dominant published works include but not limited to: Abdul-Hamid, (2010); Ackah, & Medvedev, (2012); Addati, & Cassirer, (2008). Adjubi, & Appiah-Yeboah, (2009).; Ahlvin, (2012). Akita, (2010). These and other sources indicated in the list of references provided the framework that influenced the specific areas the research questions focused on.

3.9 Field Data Management and Analysis

Three key issues were observed to ensure data comprehensiveness and integrity emanating from the different sources. The three stages involved are notes taking, transcription of data and finally an analysis of data. I will start with field notes.

3.9.1 Field Notes

A major component of fieldwork is the use of field notes to collect data. I took extensive notes from my observation of kayayei going about their trade in the market. Also, my notes included extensive reflexive field notes (see Whitehead 2005, Borg et al 2012, Schutt & Chambliss 2013, Davis & Breede 2015) including my interpretations of occurrences about the trade and some direct quotations of participants. On the field, I had a place where I always retired to write down all the notes I made from the observations before I left the field. This ensured that things were written down when they were still fresh in mind. It made it possible; to avoid the situation where important observations were forgotten and never written down. Hence all important issues observed reflected in the final reports and analysis. Subsequently, these notes were transcribed for further reading and analysis.

3.9.2 Making Meaning of Narratives

I reflected on narrative from data such as transcripts of interview, notes from the field, political documents, pictures, and videos to extract concepts and meanings. These concepts and meaning included pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns or

themes. I chose to reflect on data to analyse data collected from the field because the content analysis is a key method in ethnographic data analysis.

Though this method is heavily criticised by those from the quantitative field to be a simple technique that does not lend itself to detailed statistical analysis (Morgan, 1993), I dare say that it is most appropriate here because the information collected for this work are narratives and not figures. My choice of content analysis is further justified because; it is content-sensitive and so much more than a simple technique that results in a simplistic data. Rather, it is a technique that is used to develop an understanding of the meanings of communication that identifies critical processes (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). It is concerned with meanings, intentions, consequence and context (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992) which is the focus of this work.

In my analysis, I took into consideration not only manifest content but also latent ones (non-verbal communication such as facial expressions, sighs, silence and posture) see Catanzaro 1988, Robson 1993, Morse 1994, Burns & Grove 2005 for how non-verbal communication impacts the meaning of qualitative data. Considering latent meaning enabled me to go beyond what was obtained in the semantic method. It was where I began to detect and test beliefs, presumptions and conceptualisation for forming semantic (verbal) content of the data with a level of my interpretation. Javadi & Zarea, (2016) puts it that semantic approach seeks literal meaning while the latent or analytical approach requires going from the description in which the data are organised to reveal patterns in semantic content.

In analyzing my data, I recurrently went through the process to extract codes, which I transformed into themes. To validate the codes and entire data set, I frequently referred to the extracted codes and the entire data set. To achieve content depth, I immersed myself in the data by actively and repeatedly reading data collected so that I become familiar with all aspects of my data. I read the data severally to immerse myself and made sense of it and to understand what is going on (Morse & Field 1995). My close examination of data enabled me to identify themes. My analysis of data is therefore drawn from Morse & Field's content/thematic analysis.

3.10 Field Data Collection Problems

This section I built trust with participants to get access to information. It also brings to the fore issues of language problems as well as how I positioned myself strategically to collect data that is reliable as well as valid.

3.10.1 Access

Initially, participants were reluctant to open up. Some of them were apprehensive but later relaxed and opened up. I think this was because the time of the research coincided with a period when girl child education was highly advocated. Participants were therefore afraid they were going to be stopped from plying their trade. I also had an experience with two Kayayei in the central market. They said they were scared of my friendly approach towards them. According to them, a girl was reported abducted by a woman in their neighbourhood. For this reason, they had been warned by their parents not to get too

close to strangers. I saw from the way they talked that they were really afraid. Only God knows what their parents might have told them. The fact that I am a native was an advantage and it helped to build trust with participants in good time.

3.10.2 Language Problem

'Dagbanli', which is the local dialect spoken in the study area was used to collect data. This was because except for a few participants who were in school, the rest were either not educated or had dropped out of school, therefore, could not speak English. I encountered some difficulties during transcription. Interpreting concepts whose meaning had no conceptual counterparts in English was a challenge. This problem was however ameliorated because I am myself a native speaker of Dagbanli and knew whom to contact for relevant explanations.

3.10.3 Positionality

To begin, I must say I am a professional teacher who has taught people from different social backgrounds at different levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary). I have also lived and taught in some rural communities. This has allowed me to understand the lives of the weak and vulnerable in society. In most cases, it has been women and children, especially girls. My experience with especially female students has made me develop an interest in the socially marginalised; women and children. To a large extent, this interest has influenced my choice of topic and approach. This notwithstanding, it is important that as an ethnographer, I take a stance on the investigation before plunging into the work. It is vital because the researcher may have certain powers, privileges, and

biases that may be brought to bear on the work if not acknowledged from the outset of work (Madison 2012). Positionality is sometimes understood as "reflexive ethnography" because according to Madison (2012), it is a "turning back" on our self-awareness and consciousness throughout the work from a selection of the topic to reporting of results. Turning back makes the researcher accountable for the choices he or she makes as well as the positions of authority, and moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation.

Being a female coming from the same cultural background as the research participants, I am aware of the possibility of going native and viewing things from my privileged subjectivity. I also acknowledge the uneven opportunities, power, and biases between participants and myself and among participant. This awareness has influenced me to be reflexive with issues that emanate from the research, especially those relating to women. Madison warns that ethnographic positionality is not the same as subjectivity. Subjectivity is argued to be certainly within the domain of positionality, but positionality requires that we direct our attention beyond our individual or subjective selves. Instead, we attend to how our subjectivity concerning the participant informs and is informed by our engagement and representation of the participant. I have therefore in my consideration of issues gone beyond my subjective self to direct my attention to how my subjective self concerning participant informs and is informed by my interaction with participants and how they are represented. This enabled me to reduce if not take away any influence I may have on the procedure, outcomes and conclusions of the work. This also influenced my choice of passive participant observation over total immersion.

Also, the context of events was very much considered in contributing to understanding the research subjects' life. Context is vital to ethnography and Fife (2005) captures this aptly when he says, "ethnography is more interested in gaining an understanding of how human lives make sense within the context in which they live … (p. 1)". Equipped with this knowledge, my background did not make me compromise my reflexive stance in the execution of this research work. Rather, it enabled me to better and easily understand some cultural issues which otherwise would have been difficult to a total stranger. I suspended all personal valuation of issues and adapted a nonjudgmental stance (see Fetterman 2010). As much as possible my cultural bias did not influence my understanding of data gathered.

In sum, I am taking a stance that has made me ethically responsible for my subjectivity and political perspective, resisting the trap of gratuitous self-centeredness or of presenting an interpretation as though it has no "self," as though it is not accountable for its consequences and effects (Madison 2012).

CHAPTER FOUR: NARRATIVES FROM THE FIELD

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter data from the field are presented in connection with the achieving the central objective of the study; to understand *the -cultural and gender dynamics* that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo in Tamale. The chapter starts with presentations of the practice of kayayo in Tamale through its nuances and finally the presentations of case studies on the trade.

4.2 Kayayo in Tamale

Kayayo in the Tamale Metropolis is a relatively new phenomenon. The trade was exclusive to the southern cities where females migrated from the three northern regions to ply the trade. As if the southern markets have reached a saturation point of supply of kayayei labour, some of the southward migration appears to terminate in Tamale.

The population of kayayei in the city's (Tamale) market has skyrocketed in recent times. Many kayayei no longer travel to the southern cities to engage in the trade. The termination of the kayayei migratory trajectory in Tamale might as well be as a result of increasing bad press that the business has attracted in the south and attempts by some northern elite to stem the tide. But when urged to talk on Tamale as a destination, one of them put it, "why travel to Accra where you have no accommodation and no family, when you can do the same here, sleeping in the comfort of your own home?"This brings out the problem of accommodation faced by kayayei in the southern cities of the country. Apart from living in makeshift structures in poorly drained areas, some of them sleep in

the open and are therefore exposed to several dangers including rape, theft and weather-related dangers such as rains and storms. They are also exposed to malaria-causing mosquitoes (Serbeh, et al, 2016). Because they make very little and have to pay for almost everything, they are unable to afford decent food and therefore, most of them are malnourished. City officials also harass them and their hirelings who extort money from the little they make even at the expense of feeding

The hustles and bustles in Tamale are not as challenging as those in Accra and Kumasi. It is therefore expected that the trials and tribulations of kayayei in Tamale are minimal as compared to those in the southern cities. Prominent among them is that they do not have accommodation challenges. Apart from those from Tamale itself, many kayayei in Tamale come from the surrounding communities who can travel to Tamale and back to their home daily. They don't have to pay to sleep on somebody's veranda or in makeshift structure. Because they are 'home', they sleep in the comfort of their family houses among family members. They enjoy family security and are not exposed to rape and its attendant unplanned pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases/infections. They save their earnings with adult members of the family. This means that they don't stand the risk of having 'susu' collector running away with their savings. The risk of unscrupulous people stealing their money seems minimised. At the close of work, they go home to dine with family and do not have to buy unhygienic food by the roadside. Kayayei in Tamale do not pay tax so assembly officials do therefore not harass them. With the absence of these challenges, the respondents say that the conditions under which kayayei in the

Tamale Metropolis work are better than what their counterparts in the southern cities experience.

The presence of kayayei in Tamale has however introduced a new croup of kayayei; young schoolgirls, into the trade. It is common to find young schoolgirls in the market serving as kayayei, which is not the situation in the southern markets. In the southern markets, young kayayei are either school dropouts or they are girls who have not been in school at all (Opare, 2003). The young schoolgirls who are a new croup of kayayei are usually found in the markets in the afternoon. They go to school in the morning and go to the market in the afternoon after school to carry kaya. To this group of kayayei, the trade is an after school job that enables them to meet their financial needs such as school fees, uniform, books and even pocket money.

Kayayo as an after school part-time job, however, poses the question of how the trade affects the girls' studies. Do they have time to do private studies at home or even do their homework? Jamila explains that she hardly has time to do any private studies but only manages to do her homework in the night after she has closed from the market. There are times that she is unable to do her homework before going to school. When this happens, the only option left for her is to copy from friends first thing when she gets to school the next day. This according to her affects her performance. If this persists, where will that leave her when it is time for examination where they are required to do independent work? Will she continue to be in school with poor performance? Or will she drop out? These are questions begging for answers and only time can tell.

She complains of chest and neck pains as a result of carrying heavy loads. "When they give us homework and I come in the night I will sit and do it. … Yes, Hajia, my chest and my neck." This according to her makes her feel tired and makes her sleep in class most of the time. Jamila's wish is to be able to educate herself up to the tertiary level. A young lady, eking a living in the CBD in Tamale as a head porter puts herself in a vulnerable position. This vulnerability is the attraction of unscrupulous men who want to take advantage of and exploit them sexually. Thus, Jamila gives a detailed account of the modus operandi of these men as part of the hazards a successful kayayoo must learn to overcome. She explained that these men who prey on their vulnerability start relating to them as helpers who would offer them a few free lunches to gain their confidence. Subsequently, they entice their victims with gifts and when they overwhelm the capacity of the young girls to turn them down, they abuse them sexually leading to teenage pregnancy and STDs. In her own words,

"they will be sending you and after some time will be asking you about how much you make a day. They will sometimes buy you food. You will think they are sympathizing with you. Before you realize, they are asking to sleep with you. When you refuse, they will promise to buy your books and pay your fees. But I know they lie. That is how a man told my friend and now she is pregnant and sitting in the house. She doesnot go to school again, the man is not looking after her so she is living with her grandmother and she can't carry kaya again".

With these challenges faced by school going kayayei, is it possible for them to be in school up to a level that will enable them a decent job in a field of their choice? The kaya business appears to offer hope and opportunity to the teenager from a poor background to bootstrap her way into economic and sustainable livelihood through work and schooling. But the risk level of having to survive the predatory instincts of unscrupulous men may be too much a bargain for some young girls.

Indeed, for the short term, one would say that kayayo has proven to be very beneficial to schoolgirls who also serve as head porters in the markets. For its long-term benefits, many participants do not think it is worth the stress. This accounts for the reason why many of them say if they got a better livelihood opportunity, they would cease to ply the trade. They are wide-awake to the fact that they can be kayayei as far as their strength will carry them. Mma Fuseina in the old marked confessed that she would not want her child to become a kayayoo although the trade has been very beneficial to her and her family. Her worry is the lack of security and the generally hazardous nature of the trade. "today, I am benefiting from kayayo because I have the strength to carry loads. If I become weak I will have no work to do again".

Like many other adult kayayei, Mma Fuseina would want her children to get a formal education and get employed in the formal sector. The desire of mothers for their children to be formally educated is a major push factor that has propelled many mothers to be in the market as kayayei. She is happy she can pay her children's school fees and take care of their need. That is why she confesses that for her, kayayo is good but not good for her

child. "For the young girl who is full of energy and potential, kayayoo is bad. As for me, I have aged and have very few needs as an individual. As for my girl (child), she is still young and strong there is a lot she can do to ensure a better future for herself than I have had".

Young kayayei though are content that they can take care of their needs, they are afraid of the future of their education. Their fear is justified by the case of some of their colleagues who dropped out of school because they got pregnant in the course of doubling as schoolgirls and kayayei. Kayayo has proven to influence the education of young girls in the Tamale metropolis in a not so pleasant way. Fusei dropped out of school when she was in JHS1, Ruhia dropped out in primary six (6), Sherifa in JHS2, Zuleiha in primary five. The list could go on and on. I got to know about Zuleiha from Madam Fusei a shop owner who is also a teacher in Zuleiha's school.

4.2.1 The Case of Zuleiha

In my interaction with Madam Fusei (a shop owner) who has allowed some kayayei to operate in front of her shop in the Aboabo market, I learnt about Zuleiha, a primary five girl of Kulnyavula TI Ahmadiya Primary school. Madam Fusei who is also a teacher in Kulnyavula TI Ahmadiya primary school lamented on the difficulties kayayei go through. She told me about how one of the kayayei who operate in front of her shop carried a bag of sugar (50kg) to a far distance place for the client to give her fifty Ghana Peswas. She opined that the practice of sending girls to stay with their aunt has outlived its usefulness. She observed that more than ninety percent (90%+) of the young kayayei live with their

paternal aunts while their cousins (aunt's children) are in school. These girls are sent to the market to work and bring money home for the upkeep of the family. Little to no thought is given to the hazards that the girls are exposed to. According to her, in the end, the kaya trade makes these young girls uncontrollable.

"Imagine a girl who used to eat only Tuo Zaafi[6] (TZ) for lunch and supper and sometimes as breakfast now having the independence to pick and choose from the variety of food sold in the market. Someone who has never had money of her own now taking about GHS 10 or more home daily. With time, they learn to under-declare their daily total earnings (Madam Fusei).

Madam Fusei's perspective of exposing young girls to managing their economic livelihood is worth reflecting on. Her worry is the inability of these kaya young ladies to make sound decisions on personal expenditure when they are in the market. Madam Fusei told me that these girls buy just about anything in the name of food, not caring about the health benefits of what they eat. To continue to buy indiscriminately, they soon start to under-declare their daily earnings to their guardians. Not before long, in exercising their financial independence, they begin to not only under-declare their earnings but also begin to play truancy.

Zuleiha, a primary five pupil of the Kulnyavula TI Ahmadiya primary school who used to carry kaya as an after school job dropped out of school after she got pregnant for a young man who was a driver in the market. Madam Fusei told me that, Zuleiha was a very brilliant girl who was always among the best five performing pupils in her class.

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[6]A staple, common in the Northern Region.

According to her, it was during the third term exams that her class teacher noticed she was absent so he followed up to her house after school to find out why Zuleiha had not turned up to write the exams. To his dismay, he was told Zuleiha was pregnant that was why she did not turn up for the exams. The teacher persuaded Zuleiha who did not want to go back to school to write the examination and she agreed to. Her family was happy with the teacher's encouragement. Zuleiha turned up to write the mathematics paper the next morning, the only paper she wrote. She failed to turn up to write subsequent papers. Surprisingly, she had the highest score in mathematics. The headteacher followed up to Zuleiha's home to persuade her to come back to school. Zuleiha's family members were happy with the head teacher's proposal but Zuleiha stood her ground and refused to go back to school. She is now a full-time kayayoo in the market, a kayayo and a mother of one.

Although kayayo in Tamale appear less challenging than kayayo in the southern markets, if appropriate measures are not put in place to ensure that the trade is sanitised, it will soon become what we have in the southern markets if not worse. The continuous flooding of the Central Business District of Tamale with kayayei will soon lead to accommodation challenges and they will be compelled by the circumstance to sleep in the open markets and lorry parks. Sleeping in the open may also expose the kayayei to rape and thefts. City authorities may have to introduce tax and levies to take care of sanitation problems with the ever-increasing number of kayayei. A high population may lead to poor sanitary conditions, which will come with its attendant health risks.

In conclusion, kayayo in Tamale now is much better in terms of accommodation, cost, abuse among other then what happens in the southern cities because they are plying the trade in their home city. This removes most of the challenges that they would have faced plying the trade in a foreign city. This notwithstanding, if the number continues to swell at its present rate, kayayo in Tamale Metropolis will soon catch up with kayayo in especially Accra and Kumasi in terms of challenges.

4.3 Plying the Trade

Kayayo is considered a non-skilled job that one needs not more than a head basin and her energy to engage in. The absence of initial capital, skill and ease with which the head basin can be carried is said to be the major reason why it is attractive to financially vulnerable females (Ntewusu, 2012).

The general perception is that to make a mark in carrying kaya, one will only ensure that she is healthy and has the physical strength to do the job. Exactly so I thought too until I observed them closely. Little did I know that like all human endeavours especially livelihood ventures, one has to be good at what they do to succeed. I noticed that apart from potential clients who solicit the services of kayayei by crying out 'kaya', kayayei also go out of their way to woo, get and keep clients. It was obvious that some kayayei were very good at wooing clients. To get to know how kayayei carry out their job successfully, I got closer to interact with them to discover the intricacies of the trade.

Field notes revealed that to be successful in the trade, there are a few business-like strategies that are employed contrary to the general perception that kayayei are a bunch of females who only wait for fortune to fall on them to render their services. Field observation showed kayayei approaching people who did not have any load to be carried. I wondered why they ignored some shoppers who were seen carrying loads and persistently followed those without as much as a shopping bag in their hands. I discovered later that, this was a way of catching and keeping good clients.

In picking their clients, they looked out for shoppers who were nicely dressed and appeared educated. The kayayoo will politely say to them 'Hajia[7], kaya' or 'Mma amariya[8], kaya'. So politely they would try wooing the client by calling them Hajia or Amariya. If they are lucky and the person has any intention of shopping, the kayayoo is asked to follow. One would expect that taking such caution in choosing a client, the kayayoo would gladly put a price to the service rendered. On the contrary, the experienced kayayoo will simply say, 'anything you give me I will accept'. I tried finding out from some of the participants why they refuse to put a price to the services they render to their clients. This was the response given:

"if you charge and she is unable to pay, she may not want you to carry her things again the next time you encounter her". Sherifa, Old market

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[7]Hajia is a title given to a woman who has visited the holy land of Mecca to perform the Islamic pilgrimage. It is a title that is revered and held in high esteem
[8] Amariya is also a title that is held in high esteem and given to a woman who is married. Among people of the north and Ghanaians in general, marriage is an institution that is very much respected. So such respect is extended to women who are married

It is obvious from the response that one of the reasons for not charging is for the kayayoo to secure her job with the client any time the client came to the market. Also, a kayayoo may try establishing rapport with the client so that she looks for her the next time she needs the services of a kayayoo. The sitters are noted to be those who try to establish rapport with the client. Apart from trying to secure future jobs, they also hope that the client will pay more than they would have dared to price. That is why so much care is taken in choosing and picking a client. In most cases, the client did pay well. This among other reasons is why they would lookout for people who are well dressed and appear educated. However, there are times that the kayayoo is not satisfied with the amount given, though the client was perceived from the outset as someone who will pay well. When this happens, some kayayei will politely ask for a top-up but some others will accept it grudgingly.

In trying to achieve job security and maximise profit in this precarious trade, the kayayei are also very much aware of the risks that come with it. Some clients will take advantage of their vulnerability and give them money that does not commensurate the service they have provided. When they complain, the clients verbally abuse them. In refusing to put a price to the service provided, the experienced kayayoo has in mind the amount of money expected from the client. The expectation is usually informed by the weight of the load carried and the distance travelled.

From my observation of the operations of kayayei in the Central Business District of Tamale Metropolis, I conclude that kayayo in its entirety is partly based on relationship marketing model. In business parlance, this is known as 'Know Your Customer' (KYC).

Although they do not have any formal training, kayayei have come to discover the importance of knowing their customers to ensure job security. New entrants do not know this I must say. They just roam the market hoping to be called by clients. With time they get to know the tricks employed by the older ones in the business. To succeed in the kaya trade in itself is a skill worth learning on the job.

4.4 Resilience of kayayei

A	Please, you cannot carry what I have come to buy. What I have come to buy is heavy. Considering your condition, you cannot carry it.
B	I can carry. You just allow me.
A	You too, you have a child. You both cannot carry the things.
C	Would you provide their needs if you do not allow them to carry the things? Even if you provide for them today, what about tomorrow and the next? Why are they here in the first place? You cannot stop them from carrying Kaya because you think the load is too heavy. You cannot shoulder their responsibilities. Allow them to carry. Reluctantly, I allowed a pregnant woman and a nursing mother to carry two mini bags of onions each to a destination of about 1.5km long.

Text Box 1.1: When reality strikes

This encounter happened when I went to the Bawku Market at Aboabo in Tamale to buy onions in preparation for a wedding ceremony. At the entrance of the market, a woman of about twenty-five years walked up to us (myself and my brother's wife, Humu) and asked if we would use the services of a Kayayoo. I looked at her and immediately said no. I said no because she was carrying a baby of less than one year on her back. I thought of the weight of the mini bag of onions and the weight of the child who was strapped on her back and decided that the weight was going to be too much for her to carry. I was not going to put her and the little child in harm's way.

She was fair in complexion, tall and slim in stature. She looked pale and anaemic. Another thing that informed my response was her stature. I had this funny feeling she could 'break' under the weight of two or more mini bags of onions and the weight of a child. My thought was also that the weight of the load could affect the child too. All these thoughts rushed through my mind as soon as I looked at her. So I said, no!

I went back to continue the conversation I was having with Humu, my brother's wife before we were interrupted. We stopped at the table of the first onion seller we saw. We asked for the price of a mini bag of onions and decided we should do a market survey first. Moving further into the market, I realised that the lady with the baby was still following us. Politely, I told her she could not carry the things we had come to buy. She insisted she could, so I told her we had come to buy a bag of onions. She still insisted so I asked if that would not affect her baby. She answered in the negative. To get rid of her, I told her not to follow us and that we will call her anytime we were done buying.

Going further into the market, we asked about the prices of onions from three other sellers. It was when we stopped at the third seller that I saw a pregnant woman following us with a head basin on her head. 'Would you use the services of a kayayoo?' she asked. I looked at Humu, my brother's wife, and said no. At this point, you can guess my reason for saying no. She was pregnant! How could I allow her to carry this heavy load that I could not carry myself? As had happened with the nursing mother kayayoo, a simple no could not get rid of this pregnant woman. Just like the first kayayoo we encountered, she followed us. When the nursing mother saw her following us, she also decided to resurface. We had two kayayei (whose services I had no intention of using) following us.

We finally decided to go back to the first seller we asked the price from. Here, I told them they could not carry what we had come to buy considering their conditions. They insisted they could and that I should let them carry. It took Humu, my brother's wife, to bring me back from the land of fantasy where I was, to the reality of the everyday life of head porters. Yes, it is true I could not shoulder their responsibilities. The reality was that they were in the market to carry the load to put bread and butter on the table. Hence the interaction in Text Boxes 1.

This takes my mind back to an encounter with the proprietress of Forsmuel Shopping Centre, a supermarket in the heart of business in Tamale. I went there to introduce myself to her and to seek her consent to visit her shop to observe and talk to the kayayei there and occasionally to herself. Immediately, she got confrontational with me. She said she

did not ask them (the kayayei) to sit there to do the work they do and that they did it on their own accord. She among other questions asked me *if the government would put food on their (kayayei) table if they stopped carrying kaya.* I realised she did not understand the purpose of my visit so I took my time to explain to her. She apologised and explained that she earlier had an encounter with a human rights lawyer. But the fact remains that she had asked a very crucial question that points to the push factors of precarious work for that matter kayayei. "Will the government put food on their table if they stopped carrying kaya?"

To her, it is a matter of survival that compel girls and women to engage in kayayoo. The 'government' in her question could refer to anybody who wants the kayayei off the markets and shops without putting a workable alternative livelihood venture in place.

Going back to the incident with the pregnant woman and the nursing mother, all these females are not there because they want to. Like one of them told me in the old market, 'this work is not prestigious but it is better than stealing'. Kayayoo has been necessitated by a multiplicity of reasons that all point to livelihood improvement. The scholarly works produced on the subject point to the fact that a large percent of Kayayei in the southern markets engage in the trade to enable them to buy clothing and culinary items in preparation for marriage (Berg, 2007). It is a practice among Dagomba for women to prepare themselves materially and financially for marriage independent of the contribution of the man. This study has however revealed that this practice is common

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among unschooled Dagombas. A lot goes into this preparation. They are expected to get cooking utensils, bowls, and clothes and even get themselves ready to learn a trade.

my colleagues used to go. When they go and come, they bring bowls and other utensils. So my auntie told me to also go, that when I go, I will also bring some home and keep until I am ready to marry. So I went. When I went, I got my might's worth because I got the bowls and the other things (Mayama, participant)

Even after they have married and given birth to the first child they are sent back to their parents' home to prepare and come back to start cooking the family meal in their husband's home as told me by Mba Salifu. This once again calls for a journey to kayayo. One of the participants confirms this in the following lines; "for the Kumasi, I married and gave birth to my firstborn and come to my people to prepare and go back to my husband's house to start preparing the family meal so I went to Kumasi to look for more things" (Mayama).

For some, the fact that kayayo does not require a big initial capital is a pull factor. Many of the participants said they were earlier doing petty trading and got indebted. The only trade that could salvage them from the debts was kayayo. They didn't need to have any money to start. All they needed was their strength and an old head basin, which in all the cases was available. As one of them told me that, her carrying kaya in the Tamale market was necessitated because she got indebted and had no money to pay,"as for here, I used to trade and got indebted on three occasions so I decided to bring the head basin to the market to carry kaya. So I came to carry kaya" (Mayama).

On the three counts that she has been a kayayoo, Mayama's reason has been related to her marriage. Schoolgirls may have a different reason for engaging in this after school trade. One of them simply puts it that **"my pocket money"** when asked why she was in the market carrying kaya after school instead of studying. For others who had dropped out of school, it was the issue of bread and butter. Rahinatu who dropped out of school told me that "since I started carrying kaya, we no longer have any problem in our feeding".

This among other reasons is the immediate reason why most of the girls engage in the Kaya trade. In an interview with one of the kayayei, I am told that she first went to Accra because most of her peers who went to Accra came home with cooking utensils, sewing machines and clothes. Because of that, her auntie (whom she stayed with at the time) asked her to also go and get those things in preparation for her marriage.

Apart from these immediate reasons, it came up that the married ones among them have their reasons. They were not prepared from the beginning to talk openly about how their family life has contributed to their choice of trade. I observed that some of them found it difficult to talk to me one on one basis about reasons for their engagement in this work. They were very interactive in a group but were tight-lipped any time I talked to them one on one. For this reason, I decided to have a Focus Group Discussion with them the next time.

So on the 15th of June, 2016, I had a Focus Group Discussion with some of them. The discussion at the end of the day left me with goose pimples. The discussion sought to discover how family relations and domestic chores influenced the kaya business. All participants were very active in the discussion except one. I later got to know her name to be Rabi. Rabi was a nursing mother whose child was about a year (1) old. Rabi herself was about twenty-four years and looked anaemic. She was short and slim. To say the least, she was bony and one could easily see marks of her veins without any efforts at all. She had features of someone suffering from malnutrition.

The discussion went on until the question of whose responsibility it was; the father or the mother, to provide the material and financial need of the child came up. Participants agreed that the father was responsible for both mother (for that matter wife) and child's needs. Participants agreed that both religion and tradition states the man as the breadwinner of the family. The mother and the child (ran) are dependents according to tradition and Islam.

Islam says that, if a man can afford to take care of two women, he can marry them, if he can afford to take care of up to four women, it is also allowed. He will be responsible for the woman. He brought her. The children she will give birth to, he will be responsible for. If he does not take care of them in the hereafter, he will be asked to account for how he took care of his family (Meri).

According to them most husbands these days do not live up to their responsibilities and that was the reason why they were in the market as kayayei. "… I was saying, when children go to school and there is no money to give them to go to school when they come from school and you want to cook, there is no money to cook, then you decide to come to the market. You walk to the market and you are fortunate to get some money, you take part of it to buy your foodstuffs. You go home and use it to cook. The next day, you find your way back to the market. This is what you do. If the man says he has no money and you can't sit and watch the children go hungry. When you do this and come to the market and they come from school, they will eat. When they are going to school, you give them what is left after you have bought the foodstuffs. If you don't do this, they will not want to go to school. You will talk until your mouth dries. This is what has brought us out into the market to behave like monkeys jumping from one load to the other. …"(Amina, participant)

"It is because, if you tell him in the morning to give money for the child's breakfast, he will tell you he does not have. If you provide for the child, then the child's responsibility has fallen on you. If the child goes to school and comes back with a list of items to be provided and he says he doesn't have then you the mother have to provide. You will have to toil to be able to provide. Any time the child needs something and you tell him and he says he does not have, every day he does not have, a time will come you will no longer tell *him and will be providing for the child. ...*" (Jahama, participant)

"Just like Jahama said, the man just knows how to impregnate you to give birth. ….
When it is time for the child to go to school and he asks the father for pocket money, he
would say he doesn't have. The next day, he goes again and the father says he doesn't
have if it happens the third time, the child then turns to the mother. If the mother gives
him, he will no longer go to the father. … It is true that in Tamale, many men do not give
their children pocket money to go to school" (Meri).

As if to emphasise what Mayama said, one of them confessed that her husband provides
only a bag of maize after harvest to last them the whole year (as food for the whole year)
with no housekeeping money. "when he gives you the bag of maize that is what you and
your children will live on until the next harvest" (Jahama). A participant (Mma Abiba)
wanted to know whether the bag of maize came with housekeeping money and Jahama
had this to say; "a bag of maize without housekeeping money. What will I use to buy
ingredients to cook?" (Mma Abiba)

Jahama goes on to say that, the only time he will provide anything for food again will be
after harvest again the next year. She went further to explain that the bag of maize
normally does not take them to the end of the year. This was because that was what they
used for breakfast (porridge), lunch and supper. I asked how she was able to get other
things needed to prepare complete meals. She retorted that *"my head basin is my
husband"* to mean that, that was why she was in the market. At this point, one of the
participants asked in rhetoric that *"What about those who do not provide even the bag of
maize?"* (Focus group). This was a woman who has been silent during our sessions. Her

contribution during our conversations has been to agree with what other members of the group said. For this reason, I referred to her as the 'silent one'. The 'silent' one at this point chipped in that, if she were to talk, she would not know where to start and where to stop. Telling her story confirmed her assertion that she wouldn't know where to start and where to end. We had to stop her at a point so we will adjourn our meeting. She said her husband does not provide even the bag of maize and that the only time he attempted to give her a bag of maize, it nearly earned her beatings from his (the husbands) creditors and the maize was taken in place of money her husband owed. Her story was so pathetic that all her colleague now turned their attention to her. Some of them encouraged her to endure for the sake of her children. They made inquiries and some sympathised with her and others blamed her for her situation.

One observation worthy of note is that a respondent said the 'silent one' should not have revealed so much about her experience. In her opinion, "*It amounts to selling out (betraying) your children*". This opinion opens another chapter to how much these women are prepared to endure for the sake of their children. Yes' though they say both religion and tradition makes the woman and the child the man's responsibility they are still prepared to go all length to put food on the table for the family including the man whose responsibility it is to provide. This attitude of the woman is explained by Momanyi (2007) who states that; "women have been used as custodians and perpetrators of the various masculinities as a result of social conditioning" (17)

Society determines what is right and what is wrong. They will, therefore, do things to be seen in the eye of society as good even if what they do goes against them. Women have been playing the role of custodians of male ideologies to such an extent that they have internalized and interestingly enough it has become a part of their daily lives (Momanyi 2007, p. 13). In this case, although the women were very much aware of what the man's responsibilities are and what their responsibilities are, they are prepared to bend backwards to carry out the man's responsibilities in addition to theirs. "women in patriarchal societies have internalized gendered identities and locations, and have become the real custodians of this symbolic order" (Momanyi, 2007 p.20). That is not to say that they are oblivious of the strain their endurance is putting on their lives. To display her disgust for the attitude of the man, one of them said. *"What hurts so much is, when you have toiled all day to cover his shame by providing food for the family, at night he will shamelessly demand sex from you"(from a Focus group discussion).* A kayayoo in the old market told me that the kayayo business was degrading. According to her, as a kayayoo, *"you would carry JUST anybody's load".* She explained that they carry loads for people who are as young as their children or even younger than their children. She says this with a posture that shows regret and humiliation. But as if to console herself, she quickly says that. *"kayayo is better than stealing"(Zenabu Old Market)*

These Focus Group Discussions revealed some of the untold push factors of kayayo that no structured interview or questionnaire would reveal. The discussion points to the type of family system (patriarchy) practised in the study area as a main push factor of kayayo by the northern female. Patriarchy is the family system practised in the study area. We

will look at patriarchy and how it influences kayayo in CHAPTER SEVEN: PATRIARCHY AND KAYAYO.

Going back to the story of the 'silent one', I find her story worthy of note because even her colleagues showed keen interest in her story. For this reason, her story is presented in 4.6.2 The 'Silent One', Rabi.

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4.5 Perception

Abu Sadiq song 'Azondoo' celebrates the adventure of a young girl who decides to seek fortune in the high-risk business of head portage, Kayayo in southern Ghana. It reveals a brother's antagonism against a sister's wishes and aspiration to seek economic freedom through migration. At the same time, *Azindoo* is a song that encapsulates the general perception people have about the kaya trade. Below are the lyrics of the song.

4.5.1 ABU SADIQ'S AZINDOO (Lyrics)

DAGBALI

Chorus:
Azindoo – zom yom yom nti yeli mba
Ni Salmu n'yina ni ŋun chani la Ankara kaaya ʒibu
O chani la kaaya ʒibu - nmi ku wum li
Azindoo – zom yom yom nti yeli mba
Ni Salmu n'yina ni ŋun chani la Ankara kaaya ʒibu
O chani la kaaya ʒibu - nmi ku wum li
Verse 1:
O be la kaayayo nkumda – kaya kaya kaya
O ni ka kpɛhilishei zuɣu ka bi booni o – Kaya kaya kaya
O yi tum milgi so ka o tu o – kaya kaya kaya
O yi bi niŋ saha gba ka bi zu o – kaya kaya kaya

O be la nimaani nniŋdi yɛmbila – kaya kaya
O yi bi niŋ saha nyama ka bi niŋ o yɛmbila – kaya kaya
O zaŋ bia ŋɔ kuna o ka ba – kaya kaya kaya
O ʒila doro ŋɔ kuna ka di ka tib'bu – hab'ba

Repeat Chorus

Yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ – 3x
Salmu chani kaayayo yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ
Yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ – 3x
Salmu chani kaayayo yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ
Yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ – 3x
Salmu chani kaayayo yɛlimi o ni o di chaŋ

Mba Salifu yiŋ yaa dam'ya – Salmu kpuɣi baaji
Chinchinalana yiŋ yaa dam'ya – O kpuɣi baaji
Salmu kpuɣi baaji ni o zaŋ chaŋ kaayayo
Ka n yuli chirigi o ka o zaŋ zali
Salmu kpuɣi baaji – 2x
O kpuɣi baaji ni o zaŋ chaŋ kaaya
Ka n yuli chirigi o ka o zaŋ zali

Repeat Chorus – To End

ENGLISH

Chorus:
Azindoo – run quickly and tell my father
That Salmu has packed up on her way to carry 'kaaya'
She is going to carry 'kaaya' – but I won't take it
Azindoo – run quickly and tell my father
That Salmu has packed up on her way to carry 'kaaya'
She is going to carry 'kaaya' – but I won't take it
Verse 1:
She is at 'kaayayo' crying – kaya kaya kaya
For her lack of shelter, they call her – kaya kaya kaya
If she offends anyone, she's insulted – kaya kaya kaya
If she's not lucky, she's even stolen – kaya kaya kaya

She is there playing smart – kaya kaya
See, if she's not lucky, she's played smart – kaya kaya
She brings the child home fatherless – kaya kaya kaya
She brought a sickness home, which is incurable-oh dear

Repeat Chorus

Tell her not to go – 3x
Salmu is up for 'kaayayo' tell her not to go
Tell her not to go – 3x
Salmu is up for 'kaayayo' tell her not to go
Tell her not to go – 3x
Salmu is up for 'kaayayo' tell her not to go

Mba Salifu there's trouble at home- Salmu has packed up
Chinchinalana there's trouble at home-She has packed up
Salmu has packed up to leave for 'kaayayo'
I spotted her and she is stuck
Salmu has packed up – 2x
She has packed to leave for 'kaaya'
I spotted her and she is stuck

Repeat Chorus – To End (Sadiq, 2014)

The song brings to the fore the various interpretations of the word 'kaya' as perceived by society. The word kaya in the lyrics above does not only point to the trade as we see in the song where girls advertise their trade by shouting "kaya, kaya, kaya". Kaya is also personified to refer to the one plying the trade as seen in the following line. Thus "they call her, kaya, kaya, kaya". "Because she has no living place, they call her; Kaya kaya kaya". As a way of degrading the kaya trade and the kayayoo, the word kaya is also used as an insult in. "If she wrongs someone, they insult her; Kaya kaya Kaya"

Abu Sadiq's presentation of the kaya trade in these ways to represent the societal view of kayayo does not end there. He further brings out challenges of the work as perceived in the eyes of society.

Homelessness of kayayei is a big challenge to the trade and it is one of the reasons why parents and guardians will not want their wards to travel out to carry kaya. Their homelessness exposes them to all kinds of dangers like theft and rape which leads to unwanted pregnancies and makes them teen mothers. "Because she has no living place they call her; Kaya, kaya, kaya"

The line above brings to the fore that migrant kayayei are homeless. They try to make do with makeshift structures and verandas of shops as sleeping places. In the process, they are physically and verbally abused. To survive in a land far away from home and no one to turn to, they sometimes flirt with men. "She may engage in adult games, Kaya, kaya, kaya"

As a result of their homelessness, they are sometimes raped which more often than not lead to unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. Abu Sadiq puts this aptly when he says, "She has brought home a child who has no father"… "She has come home with a sickness that has no cure". "She has brought home a child who has no father, Kaya, kaya, kaya",
"She has come home with a sickness that has no cure".

In the face of all these challenges, the musician wonders what gains there are in the kaya trade. So he asks" what is there?" What is there? To indicate that the challenges outweighs the gains of kayayo, he says severally in the song that "I will have none of it"Also, to show that it is not just his view 'to have none of it', it is repeated in the song "tell her not to go".

This voice though is the voice of the father in the song; it represents the voice of society. To emphasis the point, 'tell her not to go' is repeated. To put a note of finality to the topic, he says "no way". Indicating that, the decision is non-negotiable. The society has decided against becoming a kayayoo.

For all the reasons and more in the song above, most family members especially parents and guardians would rather not see/ allow their wives, children and nieces go to the south to do the kaya work because they believe that it would be better for the girls to stay in their hometown and make a living there. However, they look on helplessly when the girls travel to the southern cities in search of greener pasture. This is because, they realise that, the opportunities for the girls in the north are scarce and the parents have very little to offer. Although they want to discourage the girls from going to carry kaya in the south, they are unable to do that because of the above-mentioned reasons.

In spite of this, very few parents take the migration of girls to the south to become kayayei seriously. Berg (2007) reports that a parent sent his brother to go and bring home

his two daughters after he learnt that they had stolen their way to Accra to carry kaya. He further forbade them (his daughters) to go again. This notwithstanding, the author reports that, because of the difficulties at home, some parents directly or indirectly encourage their children to travel to the south to carry kaya.

The children on their part are aware of the difficulty their parents face in providing them with their need and also understand parents' desire to have their children with them. This awareness also accounts for the southward migration of girls in search of greener pasture. They leave their hometowns without informing their families either because they are afraid their parents would not permit them or they do not want to confront their parents with the fact that they (the parents) have failed in their responsibility to offer them (the children) what they need.

This is an indication that though parents do not always agree to their children going to seek greener pasture especially in the southern cities, they do not continue to blame them for their decision after they have arrived. Secondly, their migration contributes to easing family difficulties. Parents are therefore torn between allowing their female folk to go to the southern cities to carry kaya for its gains and not allowing them for all the challenges associated with it. It is, therefore, my opinion that if challenges associated with kayayo are brought to the barest minimum, society will accept it as a livelihood venture worth going into.

4.6 Cases

This unit presents individual cases of some participants. These cases throw light on the lived experience of kayayei. They bring the different perspectives of the kayayoo's life to the fore. In all, four cases are presented here; woes of a Kayayoo, the 'Silent One' Rabi, the schoolgirl and Sana's elopement.

4.6.1 Woes of a Kayayoo

She half ran and half walked. Her forehead was covered in beads of sweat. The back of her dress was soaked in sweat. In trying to balance the weight of the load on her head, she raised her chin a bit, making her head fall back a little. This made her neck short from behind. It was obvious she was praying to get to her destination before she crushed under the weight of the load she was carrying. I was afraid if she did not get to her destination soon, she would crumble under the weight. What will be her plight if she allowed the load to fall? Will the owner understand that it was not deliberate? Or will she be chastised and maltreated? Out of curiosity, I followed the young girl.

I had finished a Focus Group Discussion with a group of kayayei in the Aboabo Market where one of the participants complained about how she carried a bag (50kg) of sugar to the taxi station from Aboabo and was given fifty Ghana peswas. So when on my way to the old market where I was going to observe some kayayei I saw this young girl carrying a 50kg bag of sugar, my curiosity got the better of me. I did not know exactly where she was coming from with the bag of sugar but I guess she was either moving it from a truck or a wholesale store in the Aboabo area. She looked so tired and worn out that I believed

that was not the first load she had carried that day. She was neither following anyone or being followed.

Quietly, I followed her into the old market where she stopped briefly at a store at the end of the market. Initially, I thought she had reached her destination, but I was wrong. She talked briefly with a woman in the store and continued her journey. I followed her out of the market into the street. She was nearly knocked down by a taxi when she crossed the road without looking. I was wondering where she was taking this bag of sugar and contemplating whether or not to continue following her. Standing across the road, I observed her as she crossed the road half running, half walking while gasping for breath. She made it to the front of the STC yard. I started following her again at a distance and saw that she was going in the direction of the Savelugu Station, which was behind the ADB. I got close enough to hear her call out for someone to help her put down her load when she got to the Savelugu Station. I doubled my steps and got there in time to help her bring down the load. For my timely support, the bag of sugar would have fallen from her head. There were five other bags of sugar already on the ground by a vehicle. She sat on one of them trying to catch her breath. Just then, the one loading the vehicle appeared and told her to get up so he could load the sugar onto the bus. The girl got up and asked for the owner of the sugar and the man pointed to a woman sitting under a shed provided for passengers. Before she started moving towards the woman, the man asked whether that was all the bags of sugar she was to bring and she said yes. She limped to the woman. From where I stood, I could not hear what they said but I suspected they were in some

kind of disagreement. Finally, I saw the woman give her money, which she took while murmuring.

At this time, the man had finished loading the sugar onto the vehicle and about to move away. He gave me a slipper to give to the girl. That was when I realised the girl had one slipper on. The one given me was thorn and needed mending. I quickly gave it to a cobbler sitting at the station to mend. I seized this opportunity to talk to the girl. She came and I told her the man had given a slipper to me to be given to her and I had given it to the cobbler to mend. She thanked me and explained that it got thorn when she brought the third bag of sugar. The woman had said she should leave it so she (woman) would mend it, which she did not do. Without my asking, she went on to tell me that the woman was a cheat that she gave her fifty peswas for each bag of sugar she carried from Aboabo to the Savelugu Station. According to her, the agreement was for her to leave the sugar in a store in the old market but she got there only to be told she had said she should bring it to the Savelugu station. Now she has given her GHS3 for the six bags of sugar she carried. The woman claimed the price of sugar had increased and she was not likely to make any profit as she was going to sell on retail. She also said she was going to pay for its transportation to the final destination. The young girl said she told her that the weight of the sugar was still the same and she carried it for that long distance. The woman told her to take it or leave it and that that was all she would give her. At this point, the cobbler had finished mending her slipper that I paid for. She thanked me profusely and we parted company.

This case brings out the vulnerability of kayayei. They risk everything they hold dear including their lives with the hope of getting money for their basic needs only to be cheated, abused and insulted. In the face of all the difficulties that characterise the kaya trade, one wonders what merits there are in the trade.

4.6.2 The 'Silent One', Rabi

Rabi is about twenty-four (24) years and a nursing mother. Her complexion is dark and she is slim and short in height. She looks bony and one can easily see her veins without making any effort at all. Her clothes are oversized hence, hanging loosely around her. She is always in a slipper that is oversized as well and which is worn out at the heals, leaving her heels on the ground instead of protecting them from the hot gravel. She looks very pale and anaemic. To say the least, she is a picture of one who is malnourished. She is seated on the floor of the veranda where we are having the discussion with her child sitting on her laps and pulling on the neck of her dress.

It was hot and sunny when I first encountered Rabi. The time was exactly eleven o'clock (11 am) and there was every indication that it was going to be a hot and sunny day. I Arrived at Hajia Fuseina's store at the same time as Rabi. At the time, I did not know who she was but the hungry-looking child who was strapped on her back caught my attention. The child was crying and stretching herself and pulling hard on the cloth that was used to tie her to the back of the one carrying her that, I thought she could fall if she was not given immediate attention. I called the one carrying her to ask her to give the child some attention. Little did I know that it was her mother carrying her. I heard her murmur something like "you won't let me carry this load and get some money for our breakfast".

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Reluctantly, she stepped onto the veranda brought the child down from her back, sat down and started breastfeeding her. At this point, I realised she was the mother of the child. She was disappointed that she did not get to carry the load of the buyer but could not also ignore the cry of the child.

Her baby was about one year old. It was a sorry sight to see how the child pulled on her mother's dress exposing her bony chest and her wrinkled breast. She wanted to breastfeed and the milk was obviously not enough or nonexistent. In comparison to her mother, the child looked healthier. That notwithstanding, the child's hair looked so light and brownish that one could easily pass her as being malnourished just like her mother. The child's stomach in comparison with the rest of her body appeared big. Her torn dress revealed a shiny and blotted stomach. One will not be far from right to conclude that she was suffering from kwashiorkor.

Rabi is a mother of three who lives in Nyankpala, a village eighteen kilometres (18km) away from Tamale where she plies her trade. According to her, she is married to a professional driver who does not provide for her and their children. She lives with her husband and her husband's mother. Since the man does not provide their needs, Rabi has to travel from Nyankpala to Tamale to carry kaya to put food on the table not only for herself and the children but also for the man and his mother.

She had to do this for the sake of her children. They will starve if she failed to do this. She said she could not watch her children go without food and talked about how she

started this kaya business. On the said day, she woke up once again to the reality that there was no food in the house and she had no one to turn to. The previous night she did not get a wink of sleep. Sleep eluded her because she was very much awake to the fact that there was no food in the house and she owed all the people she could have gone to for help. She told her husband that there was no food in the house and as usual, he barked at her, "It is your shame. You can't even take care of your own children. Don't you see your mates?"

According to her, this was her husband's usual chorus any time she asked for money or food. If she insisted that he provides, she was sure to receive some beatings. She was now used to hearing it so she let him be. Knowing that she had to provide food for the family and not knowing where to get it from, sleep eluded her even with her eyes closed. Her mind was clouded with thoughts of where to get food the next day. If only it had been a harvesting season, she would go to serve as a farmhand on someone's farm. She played with the thought of going to Tamale market to carry kaya. It only requires her determination, an old head basin and energy to start. Even with this, there was still a problem. How does she travel the eighteen-kilometre journey from Nyankpala to Tamale? She had no money to fare herself there. Before daybreak, she decided that come what may, she would find her way to the Tamale market.

So, waking up in the morning, she quickly put her house in order and took her first and second children to a neighbour. She trapped her third child on her back and got hold of an old head basin that she usually used anytime she worked as a farmhand on someone's

farm. She set out on foot to Tamale hoping a Good Samaritan will give her a lift. Her baby trapped on her back and the head basin balanced on her head, it was not long after she got to the main road to Tamale that she got a lift in a moto king.

On getting to the Aboabo market in Tamale, she did not know how and where to start from. She walked for a long time without getting any load to carry (probably because she had not learnt the art of getting clients). She came to where we had this conversation and saw a lady sitting on a head basin. She guessed that could be a kayayoo and gathered the courage to greet her and to ask for permission to sit with her. Nafisa, one of the participants said she was the one Rabi met on her first day. According to Nafisa, Rabi greeted and said she had also come to carry kaya. Looking at her, Nafisa said she immediately felt pity for her and asked her to sit. Nafisa said Rabi was a sorry sight on her first day. She was bruised and had a swollen ankle. With her sickly looking baby trapped on her back, she put her head basin on the ground and asked for water.

Telling her story, Rabi said her husband said he did not want her again because she was short. This revelation made other participants ask whether the husband was blind before they got married or whether their marriage was an arranged marriage and that they did not know each other before marrying or probably whether Rabi has been cut short or has grown shorter after their marriage. One could see that this revelation infuriated the other participant. Rabi added that her husband beat her very often especially when she demanded that he provides food. He did not provide for her and the children. Anytime he came home to meet food, he will eat without finding out where it came from. On days

that the food was not enough to go round, her husband verbally abused her and went out. Lamenting, Rabi said she had lost all hope of any positive change in her marriage and that she only looks up to God to better her lots.

Asked what her own family said about her situation, she said she had no one to fight for her. That she ran to her people on three occasions. According to her, on one of such occasions, matters got so bad (it often does) that she ran to her parents who asked her to go back to her husband's house because of the children. On another occasion, they told her to go back and learn to endure and be submissive to her husband. Her family told her that, that was what every good mother went through to earn her children's blessing from God and the children's father. Otherwise, her children will come to no good. On the third occasion, they warned her not to attempt coming back because they will not allow her to disgrace them. According to her, she has since learnt to endure whatever comes her way in her husband's house. She had to do this for herself. Momanyi (2007, p24) explains that "women were the custodians of the hegemonic masculinity and had to do so for their survival". This could explain why Rabi has to take in everything as if everything is all right. Rabi tells the group that her husband beats her at the least provocation. One would wonder why a man would physically abuse a woman at every opportunity. Ngubane (2010, p.22) throws light on this by stating that, "Many men … regard women as inferior, and believe that women should obey men". Kārkliņa (2015), writes that in an interview with an adolescent boy, the lad said, "In marriage, the man has the power," and that the man can always beat his wife because he loves her. "Yes, if you love her, you can beat

her." It is also reported that another young boy justifies spousal beating and his reason is "because you have paid so much for her to be your wife."

It is obvious why Rabi is a kayayoo. She has no alternative and has to do this for her survival. Any and every condition in the market as a kayayoo is better for her than looking up to her husband, the father of her children to carry out his responsibility of providing for them. At least in the market, no one beats her, in the market she is assured of her daily meal, in the market she is sure to clothe her children, in the market, any condition is good, provided she gets all that. Therefore in the market, to her, there is nothing to endure. To her, the market is a haven where her basic needs are met. There is also the case of Jamila, a schoolgirl.

4.6.3 The schoolgirl

On that Saturday afternoon, the sun was scorching hot and the wind was as if God had decided to hold back the air leaving just enough for breathing. This affected patronage of goods and services in the market. Shop owners and attendants could be seen catnapping on their seats. Kayayei could also be seen in groups sitting on their head basins or using the head basins as pillows to lie on. The sun was either too scorching for them to ply their trade or clients was hardly found for them to help.

I had walked for about an hour in the market. It was obvious that I was tired and thirsty and wanted a place to rest. I decided to go to my aunt's shop to take a very much needed rest and drink. On my way there, I met a kayayoo who asked to follow me to carry my

shopping. A look at her revealed she was tired and hungry. So when I said I was not going to do any shopping, she was disappointed. Noticing this, I quickly added that she could come with me; maybe I would find something to buy after all. This brought a smile to her face. This is how I met the schoolgirl. So our journey into her life as a pupil and a kayayoo started.

The schoolgirl and I became acquainted after our first meeting. We talked generally about why she looked so desperate and worn out that day. She explained that the only food she had eaten that day was porridge, which was in the morning. She came to the market hoping to get someone's load to carry so she could buy food to eat and possibly save some for breakfast the next day. Unfortunately, she walked the length and breadth of the market and did not get any load to carry. To add to her misfortune, the sun that day shown with all the fury it could ever have. According to her, I was her last hope to get something to eat. She confessed she guessed I was not in the market to shop but she intended to ask me to give her money for food if I did not have any load for her to carry.

So to my aunt's shop, I headed with the schoolgirl. I sent her to buy food and water for the two of us since I was equally exhausted and hungry. Whilst we ate, we made plans to meet again. It was during this conversation I took the opportunity to introduce myself to her and told her why I was in the market. First, she misunderstood my purpose to be to bring help to kayayei in the Tamale market but when I explained further, she understood that it was for my research. This time, her enthusiasm reduced. At this point the owner of the store next to my aunt's who was absent all along arrived. Aunt Zaharawu; that was the

name of the woman, stopped to ask where I knew the girl and those we were talking as if we had known each other for a long time. The girl expressed surprise and asked if I knew her grandmother. This revelation made Jamila more relaxed and willing to talk to me. I guess she felt secured that someone she was related to knew me. I explained to aunt Zaharawu how we met and what I wanted from the schoolgirl. At this point, the girl asked to know when next I would be in the market so we could talk. This was how I met the schoolgirl. Subsequently, she has been a friend. Through friendship, I have come to know how she came to be a kayayoo while in school.

Jamila is a sixteen-year-old primary six pupil who lives with her grandmother in Worizehi; one of the suburbs of Tamale. She told me she was the first of five children. She and two of her younger siblings live with their grandmother in Worizehi. Apart from the youngest one who has not attained the age of going to school, the rest of them were in school. Unfortunately for them, their grandmother is old and does not have any source of income apart from remittances from her children. This according to Jamila hardly can provide three meals in a day continuously for two weeks. For this reason breakfast to them is leftover food from extended family members like Mma Zaharawu who live with them in the same compound. That is if they were lucky to have it, or else, they have to share one cedi GHS1 worth of porridge. Because they take the porridge most often without sugar or any pastry, they easily get hungry again. As for pocket money for school, to them, it is a luxury. This situation affected their attention in class when they went to school. They felt hungry and sleepy in class after the first two hours of learning. To help improve their situation, the schoolgirl's cousin who is older and sells sugar,

sometimes gave them some money for school. This was not regular as she was almost always in debt. She collected the sugar on credit to sell and pay after sales but because they also fed on its proceeds, she is usually unable re-pay.

The girl told me she wanted to be in school but she was unable to cope with studies because of her situation. In order not to drop out of school and also be able to concentrate in school, she decided to do kayayo as an after school job. Her younger sister, Rukaya who is fourteen years old also helps someone sell 'pure water[9]' so she can also get pocket money for school. Apart from her own pocket money, fees, books and uniform, the girl at her age has the responsibility of helping take care of her younger siblings. "The one next to me, she also sells water and the other one sometimes I give her pocket money. Other times, my elder sister[10] gives her" (Schoolgirl).

When I asked to know where her parents were and why they were not taking up the responsibility of taking care of her needs and that of her siblings, she said her parents were peasant farmers living in a village called Chayili; a farm settler community in the Gushegu district[11]. According to the girl, anytime they needed something and told their parents, what they sent was always woefully insufficient and in most cases, they said they did not have. Since her grandmother was old and depended solely on the remittances she got from her children, feeding Jamila and her two other siblings was a challenge. Jamila explained that that was how come she became a kayayo and her younger sister vendors 'pure water'.

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[9] Bagged water in portable sachets meant for drinking
[10] Referring to her cousin
[11] Gushegu is about 106km from Tamale through Nanton and approximately 1hr 57min drive.

Jamila lived with her parents in Chayili until she was about six years old when her father sent her to live with his sister in Pishegu in the Kariga district where he thought the schoolgirl had a better opportunity of getting a quality formal education. In consultation with his sister; Jamila's aunt, he enrolled her in school in Pishegu. Little did he know that Jamila was going to be withdrawn from school to help in house chores and work on the farm while her cousins (that is her aunt's children) went to school. When later it was revealed that the girl was not in school, her father took her from his sister and sent her to Tamale to stay with his mother; Jamila's grandmother with whom she lives now. Then she was in primary three. That is how come Jamila joined her siblings who were already living with their grandmother in Tamale.

Following events in Jamila's life, it is clear that she was in the business of kayayo out of necessity. She and her siblings have to feed, clothe, pay fees, buy books and wear school uniforms if they have to stay in school. Being the oldest, she took the bold step to help by becoming a kayayoo in the Tamale market.

When she started the kaya business, a woman in the market she called Hajia asked her to help her sell. According to the girl, after school, she would go to the woman and help her sell and also help her pack the things back into the store at the close of day. She was given three Ghana cedis (GHS3) at the close of day on school days and five cedis (GHS5) on weekends. This variation was because, on weekends, she was in the market from morning to evening to help the woman whiles on a weekday, she came after school.

We will work, when we close then she will pay me. Because I go to school, when I come from school, we will sell. When we close, I will pack all the things back into the store and she will pay me GHS3: GHS3 on weekdays and GHS5o on Saturdays (Schoolgirl)**.**She explained that anytime Hajia; the woman she worked for travelled, she had to do the regular kayayo. In this instance, she sometimes made nothing on school days because she only went to the market after school, therefore she did not make much on school days, and she said there were days she did not make anything at all.*"there are times I get GHS2. It may also happen that I will get nothing. Before I come my colleagues would have been there" (Schoolgirl).*When Hajia, the woman Jamila helps as a shop assistant travelled, she discovered that she could make a little more if she combined helping Hajia and carrying kaya. Now she can make ten Ghana cedis (GHS10) on weekends carrying kaya. "*Yesterday Saturday for instance business was good because I had 10 cedis" (Schoolgirl).*

If Hajia gives her five cedis, she makes a total of fifteen Ghana cedis (GHS15) on weekends. So for Saturday and Sunday put together, she can make a total of thirty Ghana cedis (GHS30) if the market is good. If market days fall on a weekend, she can make more than the fifteen Ghana cedis a day. She confesses that she can save especially from the weekend's proceeds that she uses to buy her clothes and take care of other needs.

Combining school and kaya is not without problems. She complained that she did not have enough time for her studies. When she is given homework, she does it after she has closed from the market. She leaves the market at six o'clock pm (6 pm). Some time ago in

our school, they organized some classes for us. That was when I realized that it had challenges towards my school. We were all required to attend that holiday classes. I asked my grandmother whether I could go and she said yes. So I went. When I came home, the following morning I did not get pocket money to go to school because I did not carry kaya the previous day. That was when I realised that the kaya was good for me financially. But that was where I also saw a problem it had with my school (Schoolgirl).

Apart from the challenge of not having enough time to study, she goes home tired and feeling pains in the chest and neck. To relieve her pain, she self-medicates which is a dangerous thing to do. Oblivious of the risks in self-medication, she is happy that she can afford the cost of medicine.*"I will go to the drug store and buy medicine" (Schoolgirl).*Though the schoolgirl is not happy she is unable to study, as she should due to her engagement in kayayo, she is generally happy that she can get pocket money for school, buy her books and sometimes provide for her sister and brother.

Addressing the issue of dropping out of school or getting pregnant as a result of her work as a kayayoo, she said she will not fall prey to the men who deceive some of her colleagues to impregnate them just in the name of providing their needs. She cited four other kayayei who got pregnant on the job. On the issue of getting enticed with the money, she gets from kayayo she said dropping out of school was not an option for her. She wanted to get well educated to do a decent job in future.

All this said one wonders what real effects kayayo might have on the education of a determined pupil like this girl. Will she be able to educate herself through her earnings

from kayayo to the level of education that will earn her a decent job as she envisages? What about the plight of her younger siblings? Will Rukaya her sister who venders sachet water be able to endure the harsh conditions of the streets? With little to no supervision while in the market, how long can she overcome the deception of sexual predators?

4.6.4 Sana's Elopement

To avoid being forced into marriage, especially too much older men who they do not love, some of the girls escape to markets of big cities where they do menial jobs. In some cases, if the girl already has a man she is in love with, the two may decide to elope together.

Several reasons may account for why a couple will decide to secretly run away to get married. If the couple feels that they do not have enough money for a wedding, they may elope. Also planning and having a wedding ceremony may be stressful and expensive. If the couple does not have the funds, they may choose to elope to reduce the stress and financial burden. Other couples may decide that they had rather save the money for their future instead of spending it on a wedding ceremony. Another possible reason to elope is that the bride may be pregnant. But the most common reason for elopement in northern Ghana specifically Tamale is because parents or families do not approve of the union. Typically, weddings are an occasion when the family comes together. If approval is not received from parents on either side of the family, a couple may decide to not have a wedding ceremony at all and elope instead.

For Sana and Zakaria, it was a combination of non-approval from families because Sana's aunt wanted to marry her off to a man she did not love. Sana got pregnant with the love of her life and had to run from home to be with the father of her unborn child and to escape from being forced into a marriage she did not want.

Sana is a young kayayoo in the Aboabo market who hails from Walewale in the Mamprugu kingdom of the Northern Region. She is tall, slim and fair in complexion with a round smiley face; she reveals a set of sparkling white teeth any time she smiled. Sana is a JHS graduate who finds herself in the market as a kayayoo because her aunt with whom she lived planned to marry her off to an elderly man who was old enough to be her father. According to her, she got to know about her aunt's plans when she was in JHS2.

As a pupil, Sana performed averagely not because she was not brilliant but because she had a lot of chores to do at home. Like many other young kayayei who stayed with their aunts, Sana had the responsibility of doing almost all the house chores while her cousins rested or studied. This negatively affected her performance in school. On a Thursday afternoon, after school, her aunt sent her to their neighbour to collect an undisclosed amount of money. When she returned, her aunt told her the money was meant for her apprenticeship training as a dressmaker. Her aunt explained that she wanted her to learn a skill that will help her meet her financial and material obligations in future. Sana was happy to hear this because she thought in addition to being employed in the formal sector, it was a good idea to be able to do something. She immediately welcomed the idea and told her aunt she will mend all their thorn cloths and even sew new ones for them. Little

did she know that her joy was going to be short-lived. Seeing that Sana was happy about the idea, her aunt seized the opportunity to tell her that the man (neighbour) from whom she took the money intended to marry her after she wrote her Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE). This news Sana did not take kindly because she always dreamt of going to the university and getting employed in one of the government agencies. This further negatively affected her studies and she started playing truancy.

Her aunt after breaking the news to her made sure to send her daily to the man to collect money. Sana did not like this and sometimes did not go but told her aunt she did not meet the man. On such days, Sana went to school without pocket money and food. This influenced her to skip school. During this period, she met Zakaria who was much younger than the man her aunt wanted her to marry. Zakaria was a taxi driver who bought Sana gifts. She sometimes skipped school to spend time with him. Zakaria also gave Sana some pocket money daily. When Sana got to JHS3, she hardly went to school. She so much enjoyed Zakaria's company so that, she forgot her dream of completing her university education to gain employment in a government agency. She now thought and dreamt Zakaria. This new attitude also affected her apprenticeship training. She did not take it seriously and hence was not doing well there either.

Meanwhile, plans were ongoing for the old man to marry her immediately she wrote her BECE. Her aunt noticed her change of attitude and thought it wise not to waste any more time to get her married to the old man. Sana knowing this got pregnant for Zakaria by the time she finished writing her BECE. To avoid a possible confrontation with her aunt, she

eloped with Zakaria to Tamale where she became a kayayoo. Zakaria did not have a taxi to drive again. The owner of the taxi took the keys from him when he realised that Zakaria was spending the proceeds from the taxi. He no longer gave a proper account to the owner. After several pieces of advice to Zakaria fell on deaf ears, the owner of the taxi collected the keys. So Zakaria, before he eloped with Sana, had no job and could not afford the gifts and pocket money he gave Sana. So when they realised Sana was pregnant, they decided to elope to Tamale where they could live together without any problems from members of their families. They planned to find work in the city's market to enable them to feed and take care of their baby when it finally arrived.

When I met Sana, she had already given birth, returned to Walawale where she hails and had come back to Tamale. So with her baby strapped on her back, she helped Hajia Mariama sell. Sana told me when she first arrived in Tamale, she worked as a kayayoo in the old market. She soon realised that she was not doing so well as a kayayoo. In Tamale, the kayayo trade is monopolized by Dagombas, so being a Mampurusi she felt misfit in the group of Dagombas. Also, her counterparts did not extend certain favours they extended to other members when business was not good. When business was bad, they gave those who have not had any load to carry the opportunity to carry something. This they did not extend to Sana, so there were days she would not get any load to carry and no member of the group would lend her money for food. Soon Sana learnt that her Mapurusi mate engaged in laundry and water services. They did laundry for people for a fee. Clients provided soap and water for them to do the laundry. Where water was not provided, the fee was higher. Some of them supplied water for people who needed water.

Considering her condition, she joined her Mampurusi mates to provide laundry services. She confessed it paid better than kayayo. That was what she did until she gave birth and had to go home. Taking care of a baby away from home and no family around was a task she could not carry out by herself. Meanwhile, Zakaria was driving a tricycle popularly called 'Yellow, Yellow' or 'Mahama kambuu' in the aboabu market.

She met Hajia Mariama through the provision of laundry service. She did Hajia's (as she was commonly called) laundry and found an amount of money in the pocket of one of the clothes; she gave the money to Hajia upon her return from the market. Since then Hajia will not allow anyone to do her laundry apart from Sana. So when Sana's pregnancy was advance, Hajia asked her to help her sell in her store. She also ensured Sana attended antenatal clinic until she gave birth.

Coming back to Tamale from home, Hajia asked Sana to continue to sell in her store where she also got to carry things for clients who buy from them. Hajia paid Sana between one hundred and fifty Ghana cedis (GHS150) and two hundred and fifty Ghana cedis (GHS 250) depending on how much they sell and how much profit they make in a month. So the money she made from carrying things for clients was an additional income. Again, Hajia took care of her feeding. As for Zakaria, he had since found another girl in Tamale and did not ask after Sana or their son.

Comparing Sana to other kayayei, one would say Sana is better off. But looking at how she came to be a kayayo with a child from an unplanned pregnancy, one cannot but

blame foster parenting and force marriage for Sana's situation. Maybe if she lived with her biological parents, she would not have been asked to marry when she was still in school. Maybe even if her biological parents wanted her to marry at all, they would have allowed her to bring a man of her choice and she would not have had to elope. Also, looking at it from the perspective of being a graduate working in a formal establishment rather than a kayayo entrapped with a baby who's father does not care whether they live or die, once again one cannot but blame cultural practices that have outlived their usefulness such as foster parenting and forced marriage for the plight of not only Sana but many other kayayei in the market. But for the benevolence of Hajia, Sana and her child's condition would have been much worse off than they find themselves in.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE POLITICS OF HELP AND KAYAYEI

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to look into the attempts by stakeholders (government and non-governmental organizations) to address the phenomenon of kayayoo. It discusses attempts and proposals made towards addressing the issues and concerns of female head-porters. This chapter contributes to the achievement of objective four (explore a socio-political discussion on the subject leading to informing an agenda that can help improve the lives of head porters.) of the study.

5.2 Political and Social Intervention

With the precarious plight of kayayei in the country, the kayayo phenomenon has taken a national dimension where we have everyone talking about it. Non-Governmental Organisations, musicians, governments and the general public have all contributed in one way or the other to the discussion of the ' ' called kayayo. In spite of the widespread discussion on the subject, the kayayo trade is flourishing so well that it has spread to the northern part of the country. Hitherto, it was found in the southern cities. It is therefore not out of place that 'MYP Personal Project' (2018), posits that despite Kayayei paid very low fees for hard and potentially damaging manual labour, the attention and efforts of the government and general public on the issue are surprisingly sparse. That the rough conditions of the Kayayei in Ghana's urban markets have rarely featured on the agenda of the powerful. The closest it has ever come to being addressed seriously making political promises out of it.

This study suggests that though discussions on the kaya phenomenon are widespread, very little is seen to be done about it. Kwesi Pratt Junior is quoted by Stephen Konde in his feature article of the 25th November (2014) edition of modernghana.com/news that "everything around us is politics". For Mr. Pratt stakeholders are not being serious about helping the kayayei when they make proposals to help them. He suggests that they are playing politics with the plight of the kayayei. The Ghanaian Chronicle of 21st February (2011) had a headline "*85 school children kayayei assisted by NGO*". On the surface, one would commend the NGOs effort. The details of the story say that the "cost of training, sewing machines, in addition to 15 bicycles for the girls, stood at GH¢3,810.00". This details when looked at closely, one would realise that there is more to it than meets the eye. For instance, if the beneficiaries are 85 and the bicycles are fifteen, who got the bicycles and who did not get? Is it a matter of giving some bicycles and others, sewing machines? If so, of what help is the bicycle to the kayayoo who is supposed to be in school? Is it to make travelling to the market easier or travelling to school easier? Or will owning a bicycle stop them from carrying kaya? These are concerns that question the intent of such 'assistance'. Also, if we take the total cost of training, sewing machines and 15 bicycles, which stood at GHS3, 810.00 and divide that by the total number of beneficiaries which is 85, the per-unit cost will be GHS44.82. This further puts in doubt the kind of assistance given to the kayayei and the reason behind such 'assistance'. GHS 44.82 per head is not enough to buy a bicycle or a sewing machine. This proves that the amount quoted can not do all that has been said to have been done by the NGO.

Stephen Konde further reported in the same feature article that the New Patriotic Party (NPP), one of the leading political parties in the country, promised to build hostels to be rented at subsidised prices by kayayei when it was in opposition. This, the then-sitting president John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Party (NDC), referred to as "most insulting" and advised the NPP to do what the NDC. "… is doing, we are going to the south to register our little sisters who are kayayei and putting them in training, we are teaching them how to be dressmakers, hairdressers and giving them other equipment so that they will come back and work for themselves".

Boyefio, Albutt, & Alaeti-Amoako, (2007, May 18) write in The Statesman Newspaper that several interventions have been put in place by government and NGOs like the Catholic Action for Street Children, Rescue Foundation, and Apple, to provide shelter, training and medical assistance. The same authors further indicated that the government has also introduced the Skills Training and Employment Placement Programme and the 'Stop Kayayei Programme', sponsored by UNICEF in 2003 to rescue, educate and reintegrate the Kayayei into their families.

It is, therefore, a fact that the general public, NGOs and the government have all contributed to the discussion of kayayo. The general view is that kayayo is a precarious job and a menace to society and should be discouraged if not abolished. This view is informed by the numerous challenges associated with it. Attempts have therefore been made to prevent young girls and women from joining the trade and to get those who are already in it to get out of it. A number of interventions have been carried out to achieve

this goal but the number of kayayei in our markets keep increasing by the day. The phenomenon has necessitated a number of researches (Alfers 2012, Opare, 2003, Berg, 2007, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008, van der Geest, 2010, Alvin, 2012; Ntewusu, 2012) into the kayayo phenomenon. Researchers have identified some factors to be responsible for the phenomenon and key among them are economic and material reasons. This has informed skill training as a major intervention for the kayayei so they can practice the skills to earn their livelihood instead of carrying kaya. Skills such as dressmaking, hairdressing, batik tie and dye, soap making, beadwork and weaving have been sparsely implemented in some areas but have not achieved the goal of getting beneficiaries off the trade. After the training, beneficiaries still go back to the market with their head basins to do what they know best; carry kaya.

Why do beneficiaries of skill training interventions return to the business of the head basin after they have received training? This troubling question is intriguing. Benefactor agencies with well-intentioned interventions with a mindset of rescuing kayayei from the drudgery and hazards of the head basin trade are undertaking unproductive investment in their emancipatory mission. To find out why these young women relapse into kayayo after training, I used focus group discussion to probe.

Participants were made of kayayei who had had different skill training; soap making, beadwork, dressmaking, batik tie and dye and weaving. They took turns in telling me the nature of training that was given them, why they were back in the market and made proposals on how these packages could be improved.

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5.2.1 Soap Making

The beneficiary participants who were trained in soap making were generally happy with the training. Participants said though the process was tedious, it was heartwarming to see the final product and know that "you produced it". When asked why they were not producing soap after the training but in the market carrying kaya, they said they were happy that they could do something by themselves to earn a living. But added that they did not have the capital to do what they had been trained to do. Participants also lamented that even during the training, they had to provide some material (a 25L gallon of oil and some chemicals) needed for the training by themselves. "The things they gave us for the training was not enough so we did 'susu' to buy some chemicals to add".

Participants said they hoped that they were going to be given some assistance with which to start production after the training but that did not happen. Since that did not happen, there was nothing they could do, than come back to the market as kayayei. They referred to the training given to them as 'partial help'. To them, the help would have been complete if they were given initial capital to begin production with. They also added that sponsors of such training should always consult with the trainers to get the correct estimates of materials needed for training. This way the process of training will be smooth and they will not have to contribute to buy training material during training. They added that this could even make some drop out of the training if they didn't have the means to buy the material. Of concern to them was also the duration of the apprenticeship. They complained it was too short for them considering their large

number. They explained that the training was just for two weeks. As if to corroborate what the kayayei said, the Ghana News Agency (GNA) reported in the 1st February 2017 edition of graphic general news that,"two-week training organized jointly by The Society for Women and AIDS in Africa (SWAA) and Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana (PPAG) with financial support from the United Nations Population Fund, trained participants in liquid soap making and the manufacture of ladies sandals, earrings, necklaces, wrist bangles and ladies bags with beads"

Putting the duration of the training against what the participants were to be trained in, it is crystal clear that the duration of two weeks was too short to learn how to make liquid soap, and cake soap locally called 'tolon-banku'. According to them, producing the tolon-banku was tedious.

One of them narrated how she got into the program and why she was back in the market as kayayo.

"My name is Zulfawu. I come from Kulnyavula. I am kayayo at the Tamale bus stop. I benefited from an apprenticeship program in soap making sponsored by one NGO. They came to talk to us about helping us do something to earn money for ourselves so we can quit this kayayo. We were happy that finally, we were going to leave the scorching sun and the insults from some of our clients and the general public. Hmm! You know how they treat us; like dirt. So we were glad someone wanted to help us do something on our own. From where I operate we were eight in number that they took to be part of the program. They told us they were going to provide us with all the things we needed for the training and pay for the training. We were so happy that we gladly agreed. They wrote

our names and where we come from. They treated us well in the beginning. Any time they came, they will give us drink and we thought their program was actually going to save us from our current situation. Finally, they took us to the madam who was going to teach us. It was there we realised that there were others too from other parts of the market. They assured us that everything was taken care of. The training started and we were visited on some few occasions in the beginning. Not before long the materials for our training run out because our number was more than the materials they provided for the training. We told our madam that she should inform them so they will provide the material. We waited and nothing was happening so our madam advised us to contribute and buy the things. Some of us still had some savings from the kayayo. So we gladly did the contribution to buy the things thinking that the NGO people will come and give us back our money. They didn't come back until it was our pass out time. They came and said their work had taken them to a distant place and that they will pay for the things we bought at the end of the program. The training was just for two weeks. After graduation, they gave us some money to cover the cost of the things we bought for the training.

After the pass out we realised we could not produce the soap because we didn't have money to buy the things needed. So what can we do? We came back to the market to carry our kaya again. If we get someone to give us money or the material we need to produce the soap, we will gladly leave this work".

5.2.2 Bead Work

Beneficiaries of beadwork said the training was interesting but the difficulty was with the colour combination. They told me they had all the materials needed for the training just that they were not given the opportunity to choose what skill they preferred. They reported that the sponsors came to them to convince them to participate in the training so that at the end of it, they will give them something to start production with. They added that they agreed to participate because they thought the sponsors were going to set them up after the training but that they were disappointed, they were given what was left of the materials used for the training which was not enough to go round everybody. They, therefore, suggested that in future, they should make full disclosure of the content of the package before enrolling them.

5.2.3 Batik Tie and Dye

Batik tie and dye was another skill discussed. Participants who were trained in batik tie and dye confessed it was not an easy task. They said mixing the chemicals in their right quantities was a major challenge. They also added that the materials needed for the training was costly and was not a common thing to find in the Tamale market. They complained about the length of time given for them to be trained to be too short. Participants acknowledged the fact that they were slow in understanding what they were taught. Considering their slow learning ability, they proposed that the length of time given for the training should be looked into and adjusted upward. Or better still, they should identify slow learners who are usually the older women amongst them. Such people should be given more time to be trained.

5.2.4 Dress-Making

Sewing and dressmaking were the most popular among the skills that kayayei were trained in as it had the most number of participants. They explained that many of them ventured into kayayo in order to buy a sewing machine to learn to sew. So they said it was a dream come through that the NGO assisted them in that direction. But they also added that they were given only six months for the training that was not sufficient. They said the normal period taken to learn to sew was between two and three years. So the six-month given was woefully insufficient. Adding to this challenge was the fact that almost all of them were unlettered and had to take more time to learn the basics of taking measurements. The six months was over before they could become familiar with the skill. According to them, that was the main reason why they were back in the market as kayayei. They had not mastered the skill of sewing and the trainers had to pass them because that was what the contract said. One of them said that

Salima went back to pay for another master to teach her. Now she has mastered sewing so she is sewing in the house. Her uncle came from Accra just when we ended our six months of training and paid for two years for her to be taught again.

Another retorted that "for me, I want to be a seamstress. I have not lost hope. I am working hard to save so that I can pay my apprenticeship fee and go back for the proper training".

This is what one of them had to say;

"Skill training nonetheless is a good program if implemented well. People have benefited from it both the masters and the trainees. The masters are paid for training the people brought to them. My friend who is now a dressmaker also benefited from the training. She was lucky to have a brother who paid for her to go back and have the training again. The time given for the training was too short. The average time the masters will give for training is usually two years. But they will say they are helping you get training and ask someone to use only six months to teach you. How will you be able to master something that uses averagely two years to learn in six months? As for learning a skill and leaving this work, we want but the problem is that they are pretending to help us. If they want to help us, they should do that fully. You see we are not all the same. Some of us have been to school. But many of us have not. So those who have been to school learn faster than those of us who have not. Some are young and others are old. They put us together and want us to learn at the same pace, it won't work.

Like I was saying, some have benefited from the training and are practising. But many of us are back here. Those who are practising are able to do that because they paid to be retrained. So if you don't have money for re-training, you will definitely come back here. As for the masters, at the end of the training, they collect their pay whether you can practice or not. So my advice is that sponsors should try and always pay for the correct duration for the training. They should find out from the masters before sending us there. If not they are pretending to help us.

5.2.5 Weaving

I visited a trainer who had the opportunity to train some girls in weaving to find out how the programme went. She revealed that after that programme, she had decided not to take in any NGO or government-sponsored training programme. She was concerned about the way the programme was packaged and mentioned that if one continues to accept such programmes, it was most likely to give a negative image of the trainer. She lamented that the time given for training was woefully insufficient.

Under normal circumstances, we use three years to train our apprentices. If after the three years you (the trainer) examines the trainee and she does not perform well, you ask her to stay for an additional year in order for her to master. We do this because if you allow her to pass out, she will spoil your market. If she is not able to perform well after passing out, people will begin to ask about where she had her training. Before you realise your name is making the rounds about how badly you train people. No one would want to come to you for training and even your customers will begin to run away. Let's tell the truth, what can they learn in a year? The work is not as easy as you think.

Master Zulfawu took me round to show me the various stages of the training process to prove how tedious and time consuming the training was and the time given for the training was woefully insufficient.

Figure 5. 1 pictures showing some steps involved in weaving

Source: Source Pictures

Apart from the training time. Master Zulfawu also commented on the provision of materials for the training. She explained that the material provided was inadequate for the training. Sponsors argued that because the trainees were many, the material needed for training them should reduce. That under normal circumstances there will be leftovers

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from individual trainees if they come as individuals. Therefore leftovers that would have been there if they had come as individuals should make up the difference for the group.

It is true that the material list we give to individual trainees is usually overestimated in order to avoid shortages during the programme. Some of the trainees, I am told receive assistance from family when they are staring the programme so if you underestimate, they will drop out halfway through the programme for lack of material to work with. Also, when we give out the list and the person is not able to provide all, they get them as the training progresses and you don't have to remind them. Besides, some of them make a lot of mistakes and use up all the material and even beg from their colleague before the end of the training. In any case, when they complete and there are leftovers they keep their things. If you consider all these and the calibre of people they bring us to train, they even use a lot of material. In fact, if they know their resource can properly train three or four people, they should limit the numbers and stop giving us a headache.

Master Zulfawu also complained about the fee sponsors paid for the training. She narrated that sponsors paid a quarter of the fee usually charged for training arguing that the trainees were many and the time for the training was not the same. That according to her was a fair argument but the way they paid the money was where she was concerned about. We have a uniform amount we charge for training but they offered one-fourth of the amount, but you see, I personally accepted them because we were told they will pay half of the amount at the beginning of the training and the rest upon completion. Hmm! I

don't even want to recount how we were paid. They tossed us here and there and in the end, one could not use the money meaningfully.

At the end of our discussion, Master Zulfawu emphasised that she will not take any NGO or Government-sponsored trainee again unless the sponsors change their way of doing things or agree to her terms.

From the discussions with participants, I ask, for instance, what skill can be learnt well enough in six months to enable the beneficiary practice? Considering the mass presence of kayayei in our markets, how many of them benefit from such proposed skill training? With the proposal to provide decent accommodation for them, the questions are, is it to encourage more people to engage in it? If truly the provision of accommodation will ease their stress in any way, will all kayayei be accommodated? Since the proposal was made, how many kayayei have been accommodated? Do they really mean it when they say they want to help ease the challenges kayayei face? As for the issue of scrapping the payment of tolls by kayayei, I ask, how will not paying fifty Ghana peswas GH 50p a day give the kayayoo enough to make her get out of this precarious job? *In sum, is it a matter of mobilizing the pain of kayayei to create wealth for themselves? Or it is a genuine move to help improve the lives of kayayei.* I ask this because such proposed interventions are made on political platforms and poorly implemented when elections are close. NGO initiated programmes provide insufficient training materials and very short training time.

With the general expression of disappointment in the training programmes implemented so far, I wanted to know what alternative action they will propose for stakeholders. It was

amazing the idea they muted. They were of the opinion that, in the absence of better livelihood alternative, stakeholders should come together to dialogue with them to look into how to improve the trade instead of wanting them to quit. At the bus stop, one of them said,"why do they want us to stop carrying kaya? Will they feed us? They say they are helping us by giving us training but 'pag luhi doo ma, anyao?' We are not also happy about our condition. If they come with the help that will actually help us, we will be glad"

The participants proposed satellite terminals at vantage points in the Central Business District of the metropolis where they will use as a place of work where shoppers who want to use their services go to, to solicit their services. Upon getting to the CBD shoppers will go to the nearest satellite terminal of the kayayo to get one to follow her into the market. Kayayei, on one hand, will queue for their turn to serve clients. This will get rid of the unhealthy competition for clients that sometimes lead to fights between them.

With this arrangement, a uniform price will be given to items that are packed in bags and cartons. Also, uniform prices will also be charged for specific distances covered. They, however, acknowledged that it would not be easy because the distance covered following the client while she does her shopping will be difficult to calculate. Also, things like vegetables will not be possible to have this kind of arrangement. They add that, that would have been a good starting point to standardising their trade, to get rid of most of its risks. That the uniform pricing for a start would be from the market to the various stations where shoppers usually board taxis.

5.3 NGO and Political (benefactor) Interest and Attraction to Kayayo

The intent of the benefactors of kayayo has been questioned in my discussion of social and political interventions to Kayayei. The fact remains that, kayayei still go back to the trade even after receiving training in skills intended to make them quit kayayo and work for themselves to earn a living. The question of doubtful intent of benefactors was raised by kayayei themselves during my interaction with them. One of the beneficiaries of one of the intervention did not mense words when she said, "As for learning a skill and leaving this work, we want but the problem is that they are pretending to help us. If they want to help us, they should do that fully".

They complained of insufficient supply of training material, the short length of time for training, lack of start-up capital among others that made it impossible to properly acquire the skill and practice it. Some of them strongly advised that benefactors instead of the short training they give them should allow enough time to enable them to learn the chosen skill well.So my advice is that sponsors should try and always pay for the correct duration for the training. They should find out from the masters before sending us there. If not they are pretending to help us". – a participant in the CBD.

The fact that kayayei themselves doubted the real motivation of their benefactors prompts me to discuss the interest and attraction of benefactors to kayayei. Is it the precarious conditions under which they work, or is it the fact that their clients cheat them in most cases? Or could there be a reason other than what is obvious? To find out, I am motivated to delve into how philanthropism came about and popularised.

Over some 160 years ago, Charles Dickens, a novelist, wrote a book; 'Bleak House' in which he criticised the post-World War II fascination of the western world, frantically trying to help especially Africa out of poverty while ignoring the poor and less privileged in their own society. Dickens, (n.d.) criticised Victorian charity through characters like Mrs. Jellyby and Mrs. Pardiggle who had the penchant to help people who were far while ignoring the needs of those closest to them. Jellyby is presented to ignore the needs of even her immediate family; children, by immersing herself in figuring out how to develop a project to deliver Africa from poverty. Dickens (n.d.) refers to the desire and act of helping people who are far away while ignoring those close as 'telescopic philanthropy'. The motive behind such a desire to help was interpreted as self-serving. According to Alhassan (2009), Dickens' description and criticism of characters with such zeal for Victorian philanthropy marked the beginning of what is now a global industry of the state, non-governmental charities and celebrity acts of philanthropy. The term telescopic philanthropy was therefore coined and popularised by Dickens in the 1850s. Dickens again criticises the self-seeking intention of telescopic philanthropy by presenting Pollyanna who feels sorry and uneasy to tell Jimmy Bean that the Ladies Aid could not help him because they decided to send their money to a far destination to help bring up an unknown child, while he, Jimmy was known and homeless could not get help. They refused Jimmy help because helping him will not publicly give them any credit.

The argument is therefore that if the genesis of NGO, developmental and or political assistance is what Dickens describes as 'Telescopic Philanthropy', the motive and pull

factor of NGOs and Politicians to assist kayayei cannot be any different. They are only doing it to gain popularity and to feel good about themselves. But they do present their package in such a manner that, it is so difficult to question. They present it portraying the best of intentions that one will refer to as 'pathological altruism'.

Pathological altruism is where a person makes sincere (seemingly) attempts to help another but which in the long run harms the person. This harm could have been anticipated, but for the sincere manner of presentation. For instance, saying "no" to an alcoholic who needs a sip of strong alcohol to calm his nerves. However, the fear of appearing cruel in a culture that places a high value on kindness, empathy, can lead one to hand the alcoholic a drink to avoid being seen as being cruel. This leads us to misplaced "helpful" behaviour and results in self-deception regarding the consequences of actions taken.

Also, there are people who intensely derive pleasure or are addicted to the feeling of self-righteousness, which contributes to blind pathological altruism and rejection of logical arguments. These altruistic biases may not be intended but people can deliberately exploit them in order to gain benefits at the expense of other people. NGOs and politicians may be altruistically blind or altruistically bias. Either way, the aid they bring does not salvage kayayei from their precarious conditioned work.

To know truly whether the lives of kayayei get any boost from the half-baked skill training they get, I asked to know the gains they make from these training. One of them

bluntly put it that, "they waste our time and prevent us from making the little money we would have made during the period of training". Therefore kayayei pay a price for accepting to take part in this training. The price they pay is a waste of their time and loss of income.

I conclude by saying that the present-day developmental aid whether individual, group, national and or international, has a semblance with Dickens' 'Telescopic philanthropy' which identified self-interest as the sole reason why such aid was given. Therefore the interest of benefactors of kayayei is not to help them out of their precarious situation but to mobilize the pain of kayayei for their self-gain. This explains why kayayei are not able to practice skills they are trained in but go back to carrying kaya.

CHAPTER SIX: EFFECTS OF GENDER AND GENDER ROLES IN KAYAYEI'S DECISIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines gender and gender roles. It juxtaposes the reasons for the trade looking at the cultural and gender underpinnings of the push and pull factors. Specifically, it attempts to address objective one of the four objectives of the study: (1) to understand the cultural and gender-based factors of female head portage. This begins with an overview of gender and gender roles

6.2 An Overview of Gender and Gender Roles

The following passage is from Constance (2003) taken from Ann Oakley's Sex, Gender, and Society, (1972). It makes an attempt to explain what gender and gender roles are

Passage: 1

William Davenport writes of a Southwest Pacific society in which:

'Only men wear flowers in their hair and scented leaves tucked into their belts or armbands. At formal dances, it is the man who dresses in the most elegant finery and. when these young men are fully made up and costumed for the dance they are considered so irresistible to women that they are not allowed to be alone, even for a moment, for fear some women will seduce them.' Constance, (2003)

I am sure you feel puzzled to read that men wear flowers in their hair and dress elegantly in finery and that, young men are fully made up and costumed for a dance. More interesting is the part that says "they are considered so irresistible to women that they are

not allowed to be alone, even for a moment, for fear some women will seduce them". The expectation of society is that men seduce women, not the other way round. You may be asking yourself, what kind of man will wear flowers in his hair? The reason this and many of such thoughts and questions will run through your mind is that you have in mind how a woman dresses or better said, should dress. So to put your mind at peace, you may conclude that the author is either being ironic or is being sarcastic or making a mistake.

Passage2: adapted from Holmes (2007).

Chris got up and went to the bathroom. Leaving pyjamas on the floor and turning on the shower, Chris stepped into the water. It was not a hair-washing day, so after a quick rub with the soap, it was time to get out and dry off. After drying up and applying hair putty to the new short haircut, Chris dabbed on some moisturising lotion and went to get dressed. Nothing special was happening today so jeans and a T-shirt would be fine. The only choice really to be made was between basketball boots or sandals. (p. 8)

Holmes argues that Chris could mean Christopher or Christine/Christiana. The passage does not make use of pronouns so the reader is at a loss as to whether the subject is male or female. To know what sex the subject is, the reader can only infer from the content. This presupposes that there are unwritten characteristics and expected behaviour for the sexes. Vláčil cited in Holmes (2007) sees gender role as a social role and that it is "a set of expectations associated with the perception of masculinity and femininity". Holmes further cites Mead as opining that we develop a sense of self when we understand who we are, by interacting with others. Holmes states that Ann Oakley and other sociologists

suggest that perhaps women and men are only as different as a society made them. Any deviation from such expected roles is ridiculed. According to Kārkliņa (2015)**,** people who deviate from roles and norms assigned to masculinity and femininity are subjected to labelling and name-calling. For instance, a boy is often labelled a "bema-basia," meaning "man-woman," while a girl will often earn the title of "babasia-kokonin," meaning "woman-cock" or "male woman."

Bringing our attention back to the short passage above, there is no definite identification of maleness or femaleness but one may want to think that females don't usually have short hair while males don't usually use moisturisers. Whatever one decides will be based on the person's preconditioned mind about what characteristics a male or a female should have.

It is demonstrated clearly from the two passages that there are socio-cultural expected characteristics and roles of men and women. These roles are termed gender roles, which are different from the sex roles of a person. Gender is therefore not based on sex, or the biological differences between men and women. Gender is shaped by the way of life of a people. It refers to the culture, social relations, and assigned roles that men and women play. A sex role, on the other hand, is a function or role which a male or female assumes because of the basic physiological or anatomical differences between the sexes. It is a biologically determined role which can be performed by only one of the sexes, e.g., women carry pregnancies, give birth to children and breastfeeds while men produce spermatozoa and make women pregnant. These roles are not exchangeable because they

are biologically determined, (Constance, 2003). The author cites Susan Basow as defining gender roles as that which "refers to society's evaluation of behaviour as masculine or feminine, e.g., cooking is feminine, while fishing is a masculine role in most societies". A male can, therefore, perform a feminine role and a female perform a masculine role. This cannot be said about sex roles. However, Holmes (2007) suggests that generally, gender differences are to be understood as a central feature of patriarchy, a social system in which men have come to be dominant to women. Among the people of the study area, the majority of whom are Dagobas, patrilineal family and patriarchal social system are practised. Women perform masculine roles especially in the upbringing of children. They assume the role of man and can be classified under the masculine gender.

In the case of the upbringing of children, especially girls are sent to stay with their paternal aunts because these aunts are seen as fathers. They play the father role to these girls. It is very uncommon to find girls staying with the maternal aunt. This is because customarily, the responsibility of providing for the upbringing of the child is considered a masculine duty. It is therefore clear that gender is different from sex. Whiles gender can be said to be assigned roles by social relations, traditions and customs, sex is biologically determined. It is in this light that women can perform masculine gender roles as we have among the people of the study area who are largely Dagombas. It is worth noting that reverse gender roles occur not only among the Dagombas, but also with the Chambri people of Papau New Guinea and the Wodaabes (**Mbororo** or **Bororo),** Fulani ethnic group in the Sahel (Gewertz, & Errington, (2016)

Chambri is a community located near Chambri Lake in Papua New Guinea. According to Gewertz & Errington (2016), the Chambri people were first brought to light by Margaret Mead in 1933. According to College, (1981), Mead observed that the position and role of the Chambri women were unusual to what had been thought to be the norm across cultures. Mead opined that Chambri women wielded more power within the villages than their male counterparts. Mead's opinion was based on the role women played in their communities. For instance, Chambri women were the primary suppliers of food (College, 1981). The community being a fishing community had the women do the fishing for the community. Women also travelled to the surrounding hills to barter surplus fish for sago while men stayed at home. The diet of the Chambri consists mainly of sago and fish which the women provided. The primary provider for the family was, therefore, the women against what was the norm across cultures (Gewertz & Errington, 2016).

According to Gewertz & Errington (2016) Wodaabes also called Mbororo or Bororo is a small subgroup of the Fulani ethnic group in the Sahel. The common norm across most cultures in contracting marriages is that the man proposes to the woman. This, however, is not the norm with the Wodaabes. Marriage contracts are usually initiated, at the end of the rainy season in September, before the beginning of the dry season. The clan gathers to make merry and to socialize. During such gatherings, young Wodaabe men, with elaborate make-up, feathers and other adornments, sing and dance to impress marriageable women. Tallness, white teeth and eyes being the beauty ideal of the Wodaabes, young Wodaabe men smile to show their teeth and roll their eyes to the

admiration of young women who will make their choice of husbands from the young men. During such displays, the young men also wear make-up, walk and talk like women.

Therefore, gender role reversal is not limited to the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group but other groups like the Chambris and the Wodaabes. Gender role reversals come in different forms depending on the people. In the study area, girls are sent to live with their paternal aunts because paternal aunts play the masculine role of father to the girls. All members of the man's (husband) family play this masculine role to the girl (child) and even the woman (wife). Jamila and others' stories are cases in point where women perform the masculine role.

Jamila is a sixteen-year-old JHS pupil who doubles as a kayayoo in the Tamale market. As a child, she lived with her peasant parents in a farm settler community called Chayili in the Gushegu district of the northern region. She lived and schooled there until her father sent her to live with his sister (Jamila's aunt) in Pishegu in the Karaga District where he believed Jamila would have a better opportunity of getting a quality formal education. In consultation with his sister; Jamila's aunt, Jamila was enrolled in a school in Pishegu and Jamila moved in with her paternal aunt. Little did he know that Jamila was going to be withdrawn from school to help in carrying out house chores and farm work while her cousins; her aunt's children went to school. When later it was revealed that Jamila was not in school, her father took her from his sister and sent her to Tamale to stay with his mother; Jamila's paternal grandmother with whom she lives now. Jamila was once again sent to live with a female member of her father's family.

Also, Nima is a kayayoo who lives with her paternal aunt in Kulnyavula a suburb of Tamale. She has never been to school. She told me she was sent to live with her paternal aunt at a very young age. She only remembers growing up with her aunt and does not remember when, why and how she was sent to live with her aunt.

Ayisha is about eight years old. She is also a kayayoo who lives with her aunt at Kulnyavula. Because she is so young, one Hajia Fuseina has asked her to help her sell in her shop instead of roaming the streets and markets in search of things to carry at the mercy of the weather. Mayama who is now married with five children said she lived with her paternal aunt as a child before she got married. It was her aunt who encouraged her to go to Accra the first time to carry kaya.

The list of young kayayei who are under foster care is a tall one. Among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group, a woman marries into a family and not just to the man. All members of the man's family are considered husbands to the woman. By custom, the woman is expected to serve, respect and be submissive to the man and his family including women and children. The man's family members also see members of the woman's family as their wives. Both men and woman in the couples' families play gendered roles. The female members of the man's family play a masculine role while men in the woman's family also perform feminine gender roles concerning the man's family.

6.3 Gender Roles in Marriage

The institution of marriage is one of the tools used to enforce gender roles in patriarchal Africa, and Ghana is no exception. Baffour (2012) suggests that the institution of marriage in Ghana is one of the tools used to assign gender roles. Since the study population is predominantly Dagombas, I am going to look into the institution of marriage among the Dagombas of northern Ghana to establish how it is used to assign and define gender roles.

As it is revealed from some respondents that, Dagombas commence a marriage contract by the prospective groom introducing himself to the family of the prospective bride. In Ghana this is generally called 'knocking' but among the Dagombas, it is called 'paɣ puhigu' literarily meaning 'bridal greeting'. A chat with two of the participants walked me through the process of contracting a marriage among the Dagombas according to how they know it. I now present this as told me by these participants.

According to them, marriage among the Dagombas, is not contracted at just one sitting, it takes several visits to the woman's family. The first visit is to introduce the prospective groom and his family to the bride's family. Mayama tells me that these visits afford the family of the prospective bride, the opportunity to investigate the prospective groom's background to know where he is from and establish his true identity. She goes on to tell me that, the woman's family may also want to find out whether the man and or his family have any disease or has any undesirable character traits. If none of the above is found against the man and the woman in question accepts to marry the man, her family then

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tells the man to prepare to pay the woman's bride price. Otherwise, the man is told that the woman already has suitors. In this case, this will end the establishment of any marriage contract between the woman and the man and their families (since marriage among the Dagombas is a contract between two families and not two individuals). There is however no limit to the number of visits a man pays to the woman's family to ask for her hand in marriage before the bride price is paid.

Once the bride price is paid, it is now established that the marriage has been contracted between the two. The payment of the bride price signifies the agreement of the two families for the man and woman to be joined as husband and wife. In fact, traditionally, the payment of the bride price is marriage. The back and forth and laborious nature of seeking a woman's hand in marriage makes many men believe that they have a superior role over women and that they are to be served by women. Traditionally, it is the woman who moves into the man's house to take responsibility for the house; to cook and clean. Once the woman moves into the man's home, she assumes the responsibility of domestic chores such as laundry, cooking maintenance of the children and other housekeeping tasks. If the man used to do his laundry and cook his food, it becomes the woman's job now.

The man in this set up is the head of the family who must be served and revered. He does not do house chores. Abiba in confirming this said that even her "husband's younger brother will not help wash the dishes or sweep the compound because, first those are the preserve of women, secondly, they will not do such work when they have a wife whose

duty it is to cook and clean". It is worth noting that among the Dagombas all siblings of a woman's husband are considered her husbands even including the female siblings.

In a Focus Group Discussion, it came up that the payment of the bride price is one of the reasons why the man and his family are assigned a superior role to the woman. This is what a female participant had to say on the issue: "You see, it is not today's man who will be the first to pay the bride price of a woman. It has been there since the time of our forefathers". (Female respondent: supermarket).

The respondent suggests that women agree to the payment of bride price and also appears to effectively ground the economic responsibility of men in custom and tradition. Therefore, the supremacy of men over women in marriage could be traced to the bride price paid by men from the onset of the marriage. Men, on the other hand, perceive the payment of bride price to be something that gives them power and authority. Kārkliņa (2015), writes that in an interview with an adolescent boy, the boy said, "In marriage, the man has the power," and that the man can always beat his wife because he loves her. "Yes, if you love her, you can beat her." Kārkliņa also reports that spousal beating is justified by a young boy who's the reason is "because you have paid so much for her to be your wife."

A look at how marriages are contracted in the research community will show that the processes involved in contracting the marriage itself may account for the economic power that men hold. Men are required by custom to pay the bride price. This bride price though

perceived by women as a religious and/or cultural requirement, men do not think so. To the men, it defines their identity, responsibility, and authority.

Baffour (2012) is of the view that marriage in Ghana, is a group affair (between families) instead of a union between two individuals, marriage among Dagombas is completely a union of two extended families. The bride is expected to serve members of the man's family in the same way she will serve the man; with total respect and obedience. All members of the man's family; young, old, man or woman, are considered the husbands of the woman.

Mba Salifu, a key informant collaborates Mayama and Abiba's view that a woman, when married into a house, is a wife to all the family members of her husband. She has to serve and respect them as husbands even including the female ones. The only thing she does not do for other family members is sharing their bed. To the extent that the man's family considers the woman's family as their wives tell the kind of relationship that the payment of bride price establishes between the two families; a superior-subordinate relationship where the man's family is the superior one, that is served by the woman's. Therefore, in assigning gender roles, the man and all members of his family play a masculine role while the woman's family play a feminine role regardless of whether they are male or female. He confirms that the payment of bride price by the man is the one thing that signifies that there is a marriage contract. He adds that the bride price could take the form of cola nuts and drinks or money or any two or all of them. He, however, says that cola nuts have a cultural significance and for that matter is compulsory.

Baffour (2012) puts aptly that; the payment of bride price is a fundamental practice in contracting marriages in Ghana**.** Islam that is the dominant religion in the region of research also has the payment of bride price as one of the pillars of marriage (Ustaz Yousif, a key informant). Being the bedrock of marriage, how both the man and woman perceive the payment of bride price contributes immensely to ensuring that the research community for that matter the people of northern Ghana assigns specific gender roles to its members.

The research community practices the patrilineal family system where husbands are supposed to be responsible for the wellbeing of the family; wife and children. Even the Akans who practice the matrilineal family system, in reality, see the man as the head of the family and as one responsible for the needs of the family. This is because matrilineal systems may give women greater access to resources outside marriage than patrilineal systems, matrilineal systems are characterised by a weaker nuclear household, offering little economic security to women. Matrilineal systems do not necessarily imply significantly greater access to resources and/or higher status of women (Baden, et al 1994 p 71).

According to Akita (2010), in most African countries, women are expected to be submissive to their husbands. As a sign of respect and obedience, they are required to demonstrate unquestioned obedience to their husbands. In the case of the people of northern Ghana, the wife is expected not only to be submissive, obedient and respectful

to only the man but to all members of his family especially his brothers and sisters be they old or young. Hence, the wife calls all the siblings of the man including the younger siblings 'husband' and they, in turn, call her 'wife'. This expectation has however been a source of trouble in many homes. In most cases, the woman strives so hard to impress the man's siblings so much so that, it makes frustrated. The reason is that any mistake on the part of the wife towards the siblings especially the female siblings is seen as gross disrespect on the part of the wife. Such misunderstandings can sometimes lead to the breaking of the marriage. To this point, reference is made to Asiyanbola (2005) citing Kvande (1998) who see masculinity as a role that is socially performed enacted and reproduced through discourse and that which can be performed by both men and women. That explains why women who are members of the man's family do not see anything wrong with the subservient position of women in marriages but help to perpetuate such masculine order against their fellow women. At this point, they see themselves as men and not women. This is clearly explained by Momanyi (2007) when she alludes to patriarchy as the cause of women meting out such unpleasant masculine order against their kind. She notes by saying that patriarchy has been able to perpetuate itself through women, the very group that it oppresses. Thus women in patriarchal societies have internalised gendered identities and locations, and have become the real custodians of this symbolic order. This, in my opinion, is exactly the case with study participants who are largely Dagombas. Dagomba women, in particular, call their husband's sisters 'husband' and drive away her son from the kitchen preventing him from doing chores that are considered a woman's duty. Therefore women are the custodians of masculine order among the Dagombas and are the very people enacting and promoting it. If not, the man's

sister will not be referred to as 'husband' by her brother's wife and the wife /woman will not refuse to teach her son to do home chores. I would say this position is accepted by the woman because she understands the man paid her bride price and she in return has to serve him and his family. Since boys are seen in the image of their fathers, they are not to do what the father would not do which explained why the woman will gladly refuse to let her son do any chores even if it is to help her. To her, she is training him to be a man. So from the word go when the bride price is paid, the woman subconsciously believes the man is the head of the family and has the final say in issues concerning the family.

There is a proverb in Dagbani that says that "a woman does not behead a snake" to mean that, no matter how good the woman' contribution to family issues are, the final decision lies with the man. Similarly, in Akan, there is a proverb that says 'when a woman fires a gun, it is leaned against a man's chest'. This proverb defines the woman's place in the family as second to the man. In Ghanaian communities, men are regarded breadwinners and for that matter, they control economic resources of the family while the women are responsible for domestic duties. A respondent captures this in the following words, "A man has to provide money for the upkeep of the home, paying the children's school fees, providing the needs of the wife and all that" (a female respondent).

This is an indication that the community, including women, has accepted the roles assigned to them and willingly carries them out. Even though such practices put them at a disadvantage, they have accepted them.

6.4 Gender roles in the family

Generally, the social organization of the people of Northern Ghana is informed by patrilineal descent (Awedoba, 2015). With the patrilineal family system being the practice among the people of the Metropolis, men are placed highly in the family and they make the final decision. Traditionally, men do not do domestic chores. For instance, they do not cook, fetch domestic firewood or fetch water for the drinking pot. Women usually should not hunt; cultivate certain crops (yam, potatoes, rice, maize) that demand heavy labour inputs. The sayings that, "a woman does not kill a python and boast about the feat" and "women do not pour libation to the gods" (Kane, 2008) go a long way to define the place of the woman in the family and society. Patriarchal beliefs and practices have made the fulfilment of the role of the family as a social security and safety net for the female almost impossible. The position of children and how they are treated leaves much to be desired. Related to this is the question of child work and labour, push factors that lead to the exit of young women and girls from their place of origin to towns and cities to serve as kayayei (porter girls). To see how gender roles propel the female to engage in menial jobs reference is made to The Burdens of Motherhood on page 192 below. We learn of how a twelve-year-old girl is compelled by the fact that she is a girl, to work to support her mother to care for the family while her father and elder brother do next to nothing. Society expects her to learn to take care of family and be submissive to her husband from her mother. The photograph below tells the numerous responsibilities of the female; a wife, mother, nurse, cleaner, cook, and above all, her subservience to her husband is a non-negotiable responsibility.

Figure 6. 1:some of the responsibilities of a female

Source: Internet source.

6.4.1 The Burdens of Motherhood

Mma Sanatu is a married woman who carries kaya at the bus stop, the main trotro station in Tamale who is in her late thirties. She is a mother of four and pregnant with the fifth. She says she comes from Savelugu but lives with her husband and children in Kakpagyili. She has a boy and three girls. The boy is the first child. He is fifteen years old and the rest are twelve, nine and six. The boy and the twelve-year-old girl have dropped out of school because her husband could not pay their fee. The nine and six-year-old girls are in school and she is determined to look after them to get formal

education up to the tertiary level. It is her hope that one will become a teacher and the other a nurse. "I will carry kaya and take care of them through school". She says her husband is a farmer who does not engage in any livelihood venture during the dry season. After harvest, some of the proceeds are stored for their feeding and the rest sold to take care of their immediate financial and material needs. Mma Sanatu invariably has automatically become the breadwinner. She provides every other need of the family apart from the foodstuff from her husband's farm. The children look up to her for almost everything.

Her firstborn, the fifteen-year-old boy is not engaged in any income-generating venture or in school. She hopes to save some money to add to the little income that will come from selling proceeds from her husband's farm the next farm season to pay for his apprenticeship. She has bought a sewing machine intending to send the twelve-year-old girl to learn sewing. She thinks in two years when the girl is fifteen she should have the apprenticeship fee for her to learn how to sew. In the meantime, the girl on a daily basis except weekends goes to help someone with house chores. She is paid sixty Ghana cedis (GHS 60) at the end of the month. She saves a third (GHS 20) of it for the girl, uses a third for the girl's immediate need and a third to augment her younger siblings' pocket money.

Mma Sanatu tells me how she goes about her chores as a wife and mother on a daily basis.

I wake up when they call the first azan for prayer (that is about 4 am). I tidy up the cooking area and light fire to heat water for bathing. I also boil water with which to prepare porridge. By the time I set all these up, it would be time for prayers so I wake Rashida, my twelve-year-old girl. We will pray and she will sweep the compound while I attend to preparing the family breakfast. When she is done, she will fetch water to fill our water pots while I bath her younger sisters. While she is still fetching the water I will put water in the bathroom for my husband to have his bath. My boy too will bath after his father is done. At this time, we will serve the children breakfast so they are not late to school. I will then give them their pocket money and they will go to school. By this time, it would be seven o'clock (7 am).

When the children go to school, I will now serve my husband his breakfast. My son too will come for his. I will take over from the girl to fill the pots. She will now come and bath and take her breakfast. She will wash the dishes and tidy up the cooking area. And go to her madam around eight o'clock (8 am) or eight-thirty (8:30 am).

After she leaves, I would clean our bedroom and have my bath. As for the boy, he doesn't want to do anything. He says the chores are for the girls but I have insisted he sweep his father's room. So that is the only thing he does in the house apart from running errands. When I bath, I take my breakfast and then prepare lunch so that when the children come from school, they will get food to eat. But there are days I wouldn't have foodstuff so if we have leftover food from the previous night, I will warm it and keep for the children. The day I will cook lunch, I will take some to the market so that I won't have to spend

some of the money I get that day to buy food. There are even days that I go to the market and will not get any money. I go to the market only after leaving food for the school children and their brother. As for the girl, she eats at her madam's place.

In the evening when the girl gets to the house, she will make the fire and prepare 'TZ'. She normally gets to the house before me so she will prepare the 'TZ'. By the time she is done, I would be back from the market to prepare the soup. If I am not back, she will put water on the fire so that the fire does not die. Most of the times, I buy ingredients for soup from the money I get from carrying kayayo. When I finish cooking the soup for our supper, I warm water for bathing. I serve the food and we all eat. After that, I bath the children while Rashida washes the dirty bowls.

On Sundays, I don't come to the market so I wash my husband's clothes. Rashida washes her younger siblings' things on Saturday and her own on Sunday after I have finished washing my things and her father's. On weekends when the girls don't go to school, they help Rashida do the chores in the house.

I have to work hard so that my children will have a better future than I have had. As it is, when a child is sick, it is from the money I make from the kaya that I use to take the child to the hospital.

This is the daily life of Mma Sanatu a pregnant, married kayayoo in the main bus stop in the Central Business District of Tamale Metropolis. It is seen that she invariably single-

handedly shoulders the responsibility of providing the needs of her family. Her husband's only contribution is yearly when he harvests from his farm. Although her eldest child is a boy, he does nothing apart from sweep his father's room. The younger girl is seen to help her mother do the house chores and even work to help with the financial needs of the family. Mma Sanatu does all this because the motherly instincts in her move her to provide for her children. The children are learning from the older members of the family; father and mother. The boy refuses to do house chores because 'it is a woman's job' and the girl is copying so fast from her mother to provide for herself and siblings. At her age (12yrs) she is already helping her mother take care of her own needs and her younger sisters'.

The family has also been identified by Baffour (2012) as one institution that assigns gender roles through patriarchy in today's society. Baffour notes that societal authority is conferred on men. In Ghana, men are family heads by default of social expectation and Momanyi, 2007 also writes same. Among the people of the study area, men have been and are still the cultural managers of homes and societies. For instance, men are the traditional heads in every family and chiefs of communities. The child first learns his/her first lesson of patriarchy, which assigns specific roles from the family. He sees his father making the rules all the time and the mother obeying and carrying out such rules, the father only does outdoor chores while the mother does the indoor ones; the father is in the farm while the mother is in the kitchen. The list is endless.

In the family, men are seen to dominate households and control everything. This, therefore, makes the family undoubtedly an important agent in instilling gender roles and values in the study community. Girls learn to be caring, submissive and loving while boys learn to be aggressive and domineering by observing and imitating close family member especially father and mother. In this light, men are individualised and defined through public institutions while women are defined through the institution of family and marriage (Akita, 2010; Janeway, (1980). According to Akita, women are expected to be submissive to their husbands. They are required to demonstrate unquestioned obedience to their husbands as a sign of respect and obedience. Momanyi observes that considering the wider patriarchal ideology, the woman's image is further put into two; the nurturing, humble and submissive creature that conforms to the symbolic order, and the so-called 'eve' image that is a trickster, and a temptress who can disorder a man's world. The story of creation (where Eve/Hawa caused Adam to sin) exemplifies the temptress and trickster image of the woman. Whichever way the woman is described, the man is always seen as the head of the family. The position of man in the family as head and the woman subordinate foster patriarchy.

6.5 Exclusion Processes

Men who are almost always found around the cooking area are seen as weak. This is because; the cooking area is considered a preserve of the woman. Men do not cook they are the providers and the women are the consumers. Men are supposed to do hard work, outdoor work, work that will require muscular energy to carry out. Therefore if a man hangs around the kitchen a lot, he is seen to be someone who does not have the strength

required to do 'men's work' and sometimes cynically called a woman. For this reason, many cooking items like the mortar, pestle, wooden spoon or cooking stick and even the broom are a taboo to be handled by men. In fact, it is even said that if a man is whipped with the broom, he becomes impotent. This obviously will make the man run away from the broom and would not want to get close to it. It shows the extent to which the broom is a taboo to the man and justifies why men should not sweep. Simply, men do not sweep. It can, therefore, be said that the enforcement of the feminineness of these items defines spaces for women as well as men. The exclusion of men in specific chores and areas of the house helps to enforce gender spheres and further drum home male ideology of dominance among the Dagombas. Therefore young boys and girls grow to become gendered subjects through this exclusion processes (Momanyi 2007). They internalise gender differences that assign gender roles, which they grow to practice. Boys are seen to attain a model of masculinity if they identify more with their father and less with their mother.

6.6 Gender Socialisation

According to Kārkliņa (2015), boys between the ages of eleven and fifteen already have a fully developed understanding of the gender expectations concerning household tasks and domestic life. They develop this understanding through the means of observation, copying, role-play and key among them is through language. Oakley (1972), argues that children learn what it means to be feminine and masculine not just from their parents (significant others) but by looking at themselves and their parents in terms of wider social expectations about gender (the 'generalized other')

Patriarchal hegemonic order does not only put the man above the woman but also structures language and gender rules that control/govern speech behaviour. According to Momanyi (2007), language plays an important role in maintaining this social and cultural order because it is an expression of the position of the speaker. This fact is true of Dagbanli as Dagombas have expressions like, "a man does not cry". Crying or shedding tears by a man is seen as a sign of weakness and weakness is considered a characteristic of a woman."Talk like a man". Man must be bold, loud and clear. A man is considered not man enough if he is soft-spoken."A woman does not behead a snake". This is a proverb that is usually used to tell the woman that no matter how good or how much her contribution is to the family, the man always has the final say. Yes 'she can kill the snake, but when it gets to cut off its head, that should be left for the man to do. The man should always make the final decision in a family. The man takes the credit for the efforts of the woman in this sense.

Closely linked in meaning to this is,"who owns Nabala, not to talk of her belongings."? The woman is seen as the property of the man so all her possessions belong to the man. So if a woman is brave enough to kill a snake, the man takes credit for that. If the woman provides the family needs (which is the responsibility of the man), the man takes credit for it. Nabala in the proverb represents the woman. If the woman works hard and acquires property, the property and the woman both belong to the man. Therefore the woman and all her possessions belong to the man.

In conclusion, the institution of religion, marriage, and family system among the Dagombas are tools used to foster patriarchy through assigning gender roles to its members. This is achieved through the payment of bride price, language and exclusion process.

6.7 Gender Roles in Patriarchal Society (Tamale)

Following from review of literature on patriarchy, we will turn our attention to how patriarchy has contributed to enforce gender roles that have compelled women and girls to engage in kaya.The ethnic groups in the study area belong to the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group and Dagombas are the majority. These ethnic groups have a lot in common in terms of culture. My discussion with especially married kayayei revealed that the type of family system practised in the study area is a major push factor of female kayayo. Dagombas who are the majority of the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group are the indigenous people of the area. Culturally, the people have a lot in common and are predominantly Muslims. Traditionally men are allowed to marry more than one. According to the participants, Islam also allows the men to marry one up to four women provided they can provide for them and also be just between or among them. Mayama had this to say when she was asked who according to the dictates of tradition was responsible for the child, the father or the mother

"religion (Islam) says that, if a man can afford to take care of two women, he can marry them, if he can afford to take care of four women, it is also allowed. He will be responsible for the woman. He brought her. The children she will give birth to, he will be

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responsible for. If he doesn't take care of them, in the hereafter he will be asked to account for how you took care of your family."

Although the question was on tradition, she delved into religion. Her response is an indication that religion has taken a centre stage in the lives of the people hence influences a lot of things including the choice of livelihood venture that one engages in. during my interaction with participants, they made references to religion as an institution that influences a lot of things they do. So to seek clarity to the things they said, I talked to some Islamic scholars. My conversation with Ustaz Yousif a key informant confirmed the view of the participants that Islam permits the man to marry one up to four wives. "… then marry the woman of your choice, two, three or four; but if you fear you will not be able to deal justly (with them), then marry only one." USTAZ YOUSIF.

"Marry the woman you love and who is religious. One or two or three or four. It also says that, but if you cannot treat them equally and be just to both of them and their children, then marry one". Hajia Mariam.

The impression I got from talking to the kayayei is that they have no problem with the man marrying more than one woman since both Islam and cultural tradition allow it. What they do not like about it is that they say the men do not live up to their responsibility of caring for them and their children.

Among the Dagombas, men have been and are still the cultural/traditional managers of homes and communities. For instance, I learnt during one of my long conversations with participants that men are the traditional heads in every family and chiefs of communities. In the family, they take major decisions and have the ultimate say in making rules in both family and community. In a conversation with Mba Salifu, one of my key informants, he stated that men are family heads and alluded to the fact that men are those who have the final say in taking major decisions about the family. This he said when I had a chat with him about how marriage is contracted traditionally among Dagombas. He said in no uncertain terms that "a woman does not behead a snake". I woman must not take the final decision.

In fact, men serve as elders who sit in council with the chief who is also male. This gives rise to a tendency of rules that are positively skewed towards men. It also ensures a deepening of already existing patriarchal hegemonic order by way of what is acceptable and what is not in the community. Interestingly, women in the past up to now have been custodians of these male ideologies to an extent that, they have internalised them well enough to become part of their daily lives. It is a common practice for women to stop their male children from partaking in domestic chores. Their excuse is that the man's place is NOT among woman (in the kitchen).

It is therefore obvious that in the study area males dominate and that patriarchy is upheld. Patriarchy is reported to permeate the socio-economic lives of the people. This adversely affects the female folk of the area contributing to their engaging in kayayo. Some notable

factors that promote patriarchy among the Dagombas are marriage, payment of bride price, religion, family hierarchy, language and exclusion processes.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PATRIARCHY AND KAYAYO

7.0 Introduction

Chapter seven addresses the subject matter of patriarchy which underpins the cultural factors of the trade, kayayoo. Specifically, much of this section of the study is dedicated to objective three of the four objectives of the study: (3) interrogate the patriarchal hegemonic dynamics that influence their choice of trade. This section begins with patriarchy, a masculine hegemonic order and ends with discussions on the influence of religion, be it traditional or Islam in enforcing this hegemonic order

7.2 Patriarchy: A Masculine Hegemonic Order

Data collected has revealed that patriarchy is a major push factor that compels women and girls to engage in kayayo. This has necessitated a review of the literature on patriarchy. The word patriarchy has its root from the Latin word 'pater', which means father (Akita, 2010). Most often than not, it points to the political power and authority of men in society and can also refer to the power and authority of fathers within families. Also, patriarchy is a system that approves the dominance of men over women which brings about the concentration of privilege and power with men. This system consequently ensures the control and subordination of women, which generates social inequality of the sexes (Akita, 2010 p. 45). Patriarchal societies, therefore, see "maleness" as the yardstick for measuring the thinking and general behaviour of human beings. It, therefore, means that in such societies men are seen as superior and of greater value than women.

Patriarchy is deeply rooted in tribal society. It is believed that patriarchy was institutionalised by post-tribal societies into complex units like the legal system, religion and even government structures. Akita argues that some form of patriarchy has prevailed in most human societies, reinforced by cultural values derived from systems of male dominance. Patriarchal practice has permeated the fabric of all human endeavour such that it appears so natural for one to think that it is not created by a humanly constructed social order that is both changing and changeable. Akita argues that "even in countries where legal equality of women and men has been established, the deep psychological and cultural roots of patriarchy survive as a belief system in the minds of many women and men" (Akita, 2010 p. 44). A patriarchal society, therefore, is one that is characterised by the degree to which "it promotes male privileges by being male-dominated, male-identified, and male-centred" (p. 44). Patriarchy can, therefore, be seen from a societal or structural point of view as one that is initiated by men and has men as its principal beneficiaries.

Goldberg (1993), states in Akita (2010) that any system of organisation, be it political, religious, economic or social, that places authority and leadership basically with the male, and that which allows the male to occupy a large proportion of authority and leadership position is nothing but a patriarchal system. Akita recognises that though societies have developed different types of political, economic, religious and social systems, these societies have never failed to associate authority and leadership in these areas with men. The author observes that though some nations especially in Africa where queen mothers

have held powerful positions, it is still an undeniable fact that power has never ceased to be "vested in the men" (p.47). Akita gives a brief history of how patriarchy came about.

7.3 Patriarchal society

Patriarchal societies emerged about nine thousand years ago when people changed from living nomadic lives in small groups to larger and more permanent farm settlements. This brought about the idea of private ownership, which led to the birth of social classes and class exploitation. This move introduced the patriarchal model that stressed control. People learnt to control their natural environment in order to plant and harvest. This was followed by the control of domestic animals for food and for the provision of labour. Men then gained an understanding of the role they played in reproduction that reduced their reverence for women. The above factors influenced the worldview that subsequently ordered the world into unequal binaries which made men superior over women. (Akita, 2010 p. 35).

Another reason for the disparity between the roles of men and women is the hegemonic possibilities between people where one has dominance over the other. The hegemonic order could be masculine or feminine. In this case, the hegemony is a masculine one where men dominate women. According to Momanyi, (2007 p.17), in a society that practices hegemonic masculinity, the dominance of men over women has been so institutionalised that it is considered a natural phenomenon. Momanyi, (2007) warns that the hegemonic power structure does not necessarily mean that men are those who dominate women. The author explains that at any given time in a particular culture, both

men and women will support a hegemonic masculine order. Consequently, the dominant group in power will ensure that subordinate groups accept the way things are and live by the rules prescribed to them by the high and mighty in society (in this case, patriarchal society). Associating this to what happens in the study area, the subordinate group is the woman (wife) and her family while the dominant group is the man (husband) and his family. Both groups consist of both male and females. Therefore it supports Monanyi's argument that in hegemonic power structures, men are not necessarily the ones dominating women. What is important is that there is always a dominant and subordinate group.

Language and gender rules that govern speech and behaviour are controlled by masculine hegemonic structures. Language, therefore, is a major tool used to ensure the continuity of masculine hegemonic order in societies that are patriarchal. This is why in many African societies one can hear such utterances like 'don't cry like a woman' or 'fight like a man'. Because men are linked to power structures, there is a tendency to associate them with images or instruments of power. Patriarchal societies have social constructs that direct what people think, do and/or not do to show their femininity or masculinity. Momanyi, (2007) writes that usually, masculinity is born through a "historical process that ensures gender practices controlled by a hegemonic symbolic order sanctioned by male ideologies" (Momanyi, 2007 p.12). Patriarchal societies fall largely on Sex-role theory where people learn from the established social institutions to behave in ways that are socially acceptable and appropriate to their sex (ibid). This theory recognises the divide between men and women where men are considered to be aggressive, rational,

dominant and objective. They are seen to value power, competency and achievement. Women, on the other hand, are considered to be passive, submissive, egoistic, emotional, and subjective.

In consonance with male/female stratification and the supremacy of men over women, Momanyi, (2007) adds that, men are not allowed to be around the cooking area in most African traditions, because they do not usually cook. For this reason, objects like the wooden spoon or cooking stick, mortar and pestle or even the broom, are usually taboo objects to men. The enforcement of the femininity of these objects defines spaces for men and women at home. She further argues that, the construction of masculinities brings about gender spheres through the exclusion of men in specific areas of the home and society. Young girls and boys, therefore, have been taught gender identities for a long time through exclusion processes and as they grow up, they become gendered subjects and internalise gender differences that assign gender roles. For example, for a boy to attain a model of masculinity embodied in the father, he must stop identifying himself with his mother and reject the feminine aspects associated with her (Momanyi, 2007).

Such observations are also common among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group in Ghana and in almost all communities in Ghana. Akita, (2010) observes that it appears there is a near unanimity that in Ghana and other African countries patriarchal manifestations are deeply embedded in the political, economic and social structures. Akita (2010, p.65) states that, Africa's present customary law is the byproduct of an evolution of African customs, common and civil law notions of an imported colonialism, and religious concepts from

Islam, Christianity and a number of other traditional African religions that have resulted in the firmly rooted patriarchal systems that are seen in Ghana and other African countries (Akita, 2010, p.65).

In the United States, the issue of why sexual inequality still existed was raised after the woman had gained legal equity and the right to vote (Akita, 2010, Patriarchy Encyclopedia, 2008) this gave rise to the feminist movement. Feminist thinking is, therefore, a reaction to patriarchal hegemonic order of society. Therefore, questioning patriarchal order in society gave birth to feminism and its derivatives. According to Akita, (2010), the way feminism and feminist are presented as unpopular is a typical patriarchal culture.

7.4 Marriage and Patriarchy

All over the world, marriage is an institution used to establish and maintain family life. According to Baffour (2012), In Ghana, marriage is a group affair (between families) instead of the popular notion that marriage is a union between a man and a woman. The institution of marriage in Ghana is one of the mechanisms used to foster patriarchal order.

The payment of bride price is a fundamental practice in contracting marriages in Ghana. This practice though is a customary practice is evident in all marriages. Baffour, (2012, p.34) notes that even those who go through the essentials of establishing legal and religious unions try to abide by the traditional requirements before adding whatever

embellishments they wish to offer. Thus the payment of bride price always precedes the legal or the religious (Christian and Muslim) marriages.

Also, men in Ghanaian communities are regarded breadwinners and for that matter control economic resources of the family while the women are responsible for domestic duties. The economic power that men hold starts from the day of the marriage contract where they are required to pay the bride price. Bride price though said to be a religious and customary requirement, some men do not think so. To the men, it defines the identity, responsibility, and authority of men in Ghana (Baffour, 2012). Majority of men control resources and are regarded as breadwinners of families whereas women are responsible for all household chores; cooking, washing, and child care. In conjugal partnerships, husbands are traditionally required to provide money for the upkeep of the home, which naturally makes them financially powerful. Thus, there is an institutionalised power structure in marriages in Ghana which is legitimated by customs, traditions and culture; and men and women within the larger social system are motivated to act to achieve equilibrium in the system. (Baffour 2012, p. 21).

Generally, men are responsible for the wellbeing of the family; wife and children. A respondent captures this in the following words, "A man has to provide money for the upkeep of the home, paying the children's school fees, providing the needs of the wife and all that" (Female respondent supermarket). The woman, on the other hand, is expected to be submissive to their husbands. As a sign of respect and obedience, they are required to demonstrate unquestioned obedience to their husbands.

7.5 Religion and Patriarchy

Human beings usually submit to one religion or another, and even those who are atheists have a spiritual concept unto which they hold. People believe in the existence of God and may lean towards one religion or another, or may believe in the absence of any deities**.** Religion has been identified as patriarchal or male-dominated. Its structure tells who is in charge and who takes orders. (Akita, 2010). My opinion is that many religions have a patriarchal structure, and are institutionally skewed towards male supremacy

The impact of colonisation on traditional African religion cannot be doubted. According to Akita, (2010), before Africans were colonised, both sexes were equally represented in the religious and power-related positions. This is substantiated by the reference to God as *"Asaaseyaa"* by the Akans of Ghana. 'Asaase' means 'earth' in Akan and 'Yaa' is a female name. Therefore, 'Asaaseyaa' to the Akans of Ghana is the Earth Goddess. The Ga people, on the other hand, perceive God as both male and female. "Ataa Naa Nyomo," Ataa being male and Naa being female. Accordingly, the name is given the Supreme Being as "Ataa-Naa Nyonmo" (God who is He, "Ata and She, "Naa"). The fact that the Ga people acknowledge the equality of men and women is never in doubt because they acknowledge God as both male and female. (51-52). Also, they have priests and priestesses, kings and queen mothers to show that for every male authority, there was a female counterpart.

Today's remnants of traditional African religion have gone through series of metamorphosis as a result of foreign intrusion whereby Victorian antecedents nurtured

patriarchy in most colonised nations in Africa after African traditions came in contact with colonisation. Akita states that proverbs, mythology and even prayer that present the religious wisdom of African peoples have been skewed towards male dominance.

According to Darvishpour (2003), religions generally have a patriarchal view of the relationship between the genders because of the way the various scriptures perceive the relationship between Adam and Eve. Adam was created first and Eve was created second from Adam, as his helper. Because of the order of creation, Adam is seen as head and Eve as subordinate. Also, Adam's dominion over animals before the creation of Eve is the foundation for patriarchy. Simply by his dominion, by the task of naming creation, fundamentalist interpretation places Eve in a subordinate position. So, if from the start Eve's role is read as a servant to her partner, then interpreting all daughters of Eve, all women, as servants fall right into place (Moghadam, 1992, 2004; Essien & Ukpong, 2012; Sims, 2016 and, Hebrew, n.d.).

Sims, (2016) further explains that God seen as male and man created in His image is another reason why religion considers man as superior to woman."God was declared male, and the man was declared to be created in His likeness. Eve became a symbol of temptation and sin. The woman was consequently judged as a less likely candidate for salvation and everlasting life in heaven than man". (Sims, 2016,p.1)

The author argues that though the Bible depicts the value of a wife as being more than that of precious jewels, this value comes at a great price. She quotes Prov. 31:10, (KJV).

4. Wives, in the same way, accept the authority of your husbands, so that, even if some of them do not obey the word, they may be won over without a word by their wives' conduct, when they see the purity and reverence of your lives. Do not adorn yourselves outwardly by braiding your hair, and by wearing gold ornaments or fine clothing; rather, let your adornment be the inner self with the lasting beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is very precious in God's sight. It was in this way long ago that the holy women who hoped in God used to adorn themselves by accepting the authority of their husbands. Thus Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him lord (Sims, 2016,p.8-9).

She interprets this to mean that a virtuous wife must submit to her husband, dress conservatively to his satisfaction, bear and rear large broods of children, keep the home tidy and clean, and be intimately available to her husband. Sims explains that the virtuous woman must comply with all the above responsibilities, as well as adhere to strict limitations. She must not work outside the home, she must not attempt to thwart her husband's authority, she must not attempt to have authority over any man, she must not complain about her lot in life. She must leave all final decisions to her husband and not argue. All of the above is to be accepted and executed graciously. Only then can she truly be a virtuous wife. According to her, the New Testament, 1 Peter: 3-6: also has this as a model for a wife.

So why is it so crucial that women submit, and that men lead the way? The need for women to submit and men to lead the way lies in various verses of scripture starting of course with the story of Eve for Christians and Hawa for Muslims.

In the Bible, Genesis 2 describes the creation of flora, fauna and of humanity. In the Genesis story, Adam came first and Eve was created second, from Adam, as his helper. The head of the family in Islamic marriage is the husband, by virtue of his role as the maintainer of the family: "Men shall take full care of women with the bounties which Allah has bestowed more abundantly on the former than on the latter, and with what they may spend out of their possessions. And the righteous women are the truly devout ones, who guard the intimacy which Allah has (ordained to be) guarded ... " (Qur'an 4:34).

Women are interpreted to be subservient in the part of the sura that says "And the righteous women are the truly devout ones, who guard the intimacy which Allah has (ordained to be) guarded ...". however, Qur'an 2:228 says that "And women have rights equal to the rights incumbent on them according to what is equitable" and goes on to add that "and men have a degree above them". Though men and women have equal rights in Islam as far as it is permissible by the way they are created. This notwithstanding, Islam is seen as a religion that approves patriarchal order by making the man head of the family.

Amira (2010) however states that it is the propaganda campaign by Westerners and people with a Westernised perspective to consistently accuse Islam of being unjust to women, by imposing restrictions on them and marginalising their role in society. She intimates that the different features and characteristics of males and females allow them to complement each other and require each other's company. She quotes Qur'an chapter 30 verse 21 in support of her view."Another of His signs is that He created spouses from

amongst yourselves for you to live with, in tranquillity: He ordained love and kindness between you. There truly are signs in this for those who reflect" (Qur'an 30:21).

According to her, the roles assigned to both men and women are done according to their strengths and not a preference of one over the other. She concludes her work by stating among others as follows:

1. the Islamic viewpoint, women hold the same human value as men.

2. value is not merely figurative or symbolic but real and results in women and men sharing general obligations and responsibilities in front of God and society.

3. in some rights and duties, or what we might call special functions, have no relation to superiority or inferiority. They are related to the necessity of complementation and distributing roles so as to maintain and improve life on earth.

4. in Islam has nothing to do with gender or with any material or symbolic value, but only with piety and observing one's divinely appointed charges which are called for by justice. (Amira, 2010)

Moghadam, (1992) maintains that religions generally sanction patriarchy because they came into being in patriarchal societies. The author states that Like Judaism and Christianity before it, Islam came into being in a patriarchal society. Therefore patriarchy continues to govern gender relations in Muslim societies because of the persistence of tribal structures and kin-ordered networks. The effect of such patriarchal relationship on women according to Sims (2016) is that "as so many of these women grew up in a culture

of submission, and were taught submission and were to live submissively, they knew no differently. If they truly believed that their own actions, veering away from what they were taught, were the cause of the abuse, then to them there was no other choice than to submit better "(Sims, 2916, p. 15)

From the discussion above, I conclude that even if religion is generally patriarchal as Moghadam, (1992) wants us to believe, cultural practices have influenced the degree to which men are preferred over women in our societies. This is evident in what happens in the study area. For instance, women in the community are dissuaded from talking about their woes, as this is also laid out very explicitly in their duties - to not speak ill of their husband or their lot in life. This dissuasion is common to both religion and tradition. In a focus group discussion with participants, one of the participants cautioned the 'silent lady' for revealing so much about her family. According to the participant, traditionally, that amounted to 'selling out' (betrayal of) her children.

Men are entrusted with safeguarding family honour through their control over female members; they are backed by complex social arrangements that ensure the protection - and dependence of women. In contemporary Muslim patriarchal societies, such control over women is considered necessary in part because women are regarded as the potential source of fitna, that is, moral or social disorder (Moghadam, 1994). From the discussion above, it is evidently clear that both tradition and Islam encourage patriarchy and therefore spell out ways to enforce it

7.6 Influence of Islam in Enforcing Patriarchal order in the Tamale Metropolis

Religion has been identified as another driver of the masculine patriarchal order. Since Islam is widely practised in the area, our discussion is going to be skewed towards Islam and patriarchy. Little mention will be made of the other religions. Ibnouf (2015) explains that the opening verse of Surat An-Nisa (The Women) indicates that there is no superiority for one sex over the other.

: "O mankind! Reverence your Guardian-Lord, who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, his mate, and from them, twain scattered (like seeds) countless men and women; fear Allah, through Whom ye demand your mutual (rights), and (reverence) the wombs (that bore you): for Allah ever watches over you". Qur'an 4:1

According to Ibnouf (2015), both genders are created from a single soul, with the same human and spiritual nature. Allah (God) has created mankind out of one living entity, and out of it created its mate, and out of the two spread abroad a multitude of men and women. Islam elevates the demeaned status of women and grants them rights equal to those of men. The wording of the aforementioned Quranic verse indicated that the primary Islamic text does not specify one specific sex over the other which is proof of gender non-bias and equality. Surat 9 verse 71 is another verse in the Qur'an that states in no uncertain terms the equal treatment of both sexes in the Qur'an;

The Believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another: they enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil: they observe regular prayers, practise regular charity, and obey Allah and His Messenger. On them will Allah pour His Mercy: for Allah is Exalted in

Power, Wise.From the surat, men and women have the same responsibilities and Allah has declared in this verse that He will have mercy on those who will perform these responsibilities be they male or female. Women are not exempted from any of these obligations and responsibilities because of their gender. From these arguments, I am positive that the issue of women portrayed as subservient and Islam promoting patriarchy is a problem of interpretation. Though Islam is widely practised in the study area, its patriarchal social system cannot solely be blamed on Islam.

Being a Dagomba and living among Dagombas, one cannot fail to notice the dominance of masculinity perpetuated by the social and political systems practised. During one of my focus group discussions, I made an attempt to find out whom according to custom and tradition is responsible for providing the needs of the child in a family. One of the participants responded that religion (Islam) stipulates that women should serve their husbands and care for the children while the man provides for both child (ren) and wife. Though the question was on custom and tradition, the response that came was a religious reason. This shows the extent to which Islam has been misinterpreted and permeated the lives of the people. Imported and/or misinterpreted Islamic patriarchal ideologies coupled with the existing cultural ideologies have amalgamated to give birth to what is being practised in the north. The people have been influenced so much by the Islamic religion that it is now very difficult to say which practice is Islamic and which is not. For instance the practice of 'moni' and buying of 'talia', one wonders whether they are Islamic practices or cultural practices.

Islam is seen to be a religion that sanctions polygyny. According to Momanyi (2007), polygyny has given birth to uncertainties, jealousies and rivalries among co-wives. Therefore, in order to catch the attention of the husband and be able to acquire a place in Paradise, co-wives enter into unhealthy "competitions to gain favour from the head of the family who is the man" (p. 23). This unhealthy competition invariably pushes women into taking up some male roles. This brings about untold hardship on the women who in the long run engage in kaya to be able to compete well if not win the competition. The men sit back and enjoy the women compete to perform their responsibilities as men

Due to this, it is understandable why according to Mayama (a respondent), her aunt asked her to go to kayayoo to buy things in preparation for marriage. Already, Mayama's aunt imagined that Mayama may have a co-wife and wants her well prepared to enter marriage. It was revealed in one of my interviews that it is a mark of weakness if a woman does not have all the things necessary for her to perform her wifely duties in her husband's compound especially if the co-wife has those possessions. That, it is belittling to beg from a co-wife what you should have. This is one of the major reasons why especially married women are engaged in kayayo. Some of them though do not have co-wives, anticipate that their husbands may bring in other wives and want to get everything that they think they need before that happens. They consider it more belittling when a junior co-wife has things that the senior one does not have. This anticipation stern from the fact that Islam allows polygyny and the woman is already in competition before she gets married. Given this, with or without the help of the man (husband), wives are compelled by the system of marriage to acquire certain things. In most cases, the man is

oblivious of the acquisition of these items though it is his responsibility to provide the needs of the family. Islam states categorically the rights and responsibilities of the husband over the wife and the responsibilities of the woman towards the husband in Qur'an chapter four (An-Nisa), verse thirty-four."Men are in charge of women, because God has made one of them excel the other and because they spend their property (for the support of women). So good women are obedient, guarding in secret that which God has guarded. …" Quran, chapter 4 (An-Nisa), verse 34

It is clear that the husband is responsible for the maintenance of the woman while the woman is supposed to be devoutly obedient towards the husband. In reference to the verse quoted above, men are given the authority over women (*"Men are in charge of women ...")* and women subservient to men ("So good women are obedient, guarding in secret that which God has guarded. …"). From the foregoing, it is clear that Islam encourages patriarchy by making man the head over women.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The principal objective of ethnography is unearthing the lived experiences of a people in their natural setting through close observation, interaction and possible participation in their daily activities (Leech & Onwuegbuzie 2007, Akita 2010, Baffour 2012, Jacob & Furgerson, 2012). The main objective of this thesis, therefore, was to, discover, understand and report the cultural and gender underpinnings that determine females' choice and participation in kayayo. To achieve this broad objective, I set out to first find out cultural and gender factors motivating young women and girls in the Tamale Metropolis to engage in head portage (kayayo). Secondly to find out what gains there are in the trade as kayayei negotiates their daily challenges to make a living. Also, I sought to discover how dynamics of male dominance in a patriarchal society influence kayayei and the choices they make. Lastly to find out the most appropriate way(s) that can impact positively the lives of kayayei in the study area leading to influencing policy.

To achieve these, I used observation, passive participant observation, interviews (in-depth interviews and key informant interviews), focus group discussions and review of existing related literature. I mainly used semi-structured interviews in the form of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with participants and key informant interviews. Other sources of data were Observation and passive participant observation and review of related literature. Information collected from these sources were triangulated and used to address the objectives I set out to achieve. The ethnographic population from which participants were selected included all kayayei in the Central

Business District of the Tamale Metropolis, shop owners, patrons of the services of kayayei and the architectural structure of the markets. The architectural structure of the markets was included in the population because it played an important role in the shift of the trade from a male-dominated one to a female. The inclusion of the markets was further necessitated by the choice of approach, ethnography. Ethnography relies heavily on the environment (setting) of events to reveal the unspoken realities of people. Therefore the inclusion of the setting in the population was key in achieving the objectives of the study. All members of the population had an equal opportunity to be selected. Every member of the population was a target and stood an equal opportunity to be a participant. Refer to 3.7 Ethnographic location (Population).

8.2 Findings

In trying to unearth the socio-cultural and gender underpinnings of kayayo, I set out to find out if there are any cultural and gender factors motivating young women and girls in the Tamale Metropolis to engage in head portage (kayayo). The research revealed that there are gendered cultural factors behind the material, social and economic reasons already identified by Opare, (2003); Berg, (2007); Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, (2008); Ahlvin, (2012). It was found that material factors such as buying culinary items, clothes, pots among others, have cultural significance for the kayayei. Among the people in the study area, information collected revealed that young women had to prepare for marriage by acquiring certain material things. The preparation is said to be the responsibility of the parent or the guardian with whom the girl lives. Many of the times, these parents or guardians are unable to get these items for the young girls to prepare

them for marriage. Because of the cultural significance of getting these items, the girls are encouraged to engage in some kind of economic activity in order to help acquire the said things. In the past young girls helped as farm hands on farms and they were paid with some of the harvests from the farm. The produce was collected, stored and sold in the lean season when their prices had appreciated. Money from the sale was kept and used to buy such things for the girl. According to Ntewusu, (2012), because of the implementation of SAP, the military intervention of 1981 and chieftaincy and ethnic related conflicts in the north, farmers are unable to farm on large scale to require the use of farmhands. So the girls do not get to work on farms as farmhands therefore job opportunities on the farms no longer exist as in the past. Also, this work revealed that the use of tractors, harvesters and other technologically improved farm tools has reduced the amount of work to be done by farmhands. This is as a result of the minimal level of modernization of agriculture. For instance, tractors and combine harvesters are used in tilling the land and harvesting of crops respectively. In addition, weedicides are used to clear the land generally reducing the farmhands required on the farm. Education has also contributed to young girls not wanting to do farm work. In situations where there is an opportunity for the girls to work on farms, they are unwilling because farm work is looked down upon. Subsequently, they are compelled by the need to get these items in preparation for marriage to go into the market and serve as kayayei. The things girls acquire to prepare for marriage is called 'Talia' in Dagbani. 'Talia' therefore is one of the gendered cultural requirements that necessitate a young girl to engage in kayayo.

After the girl is married, culture demands that she goes back to her parents to prepare and come back to begin cooking the family meal ('moni') in her marital home. Hitherto, she only helped in the preparation of the meal, but its responsibility did not rest on her. The responsibility of cooking in the husband's household becomes hers only after she has given birth. That is the time she is truly a member of the household. The birth of a child is an indication that the woman has come to stay. In order to carry out this responsibility, the young woman is required to go back to her people for them to prepare her to come back and take up the responsibility properly. The young woman is taught how to take care of a child and her husbands while she is with her people. She engages in some form of economic activity to enable her to get all that is needed to make her capable of cooking the family meal in her husband's house upon her return.

Apart from the things she needs to cook, it is also her responsibility to provide bowls in which to serve the people in her husband's compound. Culturally, they call it " 'ŋanbara'. So the young woman after marriage is bedeviled with the demand of taking up 'moni'; the cooking of the family meal as well as the provision of bowls ('ŋanbara') with which to serve the people when she cooks. With this in mind, the young woman who has no capital to start a trade and no one to assist her to get these things finds solace in kayayo that requires only an old head basin to start.

In conclusion, the provision of things acquired in preparation for marriage ('talia'), bowls for serving meals ('ŋanbara') and things for taking responsibility of cooking the family meal ('moni') has cultural significance to the study population that is why the girls will

stop at nothing to procure these things. These have remotely placed significant importance on the material factors that have been identified by Opare, (2003); Berg, (2007); Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, (2008); Ahlvin, (2012), which has led to female engagement in kayayo; precarious labour.

It was also found that polygyny is another socio-cultural factor that compels young girls from the study area to carry kaya. Men are allowed by culture to marry as many women as they can. Islam which is the dominant religion in the area also allows men to marry one up to four wives provided they can afford and be just between/among the women. With the backing of both tradition and religion, polygyny is widely practised in the study area. This practice builds some unhealthy competition among co-wives. Each of them wants to be the one to have everything so she won't have to 'beg' from the other wife. Therefore in trying to outdo one another in possessions, they are compelled by the circumstance to engage in kayayo. Most often than not, they have no capital to begin a trade and have no employable skill to be employed in the formal sector. In this case, kayayo becomes handy. So like 'talia', 'moni', and ' 'ŋanbara', polygyny is another gendered socio-cultural factor that leads to the practice of kayayo.

Foster parenting of the girl child is widely practised among the people of the northern region especially among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group comprising the Moshi, Mamprusi, Nanumba and Dagomba. It is a practice in the north that the first girl child of a couple is given to her paternal aunt for upbringing. The essence of this according to Mba Salifu, a key informant is to strengthen family ties. Mba Salifu said that in the past,

such foster children were the favourites of the aunts over their biological children. This was so because the aunts considered such foster children as their own because of the patrilineal family system they practice. Although the patrilineal family system is still practised among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic groups, education and modernisation have weakened such practices. This has affected the way foster children are brought up. Now the aunts care very little about the foster children. The girls are mostly not provided for and left to provide for themselves. This has made most of them to become kayayei in order that they can make some money to take care of their basic needs. Therefore, foster parenting of the girl child by the paternal aunt is one major contributor to the presence of kayayei in our markets.

To add to the above one social factor that has contributed immensely to the kaya phenomenon is changing times. Unlike days of old when formal education was not widespread, people were content with the informal education they received from home. Now, formal education is widespread and is also costly. Formal education seems to dictate who gets employed in the formal sector which is the eye of every youth. This has increased the family expenditure, which the man cannot shoulder alone in most cases. The woman whose primary responsibility it is to do mostly indoor chores is now compelled by the circumstance to go out there and look for some work to help with the family expenditure. In the case of the women in the study area, most of them have very little to no formal education and also have no skill that will enable them decent employment. Their only option is to do menial jobs hence their choice of kayayo.

The spread of formal education has led to advancement in science and technology. Advanced education and technology has led to the provision and spread in electricity and mobile technology. These services and technologies are used by almost all including the rural folk. The use of electricity to power homes and gargets requires that payment be made. Credit must be bought for the use of cellular phones. For the treated water that runs through pipes into homes, the water bill must be paid. All these are added expenditure that hitherto were not known. It, therefore, goes to increase the total expenditure of the family if all these things must be used. Although such expenditure is supposed to be the responsibility of the man, the woman because of her role as a caregiver, provider and producer naturally will want to ensure that things are well taken care of if the man fails to provide. To meet the demands of the changing times, women are also in the open job market working as their male counterpart to take care of domestic needs. Unfortunately for the women in the study area, the only job opportunity available to them is menial jobs and kayayo is the most attractive.

This study, therefore, has confirmed the socio-economic and material factors of kayayo that have been identified by research. It has further revealed that 'talia'; 'moni', ' 'ŋanbara', polygyny, and foster parenting of girls are the cultural underpinnings of these socio-economic and material factors. Also, gender roles and changing times have been identified as additional remote factors that compel young women and girls to become kayayei

Secondly, I set out to find out what gains there are in the trade as kayayei negotiate their daily challenges to make a living. This work has been discussed extensively on how risky kayayo is. In the face of such challenges, one wonders why young girls and women continue to ply the trade. In presenting how kayayei negotiate the challenges of their trade, in other to benefit, reference is made to 'Woes of a kayayoo', a case in chapter four. This case brings out burdens embedded in kayayo. It is an encounter I had with a kayayoo who carried six bags of 50kg of sugar from the Aboabo market to the Savelugu station only to be given three Ghana cedis (GHS3). Apart from the fact that the young girl strained to carry each bag, the distance covered was long and the risk involved in carrying the bags across the roads was high. In the process, her slippers got thorn that she had to do the journey on barefoot. At the end of it all, she was underpaid and verbally abused. This case brings out the vulnerability of kayayei. They risk everything they hold dear including their lives with the hope of getting money for their basic needs only to be cheated, abused and insulted. In the face of all the difficulties that characterise the kaya trade, one wonders what merits there are in the trade.

For schoolgirls who double as kayayei, they are able to get pocket money to go to school. They are able to pay fees, buy books and sew school uniform. Generally, the kaya trade enables them to take care of their school needs which parents are unable to provide them with.

For the adults, their main benefit is that kayayo enables them to provide food for the family. They are also able to meet some material and financial obligations such as,

buying culinary items, clothes and paying their debts. They put their very lives at risk to achieve this.

Development through remittance and skill and knowledge transfer are some gains the trade is said to have but empirical evidence differs markedly from this conviction. Tellingly, the skills migrants acquire from menial jobs may be of limited relevance to their home regions (Awumbila et al., 2008). Serbeh, et al. (2016, p.8) proposes that, until proponents of this view prove that skills acquired through carrying heavy loads, selling dog chains and washing plates at chop bars (local restaurants) may be successfully brought to bear on agriculture (the mainstay of the northern economy), this argument remains flawed. Skill and knowledge transfer may stand true for international migration but may be argued that migrants may have very little to offer in terms of local-level development.

For the short term, one would say that kayayo has proven to be beneficial as long as it empowers them to feed and clothe. For its long-term benefits, many participants do not think it is worth the stress. This accounts for the reason why many of them say if they got a better livelihood opportunity, they would stop carrying kaya. They are wide-awake to the fact that they can only be kayayei as long as their strength can carry them. Mma Fuseina in the old market confessed that she would not want her child to become a kayayoo although the trade has been very beneficial to her and her family. Her worry is the lack of security and the generally hazardous nature of the trade. "today, I am

benefiting from kayayo because I have the strength to carry loads. If I become weak I will have no work to do again".

With the uncertainty of not knowing how much they will make in a day or even whether or not they would make any money at all, kayayei are happy they have something to do to give them the opportunity to meet their basic needs. They are very optimistic they will get something at the end of the day. The gains of kayayo, therefore, lie in the unflinching hope of kayayei and not the certainty of what they will benefit from it.

Putting all the things female kayayei say they are able to achieve because of the work they do together, one would conclude that the uncertain provision of the basic need of food and clothes are the fundamental benefits of kayayo. Kayayei are very much aware of the fact that there is no security in the job they do but are unwilling to abandon the trade. To them, kayayo is their only hope of survival in a world that has provided very little if any at all to better their lots.

Discussion in this study suggests that migration to carry kaya may not always result in such pleasant outcomes as migrants strive to eke out a living at their destinations. Living in congested rooms, poor access to essential services and lower incomes are not indicative of good quality life. It could, therefore, be argued that the north-south movement should not be conceived as an expression of migrant's agency to reduce poverty but rather an option that may sacrifice human dignity under the guise of pursuing

well being (Serbeh, et al. 2016). In my view, this may account for Tamale becoming a hub for the trade

Also, I sought to discover how dynamics of male dominance in a patriarchal society influence kayayei and their choice of work.

Payment of bride price; according to participants, the payment of the bride price has led to most men likening the woman to buying a commodity from the market. When one pays for something, he has ownership over it and does with it what he pleases. This association of the bride price to buying from the market has influenced how most women are treated in their marriages in the study area.

One of the kayayei in the old market explained that when her husband fails in his responsibility of providing for the family and she complains, he is quick to remind her that he paid her bride price. She added that, as a mother, she could not look on for your children to sleep with hunger. So she That explained why she and other women were in the market to earn something and go and cook for the children. It is therefore evident that the payment of the bride price has also contributed greatly to the presence of kayayei in our markets.

Force marriage; girls are some times forced to marry men they do not love and most often too much older men. In such cases, the girls sometimes escape to the city where they become kayayei. In addition to this, this study found that there were married kayayei who said they were forced into marriage and said their husbands did not love them

because their marriages were arranged by their families. They opined that, if their husbands spent time and money to court them before marriage, the men will know the worth of their women.

The study found that those who could not escape such marriages are also forced by their circumstance to become kayayei. They have to do that to provide for their children single-handedly. This is the case, especially where the man is old and cannot farm on a scale that will be enough for their feeding. The woman has to toil to provide bread and butter for her children and the man. Since she has no capital and no one to help, kayayo to her is a blessing no matter the challenges it comes with.

Gender role of female subservience: Traditionally, women are subordinate to men among the Mole-Dagbani ethnic group. Men make the decisions and women implement them. As already discussed in the work, the man is the one who initiates the process of marriage and also pays the bride price. This role in itself puts the man over the women. The woman again leaves her home and joins the man in his. While leaving with the man, she is expected to clean wash, cook and generally serve the man and his family. Coincidentally, both Islam and Christianity put the man as head of the family. Quran chapter four (4) verse thirty-four (34) says that "men are in charge of women…" it does not stop there but goes further to say that "…So good women are obedient, guarding in secret that which God has guarded …". This quotation spells out the place of the woman in the family and how the woman should behave in relation to the man. It spells out clearly that the woman should be obedient to the man. Although some scholars are of the view that Islam has not subjugated the woman to the man. They opine that it is a problem

of cultural influence and misinterpretation of the verses of the Qur'an. In a similar style, the Bible in Genesis chapter two (2) talks about creation and how man was created first and put in charge of God's creation. It further says that Eve was created second to be the helper of man.

The position and role of the woman as second to the man put on her the responsibility of taking care of the home and its members. Added to this is her natural role of child conceiving and childbearing. She is not the only mother to her children but also to the whole family. Every member of the family looks up to her when they are hungry. Everyone looks up to her to keep the compound clean and to provide water for the pot. Putting all these together, the role of the woman as subservient to the man contributes to the ever-growing presence of kayayei in our markets. They cannot stand to see those who look up to them for their survival to go hungry. So whether the man provides or not, there should be food on the table. In ensuring this responsibility, they find themselves doing odd jobs including kayayo.

The subservient role of the woman in the family and the society at large denies her the power and ability to control her own life and the use of resource for her own benefit if not sanctioned by the man. Also, the woman loses her power over her own children in cases where her opinion differs from the man's. The only time her opinion stands is when they coincide with the man's opinion. It, therefore, means that the woman seemingly has a voice-only if she is echoing the man's voice. All these are possible because of the patriarchal family system practised. Subservience has taken away the woman's voice and

made her lose control over everything that will make her have self-esteem and self-worth. This has led to her preparedness to perform the man's responsibility in addition to hers. Subsequently, it has led to her carrying heavy loads for just a token to put food on the table for the family and to ensure that the children' basic needs are met. All these are the chief responsibilities of the man. These are possible because she is living in a patriarchal society 'a man's world'.In a nutshell, payment of bride price, forced marriage and female subservience are forms of male dominance over the woman in a patriarchal society that influences the woman.

Lastly, in finding out a workable socio-political intervention that can impact positively the lives of kayayei in the study area leading to influencing policy, the following discoveries were made.

Even in Tamale, it was revealed that kayayei are not mainly from the metropolis. They migrate from the suburb and other parts of the north to the place. Instead of attempting to stop young women and girls from moving to do this job, Yaro, (2008) opines that "migration is 'life' and without movements, there is no civilisation. Our task is, therefore, to tailor movements to the benefit of both sending and receiving areas. Tailoring migration to the benefit of origin, destination and migrant that is a win-win situation is the major challenge of the 21st century. The important thing today is to formulate policies to minimise the ills and to maximise the opportunities" (Yaro, 2007, p.12).

Interacting with respondents revealed that the intervention so far, to either help ameliorate their plight or get them to quit the trade has not been successful to a very large extent. Information gathered pointed to the fact that in most cases, the time for training was too short to learn and master any skill. For instance, instead of a minimum of two years for sewing, trainees or beneficiaries were given between six months and one year. For weaving, instead of three years, they were given one year, and as low as two weeks was given in some cases for the training of beneficiaries in beadwork and batik tie and dye. Because of the short length of time for training, beneficiaries complained that they were not able to master the skill before they were graduated. Those who could afford to repay for the training did so but the majority of them who could not afford it went back to the market as kayayei.

Apart from the short time given for training, materials provided for training in most cases were insufficient that beneficiaries had to contribute to buy in order to finish the training. Those who did not have money to buy the materials dropped out halfway through the training. The rest of them who graduated have more than half their number back in the market. They are back because they have no startup capital that will enable them to start producing what they were trained in.

Some participants complained that they would have preferred to learn some other skill other than what they were trained in. They said they were not given any options to choose from. They were presented with just one and they (the kayayei) thought it was an opportunity they should not miss. Also, they thought the sponsors were going to set them

up at the end of the training so they accepted to be part of the training. If only they had set them up, they would have said good-bye to kayayo.

During discussions, it came up that in the absence of a better alternative, stakeholders should come together to dialogue with them to look into how to improve the trade instead of wanting them to quit. They proposed the standardisation of kayayo.

8.3 Conclusion

1. In sum, this study confirms the socio-economic and material factors of kayayo that have been identified by research. It has further revealed that gendered cultural demands of marriage such as 'talia', 'moni', ' 'ŋanbara', polygyny, and foster parenting of girls are the socio-cultural and gender underpinnings of these socio-economic and material factors. In addition, it has also identified changing times as one of the remote social factors that compel young women and girls to become kayayei.

2. Kayayo which is largely plied by migrants does not always result in pleasant outcomes, as they live in congested living spaces, have poor access to essential services and earn a low income. The gains of the kaya trade, therefore, lies in the unflinching hope of kayayei and not in the certainty of what or how much will be gotten from it. The trade, kayayo is, therefore, an option that only sacrifices human dignity under the guise of pursuing well being.

3. This study was able to find out that male dominance in a patriarchal society influence kayayei through the payment of bride price, forced marriages and the gender role of female subservience.

4. Current interventions fall short of achieving the goal of getting kayayei to practice the skill that they have received training in because, training programmes were mostly characterised with a short time for training, insufficient training materials and lack of start-up capital. A stakeholder dialogue was proposed to find a workable solution to their precarious situation. On the part of the government, it should tailor movements to the benefit of both sending and receiving areas. Therefore the important thing to do is to formulate policies to minimise the ills of the trade and to maximise the opportunities.

8.4 Recommendation

1. District Assemblies in consultation with Traditional Authorities should review practices ('Talia', 'Moni', 'ŋanbara', girl child fostering and child betrothal) that have outlived their usefulness to conform to changing times. The review should lead to formulating bye-laws for enforcement, breach of which culprits are punished.

2. Kayayei should take actions within their capacities to minimize their vulnerabilities while Stakeholders (District Assemblies, Traditional Authorities, and the general public) take steps to improve the precarious conditions of kayayo.

3. Traditional Authorities, religious bodies and the general public need to examine marriage requirements and gender roles to do away with beliefs and practices that are discriminatory and or have outlived their usefulness (women as subservient, forced marriages and payment of bride price).

4. Instead of trying to stop the trade, a more participatory discussion should be initiated to carve out a workable agenda to improve the lives of kayayei. Efforts should be made to standardise the trade by giving Kayayei a voice through unionisation (Kayayei Association of Tamale). This study, therefore, proffers a participatory approach which engages kayayei in deciding the type of intervention to implement, how to implement, when to implement and way forward after implementation. Training should be linked to the industry.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1   Main Interview Guide (Migrants)

Following the upsurge in the phenomenon of Kayayoo in the Tamale Metropolis, an issue that has been identified to be adversely impacting the lives of young girls and women involved, I am undertaking this research to understand the dynamics of the phenomena. This is expected to enable me fulfill the requirement of completing and submitting a thesis to complete my PhD.

Your contribution towards this worthy cause is very much needed, and so we will be grateful to have answers to the following questions.

A. Demographic Characteristics of Respondent

1. Name of respondent (optional)..

2. Sex of respondent (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]

3. Age of respondent (a) 9-11 [ ] (b)12-14 (c) 15-18 (d) 18 - above

4. Religious affiliation of respondent (a) Islam [ ] (b) Christianity [ ] (c) Others
   [ ]

5. Ethnicity of respondent..

6. Marital Status (a) Married (b) Single (c) Divorced

7. Number of children if any

8. Age(s) of children

9. Level of Education of respondent (a) Primary [ ] (b) JHS [ ] (c) SHS [ ] (d)
   None [ ] others (specify)...............................

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

11. If No (school dropout), at what level of education did you leave?

    (a) Primary [ ] (b) JHS [ ] (c) SHS [ ] (d) Others (specify)............

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

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

13. Why were you not enrolled into school (if answer to 8 above is None)

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

    ….………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………

B. Care and Protection

14. Where do you come from? (Area in Tamale or Place of residence before emigrating Tamale)...

15. Are your parents still alive? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

16. If yes, where do they live? (for young girls). ……………………… .

17. If no, who is taking care of you? ……………………………..

18. What work does your parents/parent/guardian do?

    Mother...

    Father...

    Guardian…………………………………

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19. How many siblings do you have, their names and respective ages?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

20. Growing up, what did you aspire to be in future?

....

....

21. Do you intend pursuing that aspiration in your life again?

C. Life and working

22. Why are you a kayayoo?

23. When does your day start and end; (a) Start……………… (b)……………….

24. How much do you earn in a day………………..

25. Is this your first time of carrying kaya?

26. If no to the above, how many times have you done this?

   a. *If yes, answer questions 27 to 29 and continue, if no skip to 30.*

27. Where did you do it the first time?

28. What factors pushed you into the kayayo trade?

....

....

....

29. Why did you choose kayayo?

....

....

....

30. Did you receive any form of restriction in your attempt to be a kayayoo?

Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

31. From who? ....

32. What reasons were given for the restrictions?

....

....

33. Why did you defy those restrictions?

....

....

34. How did you finance your travel (if from a different community/town)?

....

....

....

35. What form of support did your family give to support your travel?

....

....

....

36. What in your opinion led the family to approve of you being a kayayoo?

....

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

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……………………………………………………………………………………………

Why did you choose Tamale (this time)?

....

....

....

37. Did you pre-plan the kind of activity you do now?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

38. Will you recommend Kayayei/child work to a sister, brother or a friend?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

39. Why the above response? *(yes/no)*

....

....

Work and Residence

40. Briefly describe the nature of the work you do ,*(pay attention to exploitative and hazardous nature of the work)*

....

....

....

....

What type of skill or experience does one need before engaging in your kind of work?

....

....

41. Did you have that skill or experience prior to your engagement in your kind of work?

    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

42. Have you been able to send any form of aid to your family back home (for migrants)?

    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

    If yes what exactly...

43. Where do you live and with whom?

    ....

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

44. Did you pre-plan a place you will reside in or have somewhere to pass the nights before living your village?

    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

45. Briefly describe the nature or type of structure you reside in?

    ....

    ....

    CHALLENGES

46. What are the dangers you face in your quest to do your work?

    ....

    ....

    ....

    Do you sometimes feel or get exploited by your clients?

    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

    If yes, what example can you recall?

....

....

....

WAYS FORWARD

47. If you were given the opportunity today which of these would you prefer to do?

   (a) Going back school [ ]

   (b) Skills training (tailoring, hairdressing, carpentering, mason, etc.) [ ]

48. Do you feel supported by society? (if yes or no, probe for forms or reasons)

....

....

....

What exactly could be done to improve your life?

....

....

....

49. What in your place of origin needs modification to make young girls and women want to stay and live there (migrants)?

....

....

....

Thank you.

Appendix 2   KII on marriage contraction (Islam and Traditional perspectives)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

This is a key informant interview guide on how marriage is contracted culturally and according to Islam. This has been necessitated by findings from field work on kayayei in the Tamale Metropolis.

Introduction - Confidentiality Issues

- The only person to hear the tapes will be me and my transcriber.

- The only people to see a printed transcript will be the transcriber, myself, the interviewee (if they wish) and my supervisors.

- Real names will not be used.Pseudo names will be used and steps will be taken to further disguise the source of any direct quotes.

Background information of participant

- Tell me about yourself (who are you?).

Marriage contraction (according to Islam or local traditional practices)

- Tell me about how marriage is contracted in Islam.

- How does a man seek the hand of a woman in marriage according to the rules of Islam?

- How does the Muslim woman prepare for marriage?

- Where is the place of 'taalia'(acquiring bowls and utensils in readiness for marriage) in Islam?

- If it is an Islamic practice, what purpose does it serve?

- What are the responsibilities of the wife in her marital home?

- What is the place of 'moni' (the practice of sending the woman back to her parents to prepare and come back to the husband's house to start cooking the family meal.) in Islam?

- If 'moni' is Islamic, what benefits has it?

- The Dagombas have a practice where the new bride is required to take bowls to her marital home to be distributed among the family members of the groom. How Islamic is it?

- If it is, of what importance is it in Islam?

- What responsibilities according to Islam has the husband towards his wife and children?

Kinship (foster care)

- Tell me about the practice of sending the girl child to live with the paternal aunt. Is it Islamic or cultural?

- If it is, what purpose does it serve?

- If it is not, does Islam encourage it?

Kayayo (Benefits)

- Would you say kayayo has any benefits (individual, societal, religious, gender and cultural)

Appendix 3   Letter of Introduction

UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Faculty of Agribusiness and Communication Sciences Nyanpkala Campus,

Tamale. Ghana.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a student of the University for Development Studies, undertaking a PhD in Innovation Communication in the Faculty of Agribusiness and Communication Sciences Nyanpkala Campus, Tamale. Ghana. I am undertaking a research in;

'Ethnographic perspective of Precarious Work, A Case Study of Female Kayayei

in the Tamale Metropolis'

Following the upsurge in the phenomenon of Kayayoo in the Tamale Metropolis, an issue that has been identified to be adversely impacting the lives of young girls and women involved, I am undertaking this research to understand the dynamics of the phenomena. This is expected to enable me fulfil the requirement of completing and submitting a thesis to complete my PhD.

Your contribution towards this worthy cause is very much needed. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Signed …………………………………

Fatima Iddirisu Abu.

 Tel: 0244775853/0207503667