

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF HEAD PORTERS IN ACCRA
METROPOLIS

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METROPOLIS

BY

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Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for award of Master of Arts Degree in Guidance and Counselling

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: Date:

Name: Isabella Naa Dei Kotey

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature: Date:

Name: Dr. Cosmas Cobbold

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to investigate the social and economic conditions of head porters (Kayayei) in the Accra Metropolis. This led to the formulation of five research questions: what healthcare options are available to Kayayei?; under what sanitary situations do Kayayei live?; which accommodation options are available to Kayayei?; how much do Kayayei earn from their economic activities?; and how do Kayayei manage their finances?

The design for the study was the survey research design. In all 401 Kayayei from four main clusters in the metropolis were selected for the study. Two main instruments were used. These were the questionnaire and a semi-structured interview schedule.

The study revealed that the ‘Kayayei’ are exposed to health hazards and acute sanitary conditions not to mention the poor accommodation problems which the ‘Kayayei’ face. The study further brought out the financial hardship to the ‘Kayayei’ in terms of their daily earnings and how they manage their finances to support their daily needs and even save for future use and investment.

Some of the recommendations include the extension of micro financial services, establishment of small scale industries for the processing of shea butter and other agricultural produce, provision of adequate infrastructure in the rural areas and long term policies for rural development will enable livelihood activities and stem the tide of the migration of ‘Kayayei’.

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I want to also thank those Kayayei girls who were willing to participate in the research and agreed to be interviewed, most of the times just on the market, while engaged in their daily activities. I know it was not always easy for them to answer all my questions, and to understand why they would give the information I was asking for. I am touched by the difficulties they sometimes have to face, and their stories have impressed me. I hope my dissertation will contribute to the improvement of their situation.

DEDICATION

To my Family

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Internal migration is attracting increasing attention among academics, researchers, professionals in the field of development and policy makers, many of whom attribute the rapid growth of rural-urban migration in particular, to increasing unemployment and rural poverty in developing countries (Anarfi, Kwankye, Oforu-Mensah & Tiemoko, 2001; Zhao, 2003). Afshar (2003) contends that the inadequacy of agricultural incomes and lack of gainful employment, coupled with poverty in rural areas, have pushed many people out of their villages in search of better sources of livelihood in urban centres. According to Bryceson, Kay and Mooji (2000), most of these migrants do not possess relevant skills or education that would enable them secure employment in the formal sector.

To make matters worse, jobs in the formal sector of most developing countries, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, have been shrinking over the years due to structural adjustment policies (Adepoju, 1995). This assertion is supported by a report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2002), in which the organization argues that many unskilled young men continue to move into the cities, mainly because there are no alternative jobs in the rural areas. Bryceson

(1999) argues that when migrants arrive in the cities and do not find jobs in the public sector, they have no option but to settle for work in the informal sector in order to earn their livelihood. This situation is evidenced by the increasing number of hawkers and self-employed artisans on the streets of cities in Sub Saharan Africa, such as Accra, Ghana.

Statement of the Problem

In 2007, Ghana's Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) conducted a registration of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis (MOWAC 2007). The first paragraph of introduction to the report on the registration exercise reads:

In recent times, the Ghanaian Public has shown concern about the involvement of children, especially girls in various economic activities on the streets in the country. The issue of protection and development of the child has come up strongly as part of arguments raised by the media and other civil society groups that have a focus on child welfare and development. Attention has been drawn to the increasing number of child migrant-workers and lack of their protection from abuse and exposure to physical and moral hazards (p. 1).

Child labour is illegal in Ghana. Therefore the participation of child migrants in economic activity as highlighted in the MOWAC registration is a problem that this study can help address.

The *Daily Graphic* reported, in January 2007, on the health hazard that the exodus of female porters from the three northern regions of the country to the two

major cities of Accra and Kumasi is posing to porters themselves and the people in the two metropolitan areas (Talkghana.com, 2007). The article describes how many porters sleep and wash down in the open, defecate in open gutters, cook, engage in sexual activities and deliver their babies at major lorry parks. The threat to public health caused by the activities of Kayayei such as defecating in open drains is another problem that requires further investigation.

The *Daily Guide*, a Ghanaian newspaper, reported on September 15, 2006 that a group of female porters, otherwise known as Kayayei, expressed extreme worry about the recent abuse of some of their colleagues by individual who share the same neighbourhood as sleeping places with them in the night (Talkghana.com 2006). The article continues to describe how help could not be obtained and how the porters spent the night with their babies on the open pavements of the main Tema Lorry Station in Accra.

The risk to the innocent babies from lack of shelter and unscrupulous individuals who abuse the Kayayei is a problem

Purpose of the Study

In this research, I intend to provide an overview of the healthcare options available to Kayayei, their sanitary situation, their accommodation options, their earnings and how they manage their finances in order to contribute to the empirical evidence on both the social and economic conditions of Kayayei.

Research Questions

The following questions were formulated to guide the study:

1. What healthcare options are available to Kayayei?

2. Under what sanitary situation do Kayayei live?
3. Which accommodation options are available to Kayayei?
4. How much do Kayayei earn from their economic activities?
5. How do Kayayei manage their finances?

Significance of the Study

The study will be significant for institution like: Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC). It will help them to free up resources earmarked for investigating the social and economic conditions of Kayayei and use these resources on interventions to solve the problems. Also the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare would benefit from this research as it will make suggestions for providing safe and healthy working environment for these girls and also training that will give them employment opportunities so they can be integrated into the mainstream of development.

Another group which will benefit from this research is the Ark Foundation. They can help these girls by empowering them through various trainings, public education and service delivery. The Prime Care Network (PCN) and other non-profit organizations could also benefit from this work. They can provide free basic education for the Kayayei, educate them on HIV/AIDS awareness and also offer volunteer placements to suit their skills and needs from Education to Health-care to Environmental work.

Delimitation of the Study

Other researchers have done work about Kayayei. Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) studied the cultural and socio-economic practices that force

porters to move to the city to work. Kwankye, Anarfi, Addoquaye-Tagoe and Castaldo (2007) focused on the coping strategies of independent child migrants from Northern Ghana to southern cities. Berg (2007) also looked at the survival of Kayayei in the cities. Opare (2003) focused on the motivations for the women to move down south. The works identified above have all touched on Kayayei from different perspectives that provide important inputs. However, this work focuses specifically on the social and economic conditions of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis.

Limitations of the Study

The field work consisted of the administration of a questionnaire in English which was explained to respondents in local languages. There could always be miscommunications between respondents and the interviewer that could obfuscate response. This could impact the validity of the results of the research.

The most recognizable population of Kayayei are migrants from the three northern regions of Ghana. However, migrants from other regions and even indigenes engage in the trade as well. Therefore, as this study did not discriminate by area of origin, the findings could be difficult to generalize.

Definition of Terms

Kayayei refers to female head porters. The term is made up of two words; 'kaya', a Hausa word meaning luggage, load or goods and 'yei', a Ga word meaning females. 'Yei' is the plural form of the Ga word 'yoo' which means female. Therefore, the singular of Kayayei is Kayayoo.

It is a term used by the Ga people to describe women who engage in carrying goods from one place to the other for a fee. Ga is a language spoken by the indigenes of Accra.

Organization of the Rest of the Study

Chapter Two presents a review of the existing literature related to the study topic. The issues covered in the chapter are the concept and types of migration. It goes on to talk about migration and urbanization, followed by migration, trade and the formation of social capital. There is also a discussion on migration and livelihood. This is followed by a discussion of migration in Ghana and Kayaye under which are discussed the social and economic conditions of migrants. Lastly, the chapter concludes with implications of the literature reviewed for the current study.

Chapter Three presents the methodology adopted for the study. It describes the research design, population, sample and sampling procedure as well as the instruments used to collect data. The data collection procedure and data analysis techniques are also explained.

Chapter Four presents and discusses the results. The discussion includes the interpretation of the findings with reference to the literature. It also evaluates each finding and examines its implications with respect to the current theoretical position on the issue.

Chapter Five presents an overview of the research process, provides a summary of the key findings and draws conclusions. Finally, the chapter makes recommendations for policy and for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews some works related to the topic under study. It begins with relevant works on migration, continuing with an examination of how migration relates to the Kayayee situation in Ghana. This chapter then focuses on the social and economic conditions of migrants generally and head porter specially.

In reviewing works on migration, I intend to look at the concept and types of migration, migration and urbanization and migration, trade and formation of social capital. Finally, the chapter summarizes the key arguments from the literature reviewed.

The Concept and Types of Migration

The Encarta Dictionary (2007) defines migration as movement from one place to another: the act or process of moving from one region or country to another. Two main types of migration are identified in the literature: external migration and internal migration.

External migration is migration from one country to the other. It has received extensive attention especially as it is linked to the so-called “brain drain” phenomenon. Internal migration refers to movement within a country. The literature reveals four types of internal migration. These are rural-rural, urban-urban, urban-rural, and rural-urban migration. I will describe briefly the first three

and focus more on rural-urban migration as it is the type that is linked to the topic under review.

Rural-rural migration is typically undertaken by poorer groups of men and women who have little education and other assets, because it requires lower investments (Deshingkar & Start, 2003). In many poor countries rural-rural migration is still dominant, with labourers from poorer regions travelling to the agriculturally prosperous, often irrigated, areas which have more work (Konseiga, 2003). In Nepal, for example, rural-rural migration from poor mountainous areas to the agriculturally prosperous plains accounts for 68% of the total population movements, whilst rural-urban accounts for only 25% (Anh, 2003).

Urban-urban migration on the other hand usually takes place either from one urban area to another or from the centre of a large urban area to the periphery (Jerve, 2001). This type of migration is the predominant form of spatial movement in Latin America, and has increased steadily since the 1980s. prior to the 1970s, most Latin American countries witnessed high levels of rural-urban migration with rapid urbanization (Cerrutti & Bertoncello, 2003). However, these countries are now undergoing a different process of economic and social change with new patterns of mobility.

Urban-rural migration most usually occurs when people retire back to their villages. Return migration has been documented in various countries and the reasons are different in each case. For instance, according to one estimate, a third of Chinese migrants go back to their native homes because they rarely find permanent white collar jobs on which they can retire. A crucial factor for this

movement seems to have been access to land in both the city and rural areas. This is an indication that both push and pull factors affect the return decision. Anderson (2002) asserts that returning migrants may bring back a range of skills which can benefit their home areas enormously. In Nigeria and Ghana, the retrenchment of workers in both the public and private sectors in the 1980s is thought to have increased return migration.

Rural-urban is more pronounced in developing countries, as there is a wider gap in opportunities and living standards between urban and rural population. For instance, a shift from subsistence to cash crop production or manufacturing has resulted in the temporary or permanent exodus of men, and sometimes women, from rural communities to urban areas in search of wage employment opportunities (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005).

Migration and Urbanization

Much of the existing research on migration in developing countries has focused on rural-urban migration and urbanization. Governments and international organizations have shown concern about the rapid urban growth in developing countries, and the social, economic and environmental problems associated with this growth (White & Lindstrom, 2005).

Some of the social problems associated with the rapid urban growth are a result of the differences in the level of development between rural and urban areas. There are more factories, health posts and social centres in the urban areas. Also government makes the urban areas more attractive with infrastructural development; the extension of the road network and transportation system only

serves to facilitate migration from the rural areas to the urban areas. A typical economic problem associated with the rapid urban growth is income differential. Educated people from the rural areas are more likely to migrate to the urban areas because of the increased likelihood of finding employment which will give them higher incomes than they would have earned in the rural areas. The environmental problem associated with the rapid urban growth is climate change. Decreasing rainfall leads to reduction in agricultural production, the main economic activity in rural areas thereby reducing employment. Ironically, occasional floods during the rainy season also cause some rural-urban migration as some natives of the affected communities ran to the urban centres for shelter. A typical example is a Joy FM 12 o'clock news report on 21st November 2010, which indicated that some victims of recent floods in the upper east region, especially the youth, have moved down south to look for a better life because their farms have been submerged in water.

Perhaps as a result of the problems outlined above, rural-urban migration, and the rural-urban migrants themselves, have received substantial attention from both policymakers and demographic researchers. This is in spite of the important (and often overlooked) role of natural increase in urban growth.

Migration, Trade and Formation of Social Capital

Schiff (2001) carried out research on the relationship between trade, international migration and social capital. Felbermayr and Toubal (2008) as quoted by Bettin and Turco (2009) attempted to separately quantify the two channels through which migration flows attract trade, namely the reduction in

trade costs and the creation of additional demand for goods from their source countries. Results show that the total pro-trade effect of migration is driven mostly by the latter effect; however, the trade cost channel results stronger for differentiated goods and when high-skilled migrants are taken into account. In another paper, Felbermayr and Jung (2008) analyse the pro-trade effect of the brain drain, finding a positive relationship between bilateral migration and trade. When the different levels of migrants' skills are taken into account, results show that high- and low-skilled migrants positively affect trade, while medium-skilled migrants have either insignificant or even a negative effect on trade volumes.

For the behaviour of migrants he used two assumptions: either emigrants maximize individual utility with no concern for the welfare of others, or migration is part of a collective welfare maximization process in the poor countries. Schiff has some interesting findings; one of them being that if sending countries are made up of more close-knit communities where decisions are typically made collectively, migration liberalization (use of regulations that favour migration is more likely to be beneficial. It would be interesting to know if this also hold for internal migration and the communities these migrants come from. The research shows that people tend to feel closer to those with whom they share social capital – including customs, values, language, history and culture – and with whom they can interact at lower cost. But it does not show how the role of social capital changes in the lives of migrants, especially in the lives of internal migrants.

Migration and Livelihood

Black, Ammassari, Mouillesseaux and Rajkotia (2004) explain that across West Africa migration represents an important livelihood strategy. Internal migration accounts for most migratory movements in West Africa. Many individuals and families move to other areas in search for land to use for agriculture, or jobs and better economic opportunities. Destinations have become more diversified and migrant itineraries more complex partly due to changes in wage-labour employment opportunities.

Although migration derives from a complex of social and economic factors, it is primarily related to the migrants' search for greater well being (Adepoju, 1998). Poor quality of natural resources may be a push factor for people to migrate in search for new resources, or may contribute to the decision to migrate in search for other labour opportunities. Internal migration can increase financial capital of households or individuals, when there are better economic opportunities in other parts of the country. Human capital can be enlarged because of educational possibilities, new knowledge and increased skills and work experience as a result of internal migration.

Black, King and Tiemoko (2003) make a distinction between two key areas that have been focused on in studies about the potentially positive linkages between migration and poverty: the mobilization of capital resources in development activities, and the question of a 'brain drain' for developing countries. However, these issues, and related questions, such as whether remittances contribute to economic development, whether migrants acquire new

skills that are useful on their return, and whether returning workers reintegrate in their home societies, still mainly focus on international migration and on poverty and development on a national level.

Han (1999) approaches the relationship between migration and livelihood on a household level. In his review article on the role of migration and livelihoods and poverty he argues that labour migration, between and within urban and rural areas, has to be seen as a central element in the livelihoods of many households in developing countries. In the study he conducted in Mali, together with other researchers, he explained the link between migration and livelihoods in different ways for two different villages. In one village migration was most common in the middle-income households. The explanation for this pattern of migration lies in the differences in household management, household structure and household's ownerships of assets (Haan et al., 2002). In another village migration was one of a range of options in which available labour could be invested in the livelihood strategies of better-off households.

Black et al (2003) and Haan (1999) in the two paragraphs above have looked extensively at the economic and social background of the families of the subjects. Other studies notably Kwankye et al (2007) have explored the reasons that Kayayei have for their migration to the south, and put forward the role of the economic status of their families. They also noted that it is important not only to look at the relation between migration and livelihoods but also to look at the relation between migration and social capital. Social consideration relates to both push and pull factors of migration, and the migration process takes place in a

social environment. As a result of migration, social relations change; the relationship between the migrant and the migrant's family changes, and sometimes the decision for migration is taken at the household level.

Migration in Ghana and Kayayei

Awumbila (2007), as quoted by Kwankye et al (2007) linked the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s to trends and internal migration in Ghana. They noted the withdrawal of government subsidies on health care, social services and agricultural input like fertilizer in northern Ghana and the resultant increase in the cost of agricultural production and general cost of living, which has led to increased migration from northern Ghana-which, is living, which has led to increased migration from northern Ghana-which, is predominantly rural-to urban areas in the south.

Kwankye et al (2007) go further to note that:

Migrants have the perception that urban centres have relatively better opportunities for them to enhance their lives. These opportunities therefore serve as attractions or incentives for migrants from the north or rural settings to move to urban centres. Given perceptions of higher incomes to be earned in both formal and informal sector employment in the south, or opportunities for furthering one's education, migrants go to great lengths to move from a small community in the hinterland in the north either straight to the

cities of Accra, Kumasi or Takoradi; or embark on stepwise migration (p.7).

Migratory movements in Ghana have always been strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities. Literature on internal migration in Ghana has focused mainly on male adults from the northern regions who moved either alone or with their dependents to the middle and southern belts of the country to take advantage of opportunities in the mining and cocoa-growing areas of the south. These movements were initially seasonal in nature. In contemporary times however, these movements are all-year round, and have involved young children and particularly females who migrate independently from the northern parts of the country to cities and large urban centres in the south, notably Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, to engage in various economic activities, including Kayayei or porters who carry heavy loads on their heads. In recent times, the porter business is no longer restricted to people from the North. Others from villages and small towns in Southern Ghana are also involved in the business. Usually, the young, mostly female, are the ones that are drawn to this business.

Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009) in their research on the cultural and socio-economic profiles of porters in Accra looked not only at the women porters but the men as well. All their respondents were Ghanaians who had migrated from different regions of the country to work and earn a livelihood in the capital. Their study revealed certain cultural and social practices prevalent in northern Ghana that promotes migration, especially of women. One of these factors is gender bias

in education. The rationale behind gender bias in education is the idea that girls grow up to be wives and wifely duties are best taught at home and not in schools. Traditional cultural practices relating to marriage and partner choice also induce migration particularly among women. Some of the women migrate to Accra either to run away from a betrothed husband or to work and save money for their wedding. Many young girls who escape from arranged and forced marriages end up in the cities working as porters.

Social Conditions of Migrants

A survey conducted by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in May 2007 revealed that the vast majority of the migrants in the UK spent most of their time with recent or settled migrants from their own country and with migrants from other countries. During the first six months in Britain, half spent no leisure time with British people, falling to a third after six months. Some of the migrants expressed negative attitudes towards other migrants. There were differing grounds (or justification) for hostility including historical or class tensions relating to migrants from their own country and a perception of unfair competition for jobs in the UK. Some migrants had been unaware that Britain is a multicultural country and had negative attitudes towards minority ethnic people. However, it is not certain how widespread these views were relative to those of British people. Some formed more positive attitudes through experience in the UK. Those fluent in the English language were more likely to spend some leisure time with British people. Lack of English may be a cause and a result of this lack of contact. For

many migrants, work and accommodation nevertheless provided opportunities to socialize with people from a wide range of countries.

Some migrants may make successful lives for themselves and contribute to the economies of their hosts. However, their presence is not considered necessary for the wellbeing of the economy. Some have argued that most of the jobs that migrants do are available only because they are low paying and not attractive to indigenes. In the absence of migrant workers, owners of business would do those jobs themselves or pay high wages to get them done by indigenes. An example from the UK shows nurses are imported from Asia for the sole reason that they would accept living wages, which indigenes reject. Also, migrants' experiences at work, including low pay and long working hours, had a significant impact on how pay and long working hours, had a significant impact on how much leisure time they had and how they spent it.

Going back to Kayayei in Ghana, migration involves both opportunities and risks. Depending on one's preparedness and fortitude, and the prevailing conditions at the place of destination, this 'leap in the dark' could be a big opportunity for the migrant to turn not only their lives around but also to positively affect the lives of their dependents back home. At the same time, there are also high risks and possible costs. A closer look at the day-to-day lives of migrants at their destination will bring into perspective the risks they are confronted with in their bid to make a living.

Most of the problems migrants face at their destinations are socio-economic in nature and revolve mainly around their living conditions. These

include having no proper place to sleep at night, poor remuneration for their services, harassment from city guards and security men (night watchmen), the cumbersome nature of their work, increased population of Kayayei that has reduced job availability, and disrespectful treatment and insults from customers to whom they offer their services.

With little or no education or skills, most of the migrants find it difficult to find jobs when they come to the cities and end up in the Kayayoo business. As Quaicoe (2005) points out in her article ‘Woes of the Kayayoo’, young girls are faced with myriad problems which include poor housing facilities, poor health care, inadequate sanitation facilities and harassment from male colleagues.

According to the Kayayei, sometimes they could scavenge an entire area without getting any load to carry, meaning that there would be no food to eat, no water to bath and no money for other basics of life that day. This is the basic lifestyle of the Kayayei; always helpless and at the mercy of those seeking cheap labour (Kunatch, 2010).

Black et al. and Haan, as cited in the preceding paragraphs, have identified deplorable conditions of Kayayei that are attributable to lack of work. They fail to mention, however, that there is increased competition in the head porter business because some natives of the urban areas have taken up the occupation. This is one reason why it is very difficult for an increasing number of Kayayei to get anything to carry the whole day. Also, to minimize the incidence of theft and loss of goods, an increasing number of shops have engaged their own ‘in-house’ girls to carry their customers’ loads rather than entrust shopping to just any Kayayoo. Clients

who lose their shopping with these in-house girls have recourse to the shop owners. This is a much better alternative when compared to combing a busy market in search of a 'freelance' Kayayoo.

Economics Conditions of Migrants

For many migrants, their work also constitutes their major source of health risk. Even when a customer's load is particularly heavy, they force themselves to manage the load somehow to ensure their daily bread. The onus thus rests on the customer to decide not to allow a very young or fail Kayayoo to carry a heavy load. Unfortunately, few customers take this into consideration, particularly once the Kayayoo indicates their ability to carry the load and the price is right. Indeed, often the fees paid to the Kayayoo are not commensurate with the services they provide.

The Kayayei operate at market places and transport stations. They also operate in other locations where they might be required to carry goods. At market and transport stations, Kayayei are supposed to pay a daily toll to the local authorities, which then allows them to operate for the day within that jurisdiction. However, some Kayayei attempt to evade this daily toll, often running away at the sight of authorities. Others are openly confrontational and refuse to pay the toll, leading to physical abuse by authorities. When not working or during the day when business is slow, Kayayei can be found resting under trees along some principal streets in the central business districts. This is considered illegal and local authorities therefore drive them away.

According to Kwankye et al. (2007) accommodation is among the most important issues of concern to the migrants in addition to the risk of abuse depending on where these migrants spend the night. In Accra, more than half of the females and a little more than a quarter of the males pass the night on the streets, at market squares and at transport stations. Many of the young migrants are exposed to risks of not only the weather but also of sexual harassment or other criminal activities. For many of the children, therefore, their sleeping places at night constitute a big risk that could be life threatening. The fact that large proportions of the migrants spend their nights at transport stations, market squares and in kiosks means that there is the possibility of exposure to reproductive and health risks.

It is interesting to note here that the migrants take refuge at transport stations because they cannot afford accommodation in the cities since they do not make enough money from their work. The places where they can afford the accommodation are far from the business centres where they ply their trade. Besides, even if they could afford accommodation, other conditions like early morning and late even rush hour will impose additional cost that will make such commuters less competitive in comparison with their colleagues who sleep at the business centres where they work.

Shelter is a basic human need and the lack of it exposes porters to great peril. The men are sometimes recruited to participate in armed robbery and other criminal activities. The women can be raped, assaulted, and preyed upon. The young girls are lured into prostitution or are coerced into exchanging sexual

favours sometimes for simple basic human needs (ILO, 2004). Teenage pregnancies among the young girls are common.

Susu collectors (informal bankers) who act as safe-keepers of their money often abscond with their monies. Kayayei give their monies to these susu collectors because they believe that the monies they make are not adequate amounts to approach traditional commercial banks or even savings and loans companies. Also, sending their savings to the bank means joining long queues and wasting valuable time whereas susu collectors seek out their clients to take regular deposits thereby freeing them to work. Family members who provide accommodation for the porters have been known to spend money the porters give them for safekeeping without paying back (Opare, 2003).

Kunateh (2010) said that some of these Kayayei cannot afford tooth brushes and paste and therefore resort to the use of chewing sticks, which itself is not a bad act. The danger is that some may prefer not to chew the stick at all, thereby creating a condition of decay in their mouths. The lack of attention to their body hygiene makes them stink badly. Sometimes, when the weather becomes hot and people seek shelter, one could still see Kayayei in troops working assiduously in the scorching sun with their babies strapped to their backs and suffering as if they have done something wrong to warrant such inhumane treatment. Their babies cry all day long, yet they are not comforted. If one of them falls sick or his knocked down by a vehicle perhaps that would be the end of his or her life. There would be no money to pay for hospital bills should they even

survive as most Kayayei are not registered under the country's National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS).

Many of the Kayayei are not registered due to the fact that the Scheme is not 100% free. The cliché is that the only medication that will be provided to a patient that is entirely free is Paracetamol. Everything else comes at a cost. Moreover Kayayei are more interested in making money than thinking of the way they look or smell. They do not find anything wrong with it because after all it will take a long time for them to become sick due to the fact that they did not bath or brush their teeth.

Indeed it was indicated in *The Weekly Spectator* (1999), 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. Such children are always taken up by benevolent institutions. This situation is due to the fact that the Kayayei do not only lack sufficient money to foot their bills at the hospital, but they have more fundamental problems like where to sleep with their new babies. Most people facing these circumstances believe that the children have a better shot at life with whoever adopts them.

Summary of Review of Literature

The review of related literature indicates that a lot of work has been done on migration and the conditions of migrants worldwide. There are also studies that have concentrated on the issues of migration in Ghana.

Additionally, some work has also been done on Kayayei, who are the subject of this study. In all these works, there still remains room for data and

analysis of the circumstances and living conditions of Kayayei in Accra. Alternate employment opportunities, social support systems, targeted non-formal education for girls and women engaged in the Kayayei business are other areas of exploration that will shift the focus of research from looking at the problem to finding solutions to address it. These issues need further investigation, especially in light of the recent registration of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis by the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) and research that suggests that the number of Kayayei in Accra is 60,000 and growing.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology adopted for the study. It describes the research design, population, sample and sampling procedure as well as the instruments used to collect data. The data collection procedure and data analysis procedures are also explained.

Research Design

The design employed in this study is the survey. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (1996), a survey research attempts to obtain data from members of a population to determine the current status of that population with respect to one or more variables. Fraenkel and Wallen (1996) indicated that a survey has three main characteristics. First, information is collected from a group of people in order to describe some aspects or characteristics of the population of which that group is a part. Secondly, the main way in which the information is collected is through asking questions. Hence, surveys employ questionnaire and interviews to collect data. Such data could be information about the groups' attitude, beliefs, demographics as well as their past or intended future behaviour. Finally, information is collected from a sample rather than from every member of the population. The present study employed a survey design to investigate the social and economic conditions of Kayayei (head porters). The use of questionnaires and interviews enabled respondents to provide truthful and accurate answers.

Furthermore, the population of the Kayayei in Accra was too large to observe directly. This necessitated the study of a sample which was representative of the total population.

Population

The population for this study consisted of all the Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis. As at 2007, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) undertook a registration exercise in which 2,432 Kayayei were registered. This number does not cover all the Kayayei in the Metropolis since some of them did not take part in the registration organized by MOWAC. Besides, truckloads of Kayayei are brought down to the South from the North almost every day. Thus, the population of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis at the time of the study could be over 3,000.

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The process of selecting observations is called sampling (Barbie, 2001). There are two main forms of sampling techniques; these are probability and non-probability sampling.

For the purpose of this study, the non-probability sampling technique was employed. Under the non-probability sampling technique, I selected participants mainly through a snowball sampling method. Snowballing is a purposive sampling approach, where one participant gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of another and so on (Vogt, 1999). It works as a chain sequence or recommendation or introduction from one respondent to another. Snowballing offers many practical advantages as it helps

the researcher to identify people of interest from other people the researcher has interacted with (Hay, 2000). Porters are highly mobile during the day and thus very difficult to track across the city and the business districts (Opare, 2003). They do not have fixed or permanent places of residence. Additionally, porters live and work in closely-linked groups held together through strong social networks.

The snowball sampling technique enabled me to capture 401 Kayayei from four commercial or market sites within the central business district of Accra. The sites are Makola, the biggest market in Accra; Tema Station, a major bus terminal, surrounded by a small niche market; Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB), is a combination of a bus terminal and a market; and Agbogbloshie, a predominantly foodstuff and vegetable market. The number of respondents selected from each site is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Representation of the Clusters and their Corresponding Numbers

Clusters	Number of Kayayei Selected
Makola	130
Tema Station	71
Cocoa Marketing Board	60
Agbogbloshie	140
Total	401

Instrument

A combination of instruments was used to collect information. These consisted of participatory methods; semi structured in-depth interview schedules and questionnaire. The reason for the use of the questionnaires was because it was economically effective. It gives a wider coverage and also questions stated in questionnaires are stable, consistent and uniform measure, without variation.

The questionnaire contained both closed and opened ended items. It had sections from A to C. In all, there were 21 items for respondents to respond to. The items ranged from those that sought to find out the biographical data of respondents to those that sought to find out their social and economic statuses. The semi-structured interview schedule contained 10 items. These questions were basically leading questions that led to further probing questions.

Data Collection Procedure

The research was carried out by a team of three, consisting of myself as the principal researcher, and two research assistants, one is a postgraduate student in sociology at the University of Cape Coast and the other a graduate from Accra Polytechnic. These students have research experience in the Accra Metropolis.

We conducted the research among a population of 401 Kayayei living and working in four commercial market sites in the central business district of Accra. The sites are: Makola, the biggest market in Accra; Tema Station, a major bus terminal, surrounded by a small niche market; Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB), is a combination of a bus terminal and a market; and Agbogbloshie, a predominantly foodstuff and vegetable market.

The selected participants were given a brief introduction of the purpose of the exercise they were about to take part in and asked for their consent. Respondents were informed that the questionnaire would take approximately 20 minutes to complete and they had the right to withdraw, at any time, without any physical or psychological consequences. They were also told that the information they provide will be used for the purposes of research and will be treated as a unit and the information will not be given to a third party without their consent.

The questionnaires were in English. Therefore, the interviewer asked the questions in the 'Twi' dialect and ticked the answers respondents choose on the questionnaire. We further had to explain certain questions to clarify the questions on the questionnaire. For those who did not understand the 'Twi' language an interpreter was used. The same procedure was followed throughout the four commercial market sites in the central business district of Accra. It took about three months to collect the data used in the study.

No pilot test was administered because I completed the questionnaires. Also, I was given an in-depth knowledge of how to locate the respondents by the help of the interpreters who took me on an extensive guided walk around the various clusters stated in the research.

The interview did not require respondents to read and write. Also, the interview gave me an opportunity to observe non verbal behaviour. I was able to ask open-ended questions which made way for more ideas to be expressed by participants. Respondents were at liberty to express themselves without any set of answers to choose from.

Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistical procedures that presented frequencies and percentages. Questionnaire was used to gather the data. The items were then coded into the SPSS. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the data analyses, in relation to the issues investigated. The analysis was based on 401 questionnaire respondents and 10 oral interviewed respondents. The chapter has two sections. The first section presents demographic data on the respondents and the second section deals with data related to the main issues captured in the research questions.

Demographic Information

Age of Respondents

Most of the head-porters are 21 years and older with the largest group (53.4%; n= 214) within the ages of 21 to 25 years (see Figure 1)

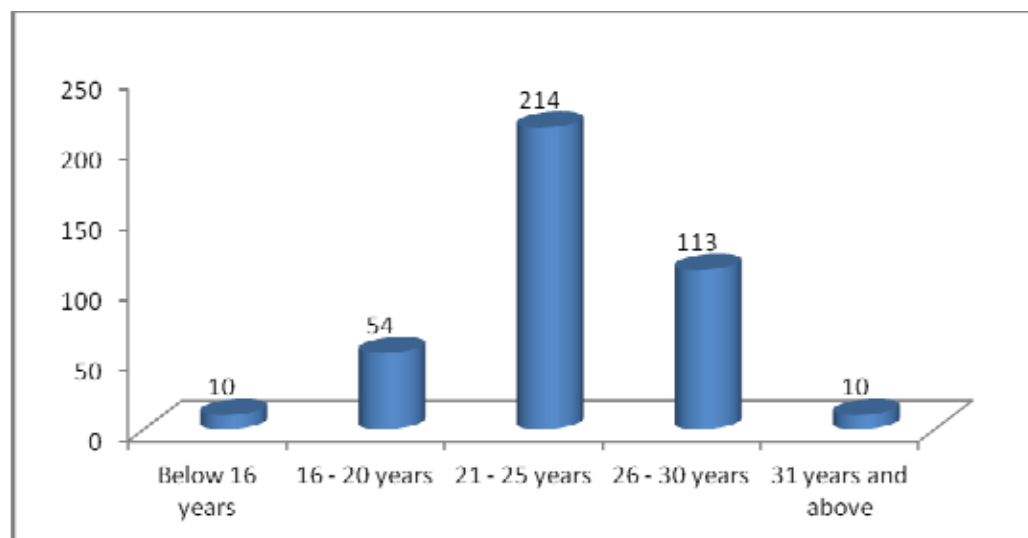


Figure 1. Ages of respondents

Although there is the possibility that they migrated as minors and have grown into adults on the street, the majority of the group is of working age-legally these people can take up a job. In the Northern Region farming is the main occupation and source of livelihood. As farming in Ghana is still labour intensive, these migrants could work directly in farming or help convey farm produce from the farms to truck roads where the produce can be picked up by market-bound trucks. This way, female migrants can still want to engage in the kaya business without taking the risk of the long journey to urban areas or having to go through all the hardship they would experience inevitably in the cities.

In recent years, there has been increasing emphasis on food security by the international community – major donor agencies like United States Agency for International Development and the Millennium Challenge Account and national policy maker, there are more and more opportunities for unskilled labour in agricultural production because of the low level of mechanization in agriculture in Ghana. This could be a more sustainable source of employment and incomes for young female migrants as they can move on to jobs in agro-processing as farm production becomes more mechanized. Also, the growing middle class in Ghana will provide the demand necessary to sustain agro processing jobs.

About 2.5% (n=10) of the porters were below the age of 16 which is below the stipulated age in Ghana at which people can engage in economic activities. Thus, this can be seen as child abuse and indirectly depriving these young people the opportunity to have access to education and making them a disadvantaged group.

This situation where minors are allowed to leave their home communities in search of economic opportunity could be a result of a dichotomy between the law on one hand and local culture and traditional practices on the other. It is a widely held notion in rural areas that sending a girl child to school is a waste of resources because the girl child should stay and take care of the house. It is also believed that the girl child would one day marry and go to another man's house and therefore it is not a worthy investment to educate the girl child. Education on laws concerning child labour and associated sanctions could help in curbing the situation.

Where Respondents Had Migrated From

About 97% (n=387) of the questionnaire respondents were from the Northern part of Ghana and more specifically from the three northern regions. These head-porters had come from specific communities such as Walewale (14%; n=57), Sisala (8%; n=30), Navrongo (7%; n=27), Konkoma (7%; n=27), Bawku (10%; n=30) and other communities within the regions (see Appendix C) for details. Whilst 3% (n=15) were from southern Ghana – Greater Accra, Central and Western regions (see Figure 2).

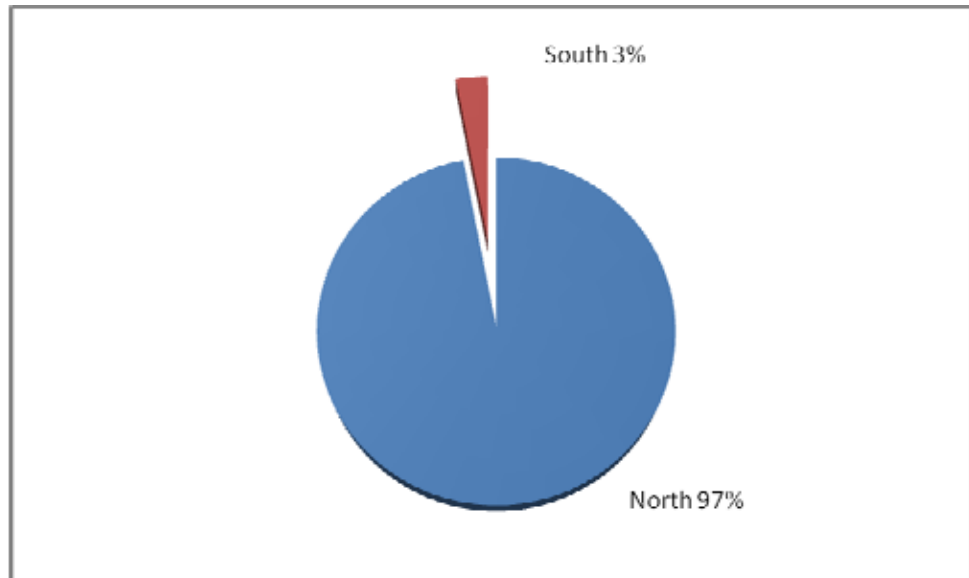


Figure 2. Where respondents had migrated from

The above information indicates that the ‘Kaya’ business is not exclusive to people from the Northern part of the country only but also by people from the South. This confirms the findings of Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009).

Also all ten (10) oral interviewed respondents said they migrated from the Northern part of Ghana but from different communities. Out of the ten (10), three (3) hailed from Navrongo, five (5) from Konkomba and two (2) from Sisala.

Most of the porters come from the Northern Region because the three Northern Regions are among the poorest in the country with limited infrastructure and few economic activities. Improved infrastructure and extended electricity coverage would stimulate economic activities thereby reducing the number of women who travel to the cities to engage in Kaya business. Also if infrastructure is improved and good amenities like good drinking water are provided, it will be less likely that a lot of women would want to leave the comfort of their homes and migrate to the city. The Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA)

could help in raising the standard of living in the three northern regions and stem the tide of Kayayei migrating to urban areas where they suffer economic hardship working for patrons who look down on them.

Reasons for Migrating to Accra

About 92% (n=371) of the head-porters said they migrated to the city (Accra) to seek greener pastures – for instance many Kayayei believed that they would have comfortable accommodation and well paying jobs in the urban areas, whilst 7% (n=27) of them said they had migrated in order to escape from a forced marriage, and about 1% (n=3) said other factors compelled them to migrate (see figure 3). The group that represented 1% cited factors such as looking for husbands as their reason for migration, whilst others in the same percentage wanted money to be able to give their kids the opportunity to be at school.

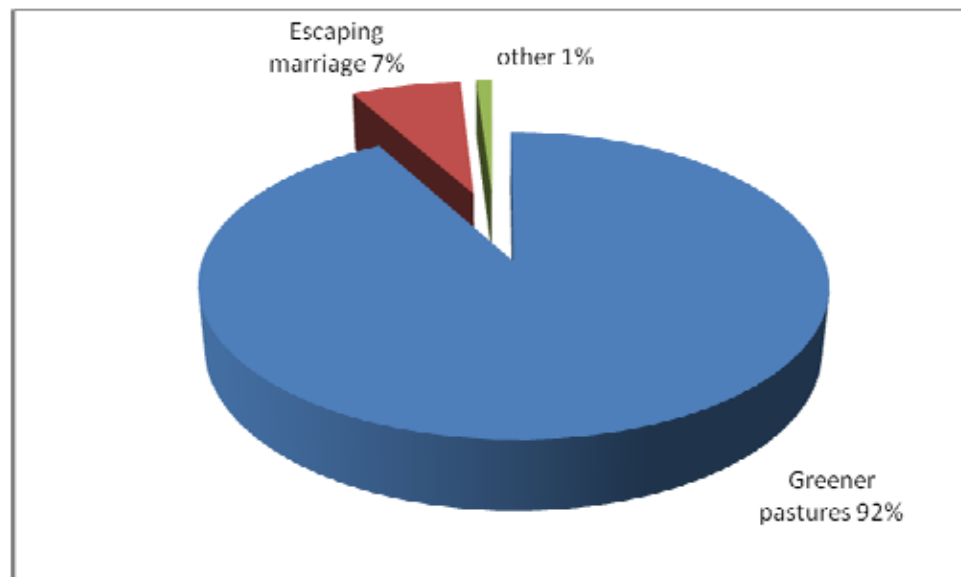


Figure 3. Reasons for migrating to Accra

The results in the figure above are consistent with observations in the literature. For example, Black et al. (2004), Adepoju (1998) and Haan (1999) all said that migrants move in search of greener pastures. Awumbila (2007) also stressed that Kayayei move to the urban centres due to the increase in the cost of agricultural production and general cost of living. Seven percent (7%) of girls said they escaped due to forced marriages and this confirms Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah's (2009) findings.

When asked why they choose to be head porters, 369 (92%) questionnaire respondents said their main aim was to work to earn a living because they have not acquired any skill that can help them to get a job other than the Kaya business. Others, representing 4(1%) of questionnaire respondents said they were promised formal education by relatives who brought them down south. However, they soon realized that those promises were not going to materialize and with their lack of skill and formal education all they had left was to engage in the Kaya business. It is evident that the stories of the true conditions under which Kayayei live in Accra are not told in the areas of origin in northern Ghana. The Information Services could work with the various district assemblies in these regions to sensitize residents about the real conditions under which Kayayei live and work. This could be very effective if the government and local authorities can take some Kayayei off the street and reintegrating them in their home communities.

Although none out of ten (10) oral interviewed respondents answered that they were escaping force marriage, they agreed that it was one of the usual reasons they migrated into the big cities. The Domestic Violence and Victims

Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service are well known in urban centres for the forced marriage, spousal abuse and other cases they cover. However, it does not appear that this is the case in the three northern regions where Kayayei hail from. Sensitisation by DOVVSU on the laws on forced marriage could raise awareness and reduce the incidence of migration resulting from fear of marriage.

The Type of Relations in the City

About 77% (n=309) of the head-porters interviewed said they had no relations in Accra and came to the city on their own due to the fact that they wanted to come to the city since all those who they have seen who have visited the city looked much better than them. Again, it appears that returnee Kayayei do not present real conditions under which they live and work when they go back home. It would be less likely that more young girls would migrate if they knew the truth about the kaya business in Accra and other urban centres.

Another 23% (n=92) of them said they had relations within the city. Within this group, it was their family members already living in the city who encouraged them to migrate to the city since they would also be able to help one another if they lived together. On the surface, living together and sharing costs is a good idea. However, because of the paltry sums Kayayei make, they are not able to put enough away to rent decent places to live. As a result, they end up living in abandoned or uncompleted structures that have no plumbing or toilet facilities. Consequently, they get into the habit of disposing off their waste in open drains and other unauthorized places that pose public health hazards.

Among those who had relations in Accra, 53% (n=47) of them said they had siblings in the city, 19% (n=17) of them said their aunts were in the city, whilst 13% (n=12) of them said their mothers were in the city, 3% (n=3) of them said their father lived in the city and another 3% (n=3) of them as they had other relations in the city (see Figure 4 for details).

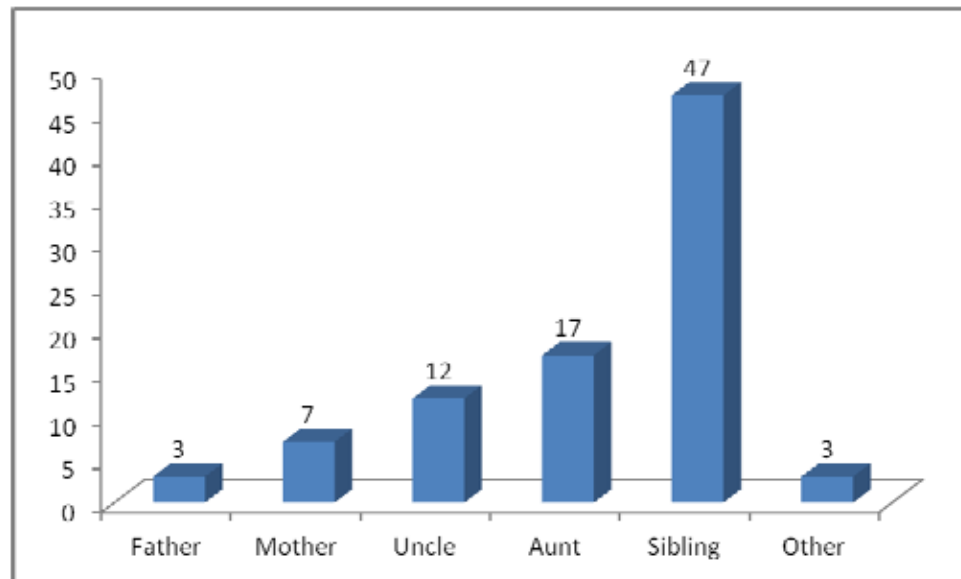


Figure 4. The type of relation in the city

Oral interviewed respondents were asked if they had any children and how many. Out of ten oral interviewed respondents only three (3) had children. Out of the three (3) two (2) had two (2) children and the other had one (1) child. The remaining seven (7) although mature did not have children since they were not married yet. Those who had children confirmed that their children are here in the city with them since there was nobody to look after them and the children were all very young. One of them said that her husband is also here in the city with her and

in fact he is also a truck pusher. Of the three children combined, only one was in school the other two were with their mothers in the market.

Many Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) work in the area of child rights and child welfare. These NGOs could provide subsidized day care services to Kayayei. Also, reproductive health focused organizations like the United Nations Population Foundation (UNFPA) Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana (PPAG) could provide birth control and family planning advice, counselling and products to Kayayei to help them prevent unwanted pregnancies.

Main Results and Discussion

Healthcare options available to Head – porter (Kayayei)

A large number of Kayayei use pharmacies or chemical sellers when they fall sick (see Table 2 for details). This is because they do not like to take time off from their work to spend long hours at the hospital for headaches and other minor bodily pains. Even when they visit pharmacists or chemical sellers, they do not seek advice. They only ask for paracetamol which they know is for headaches. Also, most of them do not have the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) cards because their friends who possess the NHIS card are given only pain killers when they visit the hospital so they do not see the need to go and waste a lot of time there when they can easily go to the pharmacy or chemical seller and purchase those drugs. Also the Kayayei said they think that using the NHIS is pointless because they eventually have to pay for the medication anyway. Again, it is because the chemical sellers and the pharmacies are easily accessible.

Table 2: Summary of Frequencies and Percentage on Access to Healthcare

	No.	%
Hospitals/clinics	11	2.7
Pharmacy/chemical seller	386	96.3
Traditional healers	2	.5
Other	2	.5
Total	401	100.0

The above findings support the fact that most of the Kayayei patronize the chemical sellers for drugs instead of attending hospital as said by Kunateh (2010). None of the interviewed respondents had health insurance. They said they fall on chemists and herbal medicines for cure when they are indisposed. To them, making money was their priority and could not afford to waste a little time at the hospital or clinic.

Pharmacies and chemical sellers are a good option if the Kayayei can obtain genuine medicines for their specific conditions. However, as the cost of NHIS membership is not very high, Kayayei will be better off under the Scheme especially if they contract more serious infections or diseases. The National Health Insurance Authority could embark on a mobilization drive to add more Kayayei to their list of clients and even provide specialized services for this group if possible.

Toilet and bathroom facilities use

It came to light that most of them use the public facilities because they do not have those facilities where they live (see Table 3 for details). This situation is closely related to where Kayayei sleep.

Table 3: Toilet and Bathroom Facilities Used

	No.	%
Public	398	99.3
Private	3	0.7
Total	401	100.0

This issue is a very important public health question. It is general knowledge that most low income housing options available in urban areas do not include toilet facilities. Consequently, residents of these structures are forced to patronize public toilet which are few and far between. Therefore, it is not surprising that over 99% of respondents claimed to use public toilets. However, when public toilets are crowded as is almost always the case, residents-including Kayayei resort to using bushes, disused, uncompleted or abandoned buildings and open drains as toilets and those who live close to the sea use the beach. The quick obvious answer to this situation is the provision of more public toilets although this could encourage more migration as conditions improve. The longer term solution would be to get all proprietors and homeowners to install toilet facilities in their properties. However this may not solve the problem as Kayayei may not

be able to afford such improved facilities because they will be attractive to more solvent sections of the population.

Where the porters sleep

It was discovered that most of the porters sleep in front of stores. (see Table 4 for details). This is due to the fact that they have nowhere else to sleep and also because they do not have to pay any money to anyone to sleep in front of stores. This begs the question of access to toilet facilities. It is clear that this mode of “accommodation” contributes to insanitary conditions in the city centre and around the markets and transport terminals where the Kayayei sleep. The provision of temporary toilets in known areas where Kayayei and other street dwellers sleep could be a short term solution. Sadly, the ideal solution, which is affordable low cost housing, is not likely to be feasible anytime soon.

Almost as many Kayayei sleep in rented kiosks and other makeshift structures in the slums as those who sleep in front of stores. These rented kiosks are usually share with other porter because it is relatively more expensive to live alone. Some Kayayei, who live in uncompleted buildings, said they acted as caretakers for the owners of the property until the owners are ready to move in. they do not pay anything if the negotiate directly with property owners. However, they had to pay a small amount if they deal with foremen. Dealing with foremen is more difficult because it is often without the consent of the owner, who could visit the property unannounced.

Table 4: Where the Porters Sleep

	No.	%
Rented room (kiosk)	170	42.4
In front of stores	184	45.9
Lorry parks	44	11.0
Uncompleted building	3	0.7
Total	401	100.0

The above supports Kwankye et al., (2007) findings that most of the Kayayei sleep in front of stores at the market squares and at transport stations. Again, the provision of affordable low cost housing would be the ideal solution to this problem as it will solve a large public health issue. However, the provision of such facilities might encourage further migration. This would be a welcome situation if there was a high demand for unskilled labour in urban areas. Unfortunately this is not the case; therefore solving the accommodation problem by providing affordable housing would present a paradox as more and more migrants would migrate to take advantage of the improved conditions, which would exacerbate the problem.

Where porters get food

Many of the respondents said they buy food from food vendors. Due to their busy schedule they are unable to cook themselves any proper meals. Addition, they share their sleeping places with other Kayayei and the places are too small to keep utensils (See Table 5 for details).

Table 5: Where Porters get Food

	No.	%
Food Vendor	387	96.5
Home Cooked	14	3.5
Total	401	100

Regarding how they fend for themselves, all ten (10) oral interviewed respondents said they buy food to eat due to the fact that they do not have time to cook. As stated in the preceding paragraph, Kayayei do not cook because they do not have the space to keep utensils even if they could afford them. Therefore, they pay more for food over time than they would if they prepare their own meals. This reduces their standard of living because they cannot save much if they have to spend their hard end cash on food, which they could have prepared themselves.

Types of activities the head-porters engage in

About 88% (n=351) of the head-porters were into Itinerant activities (see figure 5 for details). They claimed it was tedious but they preferred it to being shop attendants because as itinerants, they can roam anywhere and are not restricted to just one place. Also, as itinerants they can decide when to start work and when to close because they do not report to anyone. This is a positive point that government officials and NGOs could take advantage of in providing capacity building and skills development training to Kayayei. These programs could be packaged as early morning, lunchtime or after work programmes. This way, Kayayei can work it into their schedules and still go out to earn money while

learning new skills with which they can get off the streets and maybe even return home.

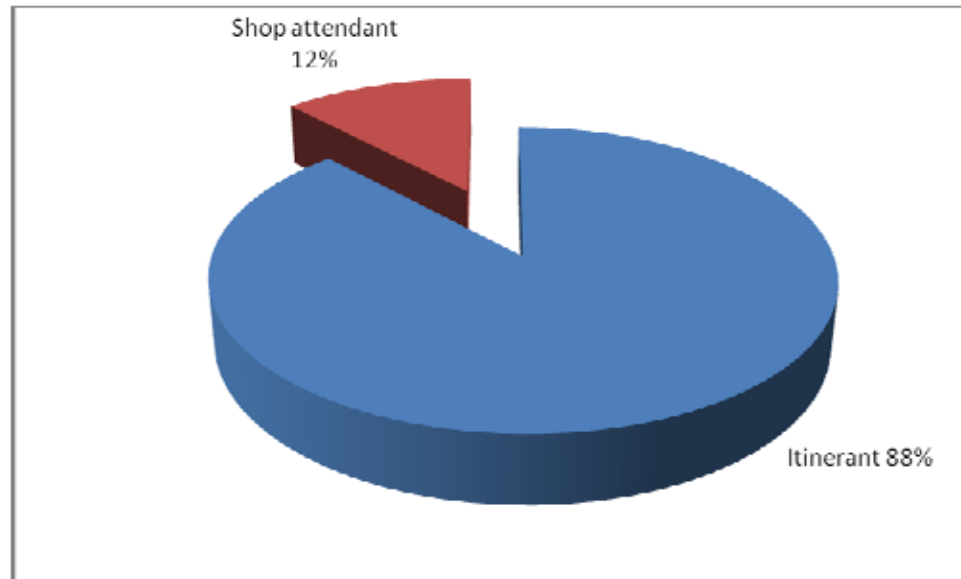


Figure 5. The kind of activities the head-porters engage in

About 12% (n=50) of them were shop attendants. According to this group, they chose this line of business because they do not have to run around in the sun and walk in the rain to look for business. They earn a fixed amount from their shop owners regardless of patronage because in addition to carrying goods, they Kayayei help with the everyday running of the shop. Kayayei who double as shop attendants sweep, help arrange wares and stand serve clients when necessary. These informal shop attendants may not have written contracts. However, they are in regular employment and their skills could be upgraded with the agreement of their shop owners so that they can be better shop attendants. It is possible that they will integrate and even transfer some of their experience and knowledge to their home communities.

The itinerant head porters carry load such as yam (20%; n=82), vegetables (11%; n=45), crates of tomatoes (10%; n=38), bags of rice (6%; n=23), provision (6%; n=25), foodstuff (9%; n=35) watermelon (5%; n=21) and others carried all kinds of goods (17%; n=68).

Amount charged by head porters

The majority of the porters interviewed (72%; n=287) said they charged one Ghana cedi per a load they carry, whilst others said their charges vary depending on the quantity of the load and the distance (see Table 4 for some of their charges). They went further to explain that they do not earn a fixed amount at the end of the day and that their earnings vary due to how many clients they get in a day.

Table 6: Amount Charge by Head Porters

	No.	%
50 PESEWAS	5	1.2
1.50	2	.5
1 CEDI	287	71.6
2 CEDIS	73	18.2
OTHER	34	8.5
Total	401	100.0

The service that Kayayei provided is a luxury or a necessity for urban shoppers. For some, it is a necessity because they have much heavier loads than they can carry themselves; therefore they cannot do without the services of Kayayei. Others will not carry loads because it is beneath them and they would

rather pay someone to do the heavy lifting. Either way, Kayayei could charge more for their services if they recognise these facts and work together to ensure that they do not get exploited by clients.

Why client do not pay amount charged them

The majority (80%; n=321) of the porters said that their clients pay them the amount of money they charge per a load, whilst others said their clients do not usually pay what they charge them. They cited several reasons why these clients do not pay the amount charged them (see Table 7 for details).

Table 7: Reasons why Clients do not Pay the Amount Charged

	No.	%
Ask for a reduction	1	1.45
Because the clients want to pay what they desire	1	1.45
Compare with distance	1	1.45
Complain about the cost	1	1.45
Expensive	57	82.6
Financial constraints	1	1.45
It's affordable	1	2.9
Shop owners pay me	1	1.45
Sometimes	1	1.45
Sometimes ask for a reduction	1	1.45
They ask me to come the next day	1	1.45
They say it's expensive at time	1	1.45
Total	69	100

In the course of the interview, respondents were asked if clients treated them fairly. Here, most of them were very emotional about how clients sometimes exploited them after employing their services to carry loads. They were all in agreement that clients paid far less than fair value for most of the loads they were hired to carry, which were heavy required them to go long distances. Again, if Kayayei are able to organize themselves into an association or union to speak for them and to institute and publish approved rates and charges for conveying goods. This could act as a pressure group to negotiate with traders and other clients. Such an association could also provide assurances to clients that they can retrieve goods, which they lose while patronizing the services of registered members of the group. An organized group will also make Kayayei more attractive potential recipients of support from government agencies and NGOs.

Financial management by head-porters

Majority 99%; (n=395) of the head-porters said they save portions of their earning, whilst 1% (n=6) of them said they do not save any of their earnings. See Table 6 for details of where they saved.

Table 8: Where Kayayei Save their Monies/Income

	No.	%
Susu Collector	386	97.7
Bank	2	0.5
Other	7	1.8
Total	395	100

Opare (2003) talked about how the Kayayei save. Table 8 corroborates his assertion that the majority of Kayayei save with Susu collectors. Although risky, Susu collectors are the best alternative as they provide ‘door to door’ service that are popular with the nomadic Kayayei. The little drops that Kayayei contribute daily could be a significant pool for micro-finance institutions looking to build deposits for onward lending. These deposits can then be used to finance start-up for Kayayei who wish to return to their hometowns after acquiring vocational skills in urban centres.

Respondents said they did not feel safe, happy and comfortable in the city. When asked why, they said they feel they have failed in their plans of seeking greener pastures considering some of the harsh living conditions in the city. They were also concerned about how little they are saving towards their future since they live from hand to mouth. When asked if they intend to return to their hometown someday, unsurprisingly, all respondents affirmed that they would definitely return to their hometown someday after making enough money although they sometimes get the urge to return even without sufficient funds. Furthermore when asked what they would like to do after they return to their hometown, they all wanted to learn a trade. Out of the ten (10) oral interviewed respondents, four (4) of them expressed interest in dressmaking, three (3) wanted to go into hairdressing whilst the other three (3) preferred buying and selling of foodstuffs.

Amount of money spent on meals daily

About 36% (n=103) of the head-porters said they spend as much as five Ghana cedis on meals a day this is because they have other dependants who do not work and others also said that it was because their wards are in school and they have to send some of the money as feeding fee. It is significant to note that this is about 30% of the wages of the highest earning kayayei.

About 20% (n=81) of them said they spent three Ghana cedis daily on meals because they eat twice daily spending one cedi fifty pesewas on each meals. Another 17% (n=66) said they spend four Ghana cedis on meals because they spend two cedis each meal while 12% (n=48) of the head-porters said they spent two cedis fifty pesewas. Of the remainder, 9% (n=36) of them said they spent three cedis fifty pesewas, 7% (n=29) of them said they spent two Ghana cedis daily on meals, and about 6% (n=23) said they spent about six Ghana cedis (see figures 6 for details).

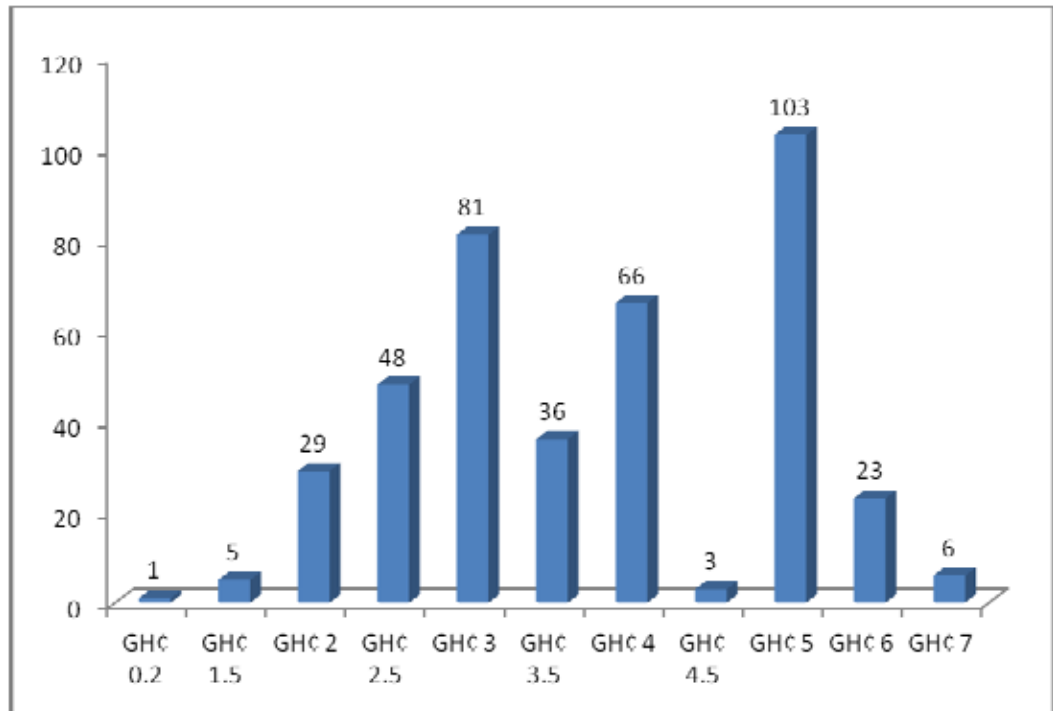


Figure 6. Amount of money spent on meals daily

Interviewees were asked how much they earn a day. Out of the ten (10) oral interviewed respondents, five (5) earned at least GH¢15.00 daily, three (3) earned GH¢10.000 and two (2) earned GH¢8.00. All earnings made were averages depending on the type of service provided. Itinerant porters made their money by carrying loads whilst the shop attendants were given a minimum fee of GH¢5.00 daily from shop owners although they made extra monies for carrying loads for clients who patronize their shop. All interviewees were itinerant porters who indicated that on a good day, they earn enough to cater for themselves until the next day. They added that they were able to support their wards in school and even make savings.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the work done, draws conclusions based on the analysis of the data collected and makes recommendations for policy makers. The chapter also makes recommendations for further research on other areas of interest that this work did not explore.

Summary

The study begun with the background and describes the problems that was investigated. A review of literature showed that other researchers have done work on Kayayei although their work focused on the cultural and socio-economic practices that force porters to move to the city, coping strategies of independent child migrant from the Northern Ghana to south cities, survival of Kayayei and motivations for women to move down south. The works identified above have all touched on Kayayei from different angles but extensive study has not been done on their social and economic conditions.

The methodology involved the snowballing sampling technique which was used to identify 401 questionnaire respondents and 10 oral interviewed respondents who answered the researcher's questions.

The research dwelt on the social and economic conditions of Kayayei. It laid emphasis on the life of head porters migrating from the northern part of the country into the big cities in the south in search of greener pastures and for other

social and cultural reasons. It further took into consideration, some problems which Kayayei face in their quest to earn a living in the cities.

Summary of Major Findings

It was found that, the ‘Kayayei’ were not only deprived of health and accommodation facilities but they were also stigmatized in the society. In their search for daily bread, these head porters sacrifice the privilege of formal education and the luxury of living a normal life like the average Ghanaian.

Again, the Kayayei further fall prey to social vices and other maltreatment at the hands of clients and other members of society. The results of the research provide proof that the Kayayei do not have proper sanitary options because most of them do not have adequate accommodation. It is also shown that the Kayayei do not earn enough to meet other personal needs. In their desire to learn a living and provide good education for their children, some Kayayei strive to manage their finances by saving with susu collectors. This provides a foundation for them when they quit their jobs as head porters.

Conclusions

It is a reality that these girls migrate from the northern part of Ghana into the big cities in search of better living conditions. Although these girls migrate from different communities in the northern part of Ghana, they all have the same aim of seeking greener pastures and making a better life out of their daily strife as head porters.

I arrived at the conclusion that, the Kayayei had a poor social condition when it came to their accommodation. Here, they had little to choose from since

most of them settle to sleep in kiosks and in front of stalls in the open. It is evident that, the Kayayei are exposed not only to outbreak of diseases but also to social vices. They also have to fall on poor hygienic public bathrooms and toilets which also make them vulnerable to diseases. They also do not enjoy the privilege of formal education.

Further, they fall victims to stigmatization in the society in their quest to render services to individuals who hire them. These Kayayei are maltreated and manhandled by clients who do not satisfy them (Kayayei) by paying what they are charged for the services rendered. Although they earn little on an average day, they make it a priority to save for their daily upkeep as well as for future use.

Finally, it showed that the Kayayei have the desire to return to make life better. They will like to learn a trade such as dressmaking and hairdressing. Others will also love to go into buying and selling to generate more income and eventually make them successful people where they come from. Therefore, these Kayayei will continuously migrate into the big cities in search of greener pastures since to them they do not have any lucrative job to do in their communities in the northern part of the country.

Recommendations

An appraisal of the analysis of the research work has made it evident that the girls will continuously migrate into the big cities.

1. This was clearly evident in the recommendations they made for solving the problems and challenges in their various communities up north. During discussions, respondents stressed that the lack of employment

opportunities and poverty, underpin rural-urban migration in the villages. It is therefore recommended that jobs created to provide employment for the youth and adults, and thereby provide income and curb the drift to urban areas. Also, skills training can be provided for the youth in order to equip them with alternate livelihood strategies.

2. Micro financial services should be provided to women to enable them pursue their livelihood activities more effectively. Establishment of cottage industries such as oil palm and Shea butter processing plants can also help women reduce household poverty
3. Another important suggestion is the provision of rural infrastructure, of which water and sanitation are at the top of the list. Others include improved healthcare facilities, roads, markets, energy and communication facilities.
4. In order to get a better understanding of their livelihoods more research can be carried out in the areas the women come from. One of the ways to prevent girls from the urge to go south is to improve educational opportunities in the northern regions. Education will provide the skills and knowledge to secure a livelihood in the hometowns. Also vocational skills training programmes in the northern regions would prevent girls from going south, and offer girls who have been to the south opportunities to learn skills and start up a business in the areas they come from.
5. Policy makers should recognise that development is the first stage to achieve economic growth. Consequently, the development of rural areas

will help to curb rural-urban migration in Ghana. Again, policy makers should also note that migrants' welfare is important. Therefore, policies targeted at rural-urban migrants must ensure sustainable livelihoods in their areas of origin. If policies provided only short-term solutions to the conditions of migrants in urban centres, it would lead to future migration in the end. For instance, where Kayayei are trained in vocational skills, they must be provided with some seed capital to start businesses in their home communities. Otherwise, if they cannot apply their new-found skills on returning to the rural areas, they will soon return to the urban centres.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study focused on the social and economic conditions of Kayayei. Other works could look at how micro-finance companies can help provide financing to help the Kayayei to apply their newly acquired skills to improve their livelihood. Again, other works could look at the economic and social conditions of truck-pushers and other such people.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOUNDATIONS

The research is a student offering Guidance and Counselling. This questionnaire is for academic purposes and it forms part of her research on the topic “Social and Economic conditions of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis”. To assist her arrive at appropriate conclusions on the topic she would be grateful if you would answer the following questions. All responses given will be held in complete confidence.

SECTION A

Please tick/circle where applicable.

1. How old are you?

- Below 16years 16 – 20years 21 – 25years 26 – 30years
 31 years and above

2. Which part of Ghana do you come from?

- a) South
b) North
c) Please specify

3. Do you have any relation in Accra?

- a) Yes
b) No

If yes please indicate which one?

- i) Father ii) Mother iii) Uncel iv) Aunt v) Sibling vi) Other

Specify

- 4. Why did you come to Accra?
 - a) Greener pastures
 - b) Escaping marriage
 - c) Other (please state)
- 5. What exactly do you do?
 - a) Itinerant
 - b) Shop attendant
- 6. Are you comfortable with your work?
 - a) Yes Why
 - b) No Why

SECTION B

- 7. Where do you sleep after the day's work?
 - a) Rented Room
 - b) In front of Stores
 - c) Lorry Parks
 - d) Uncompleted Buildings
- 8. Do you pay for you accommodation?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No

If no skip to question 10

9. How much do you pay to landlord/store owners?

- a) 50GHp
- b) GH cedi 1
- c) GH cedi 2
- d) Other (State)

10. Where do you get your food from?

- a) Food vendors
- b) Home cooked

11. How much do you spend on meals a day? (Specify)

12. How do you access healthcare?

- a) Hospitals/Clinics
- b) Pharmacy/Chemical sellers
- c) Traditional healers
- d) Other (specify)

13. What type of toilet and bathroom facilities do you use?

- a) Public
- b) Private
- c) Other (specify)

SECTION C

14. What type of goods do you carry?

.....

15. How much do you charge?

- a) 50GHp
- b) GH cedi 1
- c) GH cedi 2
- d) Other (State)

16. Do client pay the amount you charge?

- a) Yes
- b) No

If yes skip question 18

17. Why

18. Do you pay AMA ticket as daily permit?

- a) Yes How much?
- b) No Why?

19. Are you able to save some of your earnings?

- a) Yes
- b) No

20. If Yes for the above, where do you save?

- a) Susu Collector
- b) Bank
- c) Other (specify)

Appendix B

Interview Schedule

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

The research is a student offering Guidance and Counselling. The questions for the interview form part of her research on the topic the “Social and Economic conditions of Kayayei in the Accra Metropolis”. Questions stated will be further explained by the interviewer in order to ease responses to be provided by the respondent. To assist her arrive at appropriate conclusions on the topic she would be grateful if you would answer the following questions. All responses given will be held in complete confidence.

1. Which part of the country do you come from?
2. Why did you choose to be head porter?
3. How much do you earn a day?
4. Do clients treat you fairly?
5. Do you have health insurance?
6. How do you fend for yourself? Food, Shelter, Clothing etc
7. Do you have children? How many?
8. Do you intend to return to your hometown someday?
9. What would you like to do after you return to your hometown?
10. Are you safe, happy and comfortable in the city?

Appendix C

Specific places Where Kayayei Come From

Place	Frequency	Percent
Abliri	16	4.0
Agona –brofoyedur	1	.2
Ajumako	1	.2
Akim – Oda	1	.2
Bantala	3	.7
Bawku	38	9.5
Bimbila	11	2.7
Binaba	6	1.5
Bisuri	1	.2
Bolgatanga	12	3.0
Bugri	8	2.0
Central region	2	.5
Daboase	1	.2
Damango	4	1.0
Datuku	11	2.7
Frumbukisi	6	1.5
Gambaga	2	.5
Garu	8	2.0
Greater Accra	1	.2
Jirapa	3	.7
Kadema	8	2.0
Koforidua	1	.2
Konkoma	27	6.7
Kubuali	1	.2
Kusasi	2	.5
Lawra	3	.7
Mamprusi	8	2.0

Naga	9	2.2
Natinga	3	.7
Navrongo	27	6.7
Osu	1	.2
Paga	3	.7
Saltpond	1	.2
Sandema	1	.2
Sapeliga	12	3.0
Sesale	30	7.5
Swedru	1	.2
Tamale	4	1.0
Tirapa	1	.2
Tongo	12	3.0
Tumu	18	4.5
Wa	9	2.2
Walewale	57	14.2
Western region	1	.2
Winneba	2	.5
Yendi	19	4.7
Zebilla	4	1.0
Total	401	100.00

Appendix D

The Kinds of Good that the Head-Porters Carry

Goods	Frequency	Percent
All kinds of goods	68	17.0
Bags of flour	5	1.2
Bales of clothing	16	4.0
Buckets of margarine and flour sacks	1	.2
Food stuff	35	8.7
Fruits	1	.2
Helps someone sell rice	1	.2
Paints	2	.5
Pineapple	1	.2
Plantain	17	4.2
Provisions	25	6.2
Provisions and food stuff	1	.2
Rice and vegetables	1	.2
Rice bags	23	5.7
Sugar	5	1.2
Sugar and rice	1	.2
Tomatoes crates	38	9.5
Tomatoes, rice bags etc	1	.2
Vegetables	45	11.2
Watermelon	9	2.2
Watermelon and other stuff	1	.2
Watermelon and vegetables	1	.2
Watermelons	21	5.2
Yam	82	20.4
Total	401	100.0