

Kayayo menace in the Context of Wa East District in Ghana

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Abstract

After independence from the colonial rule, there is growing need in northerners of Ghana to drift towards the southern part. The youngsters including women and girls with little or no formal education, who undertake this internal migration, engage in menial jobs in the southern cities for despicable rewards. Their male counterparts take up labor intensive jobs that demand strength and energy such as pushing trucks, weeding surroundings, pounding “fufu” in chop bars, and illegal small scale mining activities. Mostly, despite some of the girls becoming nannies and servants in restaurants they are engaged in transporting loads on head for their clients which is termed as “**kayayo**” in Ghana. Kayayo denotes both the activity and the person in the activity. Research enthusiasts have occupied themselves with the push and pull factors as driving force for the kayayo business in Ghana. Poverty, lack or inadequate social amenities, northern conflicts, bad weather conditions, forced marriages, and development disparities are highlighted as such factors in recent research outcomes. The social menace and impact as result of kayayo is overlooked. In this paper, attempts are made to find answers for the following: security threat, livelihood alternatives, and district peculiarities hence **Kayayo Menace in the Context of Wa East District of Ghana**. A Sample of 1000 women from Wa East District was interviewed for the study. Unstructured interviews and personal observations were used as the tools for data collection. The study showed that 13 communities are most affected with their education, security, marriages, and health threatened in those communities. Secondary kayayei: people indirectly involved in that business were identified, including alternative livelihoods such as shea butter processing, dry season farming, hairdressing, and dress making, and some policy suggestions were made in the studies.

Keywords: girls, kayayo, migration, wa east district, women

1. Introduction

Social movement for better conditions is natural phenomenon that exists in human beings within any geographical area where social systems fail to provide basic life needs. Socio-economic systems shape the behaviors and habits of people and dictate the pull and push factors for potential immigrants. For instance, social amenities such as electricity, portable drinking water, internet services, and available food at the disposal of a man lessen his /her desire for migration (Opare 2003). Opare also observed that sufficient opportunities for employment, income, personal fulfillment, a more equitable distribution of resources, wealth and so on, most people would prefer to stay close to their loved ones and their culture. In addition, development infrastructure which encompasses good roads, electricity, organized markets, good housing couple with effective health and education systems would also make the average rural dweller comfortable at home. However, in third world countries, development policies tow the path of inward urbanization where cities are prioritized over rural settlements. This notion puts cities in envious positions attracting rural dwellers and making them centers of human concentrations drawing labor from the peripheries. The energetic youth from Wa East have no choice than to yield to this man-made migration phenomenon. This scenario corroborated Lewis two-sector surplus labor model theory of economic development where there is a drift of cheap surplus labor from rural areas toward modern sectors.

In Africa, between 1980s and 1990s , internal migration from rural areas to urban areas accounted for at least half of all urban growth and about 25% of urban growth in the 1960s and 1970s (Brockerhoff, 1995). Thus most rural areas lack social opportunities to absorb the youth bulge. The youth bulge has been referred to by the Middle East Youth Initiative as a demographic gift, which, if engaged well, could fuel economic growth and development. However, developing governments rather consider this gift as source of trouble especially more so when the youth hit the street to ask for jobs. The skilled and unskilled individuals devise diverse ways of making themselves useful by making change of location a must. Migration which is starkly a product of social conditions easily attracts the ambitious ones in essence. This tendency has a worldwide character and mostly seen in countries where there is high inequalities in resource allocation. Ghana is no exception including where Wa East District is a subset. As mentioned earlier on, many people from the northern sector of Ghana (Upper west, Upper East and Northern Regions) occasionally embark on the internal migration for greener pastures in the southern part of country since independence. At the early stage, north –south drift was solely a business of strong and

ambitious men from the north. This Social drift occurred due partly to high prevalence of poverty in the northern regions as a result of bad weather conditions and huge development gap between the north and south couple with forced marriages.

Other reasons for this social surge can be attributed to circular conflicts in the northern part as most migrants leave their communities to avoid conflicts. Nonetheless, the south-north development disparity is mostly blamed on colonial occupation of the south as administration centers and gave the southern part upper hand over the northern part. The exuberance northerners who travelled to the south during the post independence period were engaged in cocoa farms, restaurants, and mining pitches as laborers. These migrants were mostly men. In recent times, this phenomenon is now more feminist in character as women and girls find nothing attractive to be at their villages and troop into the southern cities. This social explosion involves all walks of women (with little or no education) from the north. Unfortunately, all ages are involved especially as more and more girls and women with babies engage in this movement to the southern cities in search of better conditions. Upon arrival, they engage in head portering business.

This situational informal economic activity introduced by social neglect in society is term Kayayo in Ghana. Opare (2003) noted that Kaya in Hausa language means luggage, load or goods. Yoo means woman in Ga, the language of people from Accra, the capital of Ghana. In Ghanaian parlance, Kayayei they are the head porters who carry market wares for shoppers or traders around the market areas in the big cities in the south, mainly Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi (Kwankye et al., 2009).

A kayayo is a household name for either the activity or young woman or who carries other people's loads on the head for a fee and the plural form of yoo is yei, hence kayayei are women head porters in Ghana. A range of ages from 5 to 45 of girls and women patronize directly or indirectly in the kayayo business and work under very deplorable conditions. In the rural areas of most parts of the north, carrying loads on heads is a viable means of transporting goods from farms or homes to and from market centers. So, women and girls from such communities mostly unskilled but with experience of "load on head" utilized it on their arrival to the cities. Hence kayayo business is the first point of call for these girls and women because of its ready availability in the informal sector and also devoid of "Who you Know syndrome" for seeking job in the formal sector in Ghana.

So far, little work has been done on kayayo largely with respect to its effects on these women. Also many attempts sought to 'lump-sum' and generalize findings maiming regional and district level peculiarities. This brings about failure of social intervention policies due to wrong policy prescription informed by wrong extrapolation of research findings. This article focuses on regional and district specifics of the menace hence **Kayayo in the context of Wa East District in Ghana.**

2. Kayayo as a By-product of Rural-Urban Migration

Globalization facilitated by advances in transportation and ICTs and also propelled by socioeconomic political realities is behind human mobility – both within and across nations. Migration is pervasive, continuing and everlasting phenomenon far as resources will remain scarce in the hands of reckless management. It is also a multi-pronged issue which has significantly affected various levels of human existence. Migration is likely to be a central issue of the 21st century and beyond, and one that will continue to generate significant debate and discussion. The idea to migrate is important and critical as long as push and pull factors remain unresolved. Thus a decision to migrate involves contextual factors, such as push factors which force migrants out of rural areas and pull factors which attract migrants to urban areas. These factors can be attributed to the interplay of natural phenomena and social activity. For instance, rural conflicts, wars, forced marriages, and bad weather conditions might act as push factors and these push energetic youth to consider migrating from rural areas to vibrant economic centers to escape socioeconomic insecurity. The lack or insufficiency of a rural credit market(s) may also act as a push factor when migration of a family member is used to generate remittances in order to overcome credit constraints and to finance rural productive investments (see Katz and Stark, 1986a).

Stark and Levhari (1982) who focus on migration as a family strategy, see migration of a family member as life insurance against known and unknown economic hardship and as the surest to contain scarce income opportunities in rural areas. The point is further echoed by Stark and Lucas (1988) who opined that migration of a family member has mutual and cooperative understanding between the migrant and his/her family. As a pull factor, development disparity between rural and urban areas makes rural-urban migration not only a choice but imperative. As a result, social mobility has become an integral part of urbanization after savagery as people still choose to embark on migration amid obvious risk in such venture. The rural to urban migration will continue to propel urbanization process and continues to be significant in scale, even though migration rates appear to have slowed down in some countries. Governments are obliged to pay attention to the needs of their citizens or risk having the Mediterranean Sea as graveyard for ambitious youth whose find no hope in their communities in African. For this reason, some governments have strategic policies aim to curb both internal and external migration. In Mexico, the government discouraged certain types of investment in the large metropolitan areas (Cole and Sanders, 1983). Thailand, India or Peru also introduced such policies to discourage migration to big

cities including indigenes policies of India and Malaysia that favored persons locally born (Waddington, 2003). The idea is often to prevent massive inflows to large overcrowded cities while helping migrants of rural origin to find a job in smaller or medium-sized cities. This is usually seen in decentralization of infrastructure and activities with a view to create new centers of growth that will be able to absorb rural population surge.

On the contrary, Au and Henderson (2006)'s empirical finding pointed at GDP losses as a result of migration restrictions in China. In the case of China for instance, Knight, Song and Huaibin (1999) find that migrants of rural origin hold jobs that non-migrants shun. In Ghana, kayayo is classified as such economic activity which draws its participants from outside the host cities. Migration and kayayo are complementary for unskilled women migrants in southern cities of Ghana. In this context, migration is only a tool in the hands of the kayayo which is a product of internal migration.

2.1 Kayayo as Desperate Job in Ghana

Migration mainly concerns young adults who are more likely to have a positive net expected return on migration due to their longer remaining life expectancy, or because social norms require that young adults migrate in search of a better life (De Haan and Rogally, 2002). No or low and high skilled individuals are more likely to migrate but usually for different reasons: "surplus" low-skilled individuals have strong incentives to move to the city in search of a manual job they may not find in the rural area, while scarce educated workers may find that their human capital is better rewarded in cities than in rural areas (Lanzona, 1998, Agesa, 2001). In most countries, rural male migrants find jobs than their female counterparts because men bear lower risks of vulnerability than women when migrating.

This social mobility is drifted towards better opportunities and better conditions as Merton (1968) said that social systems have structures of opportunity that enable individuals and groups to pursue and achieve their individual and collective goals and aspirations. On arrival, at the host cities, they engage in menial jobs. Knight, Song and Huaibin (1999) find that migrants of rural origin hold jobs that non-migrants shun. Kayayo is one of such jobs which is heavily embraced and patronized by girls and women migrants from northern Ghana. Naturally kayayo business belongs to informal sector and born out of desperation. The participants are unskilled women and girls who have to engage in the load carrying business because it requires little or no capital injection and certification.

The activity rate is high and all new entrants have to experience living conditions detestable to their liking. Passing the night is a complete faculty of thought. Their recruiters who are sometimes circular migrants provide accommodation to new entrants at a fee. They are bundled in kiosks under deplorable conditions. However, their activities have received only some basic research work concerning the root causes in Ghana. Some inferences of such works are those of Agarwal, et al. (1994), Apt et al. (1992), Apt et al. (mimeo) and Opare (2003). The impact assessment is central to this paper.

2.2 Why Women and Girls in Kayayo Business

Women as well as girls are seen as properties of men in the northern part of Ghana. This has accorded them low status in society and their destiny at the manipulation of the male. Until recent times, the boy child is preferred to be given formal education to that of the girl child. The dominance and influence of the male factor make women voiceless and susceptible to uncompromising situations. Some are forced into marriages with many subjected to other social mishandlings. For instance, many camps are pitched in some parts of the north where the frustrated and desperate women are condemned, dumped, and branded as witches.

The female feels compromising and needy constantly still in fulfillment of the male tyranny in the north. Men are breadwinners of most households and that imposes a culture of laziness on women to the extent of discouraging the industrious ones from gaining self-independence. Owing to this long economic dependence on their male counterparts, women who divorce tend to become destitute. Such women sometimes tend to flee to the towns and cities as an escape from poverty (Adepoju 1986). Another marriage-related cause of women's migration, according to Nukunya (1969), is polygamy. According to his view, women in polygamous marriages often have to compete among themselves to win the favor and attention of their husbands. Moving out to make money and come back to outshine one's rivals thus becomes a plan of action for some women and kayayo is their final resort.

However, their colleagues from cities have taken advantage of the institutionalization of legal instruments for human rights and education policies to take their right place in society. Women and girls who engage in kayayo as a revolution against male suppression are therefore mostly from northern Ghana. The clients of these women are their own colleagues in the cities (Amuzu 1999). Generally, rural to urban movements of women attracted UN attention in its expert consultation report in 1993 (United Nations 1993). Figure 1 below shows some of these women in action.

Figure 1: kayayo women in action



3. Study Area

This Wa East District in Upper West Region of Ghana has a rich story to share in relation to kayayo menace. This paper looks at this district in order to build insights into district and regional level peculiarities of this social menace in Ghana. The district was created in 2004 due to its geographical location that was thwarting its development opportunities when it was under Wa Municipal Assembly. It has a total population of 73,000 approximately with 53% females. The illiteracy rate is 78%. There are three major tribes namely; chakale, sisala and waala. It shares boundary with Mole National park in the south-east part. The overt economic activity is farming mostly crop production. Petty trading including illegal small scale mining (known as ‘galamsey’) is spotted in some parts of the district. According to recent studies, 80 percent of the population in the three northern regions (Upper East, Upper West and Northern) is poor, while almost 70 percent is extremely poor (Kwankye et al., 2007). Some communities in this district have annexes in the southern cities where kayayo dominates to corroborate lack of education, poverty, and failure of social systems as root causes of rural-urban migration as listed in earlier research works on kayayo. However, the urban areas in the northern regions and that of the southern have no much disparity. The rural areas only show such disparities (Shepherd et al., 2006).

This paper employed exploratory research methodology to seek qualitative information for the following research questions;

- Which communities are mostly affected by the kayayo menace in Wa East District?
- Is kayayo a district, regional, national, and world security threat?
- What are some of livelihood alternatives for the affected communities?

3.1 The Sample Size

A sample of 1000 women and girls were identified and interviewed. As a case study for Wa East District, a non-random selection of all identified kayayei from that district were interviewed at their own volition from kayayo camps in the cities. The cities were grouped and zoned into three (3) cities and four (4) zones respectively. Accra, Kumasi and Tema are the cities with Madina, Accra central, Kumasi Kajetie, and Tema fishing Harbour as the zones. 1537 kayayo women and girls were confronted in order to meet the 1000 sample size for only citizens of Wa East and all the 1000 identified as citizens of Wa East went through the questionnaires successfully. Dialects from the district such as Sisali, Waali, Chakali, and Daagari were used as medium of communication during respondent’s identification.

3.2 Data Collection

Various instruments and tools were designed and implemented to gather quality data for the research. Preliminary visits to centers of kayayo in their operational cities and zones to take stock of their holidays and leisure times were carried out. Also their associations, group leaders (Mungazias) and meeting days were identified and incorporated into our schedule plan for setting interviews date. Women and girls with children answered questionnaires for the household as the whole household is considered victims of kayayo as well as respondents.

Data were collected using both unstructured interviews and personal observation mostly in group discussion with all conversations in local dialects. Respondents were allowed to lead discussions in some situations to enable us get details and insights of the story. Some of them led the crusade in searching for their colleagues for answering questionnaires. Data were collected and stored in both audio and visual forms. In addition, secondary data valid

for this research were selectively sourced from literature. Citizens of Wa East District were solely traced for the data.

3.3 Measures

Mixture of quantitative and qualitative variables was collected. The respondents' education and age were the quantitative variables. These were measured in terms of level of education attained by respondents and coded as follows: 1. illiterate; 2 .primary; 3. secondary; 4, more than secondary. The other variable is the age of the respondent. The first category was under 10 years; the second, 11 to 20 years; the third, 21 to 30 years and the fourth, 31 years and above. Most of the data was qualitatively collected through recordings due to the ethnographic nature of the study.

4. Analysis and Results

This study is grounded in simple interpretation of the data to commensurate its fundamental reality. Daily mathematical instruments such as simple frequency and percentage distributions were adopted to present the data which can easily be understood by respondents as well as any concern agency. The reason for this simplification of statistical tools for analyzing this data is to play within the laypeople understanding.

Table 1: Age Distribution of Kayayei

Age group(years)	Freq	%
≤10	200	20
11-20	466	46.6
21-30	246	24.4
≥31	88	8.8
Total	1000	100

The nature and operation of kayayo business called for classification of those in it to enable overt studies into their behaviors. This necessitated grouping them into four. Their age was considered as vibrant variable that could tell more about the nature and activity of the kayayei and these four groups were founded on it. These groups are shown in table I. All those at the age of ten (10) or below (≤ 10) were put in the first group. The explication of people in this group was that they were children brought by some kayayei with some as children who were born in the camps. The reason behind moving with these children was solely due to lack of caretakers at their original hometowns. Some of the elderly children played nanny to the younger ones as some helped in executing jobs contracted by their mothers. They lived with their mothers in their rented kiosks. This paper identifies such children as “secondary kayayei” as they played indirect roles in the kayayo business. The second group which is also the largest constituted young girls who aged between 11 and 20 years. Most of them engaged in prostitution as secondary source of income. These people were observed to be either school dropouts or from communities either without Junior High Schools or without schools at all. They were fond of sleeping with either boyfriends or spending nights with their prostituting lovers. Figure 2 below shows some of such ladies.

Figure2: Kayayei resting on the street



The third group was in a category of women with mixture of marriage status. It covered married, unmarried, avoiding forced marriage, divorced, and “getting-ready-for-marriage” women in an age range of 21 to 30 years. They owned most of the children in the first group. Women in this group lived decent life relatively in their rented kiosks. The last group made of women at 31 and above years. These women were the circular migrants and played pioneering role in the kayayo business. They are established and functioned as recruiters of kayayo women. Some are also mothers and nannies of kayayei and their children. Mothers of kayayei who were nannies are also identified as secondary kayayei like the children. This group has the smallest number of people but the

richest in the kayayo business.

As part of our research obligation, communities (from Wa East District) that supply the labor force for kayayo business were identified. Table II shows the distribution of these female head load carriers by place of origin from Wa East district. Communities with large numbers of kayayei had something in common. Thus they were all fringing communities around Mole National Park. Some were even resettled to allow for the creation of the park. The resettled communities are Holomuni, Gbongwolee (section of Duccie) and Gbentala with Duccie, Kulkpong, Chasia, Belekpong, and Grumbelle as mere fringing communities of the park.

The demographic dynamics that pointed to huge numbers of children without legitimate fathers as well as good parental care is potential source of security threat as these children are exposed to crime world and radicalization. This answered for the research question that sought to know whether kayayo posed security threat to district, region and world. Thus they are potential recruits for organized crime which is threat to everyone in society.

TableII : **Kayayei Community Distribution**

Community	Freq	Age group			
		≤10	11-20	21-30	≥31
Belekpong	78	20	35	15	8
Chasia	56	12	25	9	10
Chawuli	48	10	15	11	12
Duccie	91	21	40	20	10
Gbentala	111	27	54	30	0
Grumbelle	57	4	30	20	3
Holomuni	153	39	87	27	0
Kulkpong	123	18	55	49	1
Kundugu	73	16	38	9	10
Loggu	76	15	27	20	14
Sombisi	52	5	10	27	10
Sogla	39	5	30	4	0
Tiisa	43	8	20	5	10
Total	1000	200	466	246	88

The data gathered on the educational background of the kayayei revealed that most of them were illiterate. Some of them had some experience of primary and secondary education and none had tertiary education. Table III & IV shows community dynamics of their education levels and the affected communities. With this revelation this paper observed that kayayo business seemed to be synonymous with people suffering lack of education. For instance, Holomuni has the highest score in 'No schooling' column and also identified as a community without JHS.

Table III: **Education level of Kayayei Community**

Community	Level of education			
	No schooling	Primary	Secondary school	More than secondary
Belekpong	53	25	0	0
Chasia	41	14	1	0
Chawuli	32	16	0	0
Duccie	67	22	2	0
Gbentala	35	76	0	0
Grumbelle	47	9	1	0
Holomuni	105	48	0	0
Kulkpong	33	85	5	0
Kundugu	19	40	14	0
Loggu	28	45	3	0
Sombisi	34	16	2	0
Sogla	39	0	0	0
Tiisa	37	4	2	0
Total	570	400	30	0

Table IV: Summary of Education of Kayayei

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	570	57
Primary&JHS	400	40
SHS	30	3
Above SHS	0	0
Total	100	100

To be able to establish alternative livelihoods that could be attractive enough to retain and discourage potential kayayei from embarking the north-south venture, respondents were interviewed on the reasons that led them into the business. Varied answers were offered depending on the individual's social status and ambition. Some of which were that they wanted to save money to enter into trading, for apprenticeship in hairdressing and dressmaking, and to pay school fees for their children in SHS because according to them, the opportunities to raise the necessary capital did not exist in their place of origin. Also saving in preparation for marriage was mentioned especially for those within an age bracket 11-20 years. The reason was that their societies expect a newlywed to possess basic items such as clothes, shoes, jewels, kitchenware to her matrimonial home.

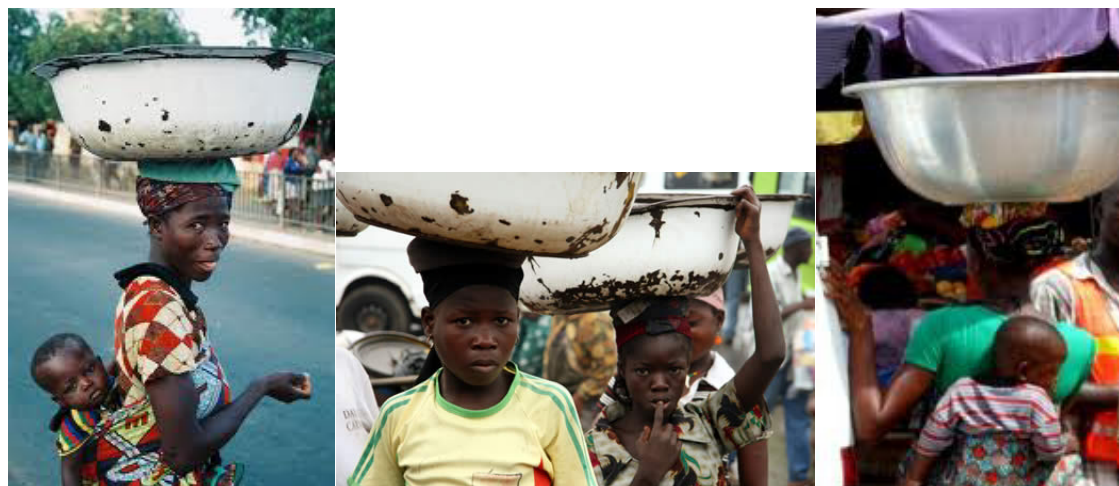
Table V: Livelihood Alternative(S)

Trade/livelihood	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Shea nuts processing	350	35
Hairdressing	120	12
Dry season farming	110	11
Seamstress	120	12
Schooling	300	30

TableV shows the five major other ways as incentives to keep these people from travelling to the south for kayayo business. The majority suggested for provision of training and equipment in shea nut processing. According to them, apart from farming the second economic activity was shea nut collection and shea butter processing. According to them, they sold raw nuts out to traders at very cheap prices and didn't get value for their effort in that venture hence the need to abandon that business and take up kayayo. The second major alternative activity identified was schooling. In fact all mothers wished their children were in schools at home. They cited lack of their ability to provide school uniforms, shoes, books and pens/pencils, and meals for children accounted for bringing them along to kayayo camps. Some pointed at lack of teachers and malfunctioning of schools in their communities as keeping them away from schooling.

Seamstress and hairdressing had equal number of people who were interested to engage themselves in them if there were such opportunities at their hometowns. The last alternative livelihood suggested was dry season farming. most of communities where these girls and women were from experienced only two seasons in a year. The dry and wet seasons and they could only farm during the latter because according to them, supply of water for cropping was only by an art of God's hand during the wet season. In times of drought, food security was threatened and only kayayo business could supplement to guarantee their daily meals. So, dry season farming was a choice for such women. Lack of irrigation facilities in the communities in addition to inadequate agricultural subsidies propelled the movement of these women to the cities. Figure 3 shows the kayayei by age.

Figure3: Kayayei by age



Above31years

11-20years

21-30years

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Women and girls from Wa East District engaged in the activity of kayayo business in the southern part of Ghana. The activity rate was growing and involved all walks of age. The women were found within a framework of Hugo 1993. He classified migrant women as follows; (1) married women migrating in search of employment: they were in want of sustenance to endure to sustain the effects of polygamy and poverty in the north part of Ghana. This explanation is consistent with inferences drawn by Nukunya 1969. There are some socio-cultural effects these women experience during the process of integration when they go back to their hometowns. In Wa East District, there are many cultural norms regulating the marriage institution with respect to its tribal diversity. Some women faced rejection from their husbands as they claim those women are not pure and need some rituals before they are allowed into their matrimonial homes after kayayo. Those claims according to the women are that they were involved in social vices such as prostitution, adultery, indecent dressing, and/or lack of manners acquired during the period of kayayo business in the cities. Others lose their marriages especially those that returned home with babies perceived to be by-products of kayayo business with their husbands showing them “red card” upon their return; (2) unmarried women migrating in search of employment and for marriage reasons: these are mostly school-drop-outs and also adolescences fleeing hardship from the north. On leaving school, they have to flock to towns and cities in search for modern sector jobs (D'Aeth, 1983). With exuberance in them they embrace any idea that seems to be a shortcut to economic emancipation from the male tyranny in the north. In consequence, from their nocturnal behaviors, the incidence of unwanted pregnancies is so high among this group of women. There is high sexual promiscuity in them. This has been reported by newspapers that each month about 50 per cent of all children born to *kayayei* at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra were abandoned by their mothers (*Weekly Spectator* 1999. p.6). This is so because they lack the nurturing ability in mature women and also due to the mystery behind their pregnancies. They can't identify the fathers of the babies and at times organize outdoor and naming ceremony for such children on their own; and (3) married women engaged in associational migration with no thought of employment: These women aged between 31 and above. They embarked on migration due to their husbands' long absence from homes. According to them these men left home for better conditions in the mining areas and cocoa farms where they could work and gain something for up keeping of the house.

The secondary *kayayei* identified by this paper are either children or mothers of *kayayo* women who are vulnerable and/or belong to sensitive class in society that are supposed to be schooled for future leadership but were left to their fate. The conditions under which they were growing if that environment would volunteer to school them which it was doing then the answer to whether *kayayo* menace posed threat to all levels in society is in affirmative. There should be further research into this group of people because it was prevalent throughout this research and received auxiliary attention in previous works such as Opare (2003) and Agarwal et al. (1994) including this paper. Under free education for all children of school going age, government should set up satellite school basic schools at *kayayei* camps. Such schools should really be free and devoid of any forms of fees. For the fringe communities, as a matter of policy direction, the authorities of Mole National Park should do post impact assessment on the socio-economic status of them especially the resettled communities. It was reported that as population surged in those communities land has become scarce for farming, the only vibrant economic activity for them. Some of them became poachers and posed threat to the park as some men too sought for arable lands outside the communities to exert their farming ability leaving their wives and children at home and therefore forcing married women into *kayayo*. Furthermore, the phenomenal environmental

characteristics of northern Ghana were cited as reasons behind the participation of most women in kayayo and solutions prescribed by Opare (2003) in that respect therefore should be given the needed attention. Women who suffered total rejection on their return became circular migrants. These women also served as point of contact or recruiters of new entrants to kayayo business frustrating efforts in fighting kayayo canker. Counseling centers should be established in the affected communities to counsel such women and their husbands for possible reunion and social integration. The counseling package must include health education as a check against STDs from their sexual promiscuity at kayayo camps.

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