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MASTER THESIS

INDEPENDENT CHILD MIGRATION FROM NORTHERN GHANA TO TECHIMAN MUNICIPALITY: PERSPECTIVES OF 'KAYAYIE' (FEMALE CHILDREN HEAD POTERS).

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE MASTER OF PHILOSPHY DEGREE IN CHILDHOOD STUDIES, NOSEB, NTNU

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EFFA REXFORD KWAKU

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that except for references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this research is my own work.

.....

Effa Rexford Kwaku

June, 2013, *NTNU*

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father Mr Anane Dwamena, my mother Mrs Grace Yeboah and the entire family, thank you for your care and support throughout these years.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the north-south migration of children is on the increase and is gaining popularity in the Ghanaian media especially in Accra and Kumasi. Previous studies on child migration focused mainly on boys as well as on big cities like Accra and Kumasi. However, this research focuses on Techiman town which serves as a transit town between resource-deprived northern parts of Ghana and the southern parts where migrants are usually destined. This explores the motives of female migrant children, their decision to migrate, the mode of movement, their experiences in Techiman and the consequences of their migration.

The main theoretical perspective guiding this study is the social studies of children and childhood. The study regards the female child migrant as a social actor in the exercise of agency, the female child as both a being and becoming. A central argument in this theoretical approach is that in order to understand children and childhood, researchers have to give them a voice in matters that affect them. Therefore, the study involved children as principal informants. The research was conducted qualitatively. Data collection techniques include participant observation, focus group discussion, semi-structured interviews and migration stories.

The study has found out that poverty is the one of the major forces behind the north-south migration of female children. It also identified globalisation through the electronic media, climate change, and children's desire to free themselves from parents and for wealth as well as other socio-cultural such as force and early marriages compel girls to migrate southwards. The study has also found out that in some instances children take decision to migrate independently. However, parents, relatives and peers also play critical role in children's decision to migrate.

The study documents the various consequences of migration on female children. These include the difficulties associated with their work, accommodation and health challenges. It concludes that migration of female children have both positive and negative consequences like work related risk,shelter related risk and reproductive health risk. I recommend that strategies for poverty alleviation such as the National Health Insurance Scheme should be strengthened.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CSM	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDHS	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHS	Ghana Health Service
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road and Transport Union
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GWCNAC	Ghana Women Children and North American Collective
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary fund
MDGR	Millennium Development Goal Report
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
SAP	Structural Adjustment Progamme
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The recent increase in the migration of girls from the three northern regions of Ghana to the middle and southern towns and cities like Kumasi and Accra is uncharacteristic of previous migration patterns. Previous studies of migration in Ghana reveal that internal north-south migration was mainly associated with adults. Kwankye (2011) noted that this movement has drawn the attention of politicians and researchers. Migration research is also 'gender biased' in the sense that most studies focused on the male migrant, demonstrating stereotypical construction of gender roles where the men are linked to the outside - public sphere - while the women are relegated to the domestic sphere. Yet children, like adults, do migrate. Existing previous studies on female child migrants have created the awareness and the alarming state of this phenomenon (Kwankye et al. 2007, 2009; Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf 2008). Most of these studies had focus on the migration of children from the north to only large cities like Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi with little or no attention to big towns like Sunyani and Techiman. Towns in the Brong Ahafo Region which serves as a transit region between the north and south are barely covered in academic research.The traditional migration pattern has been male dominated involving long-term and long distances especially in the 1970s and 80s where most men migrated to the cocoa growing areas as wage labourers (Kasanga & Avis, 1988). But with increasing urbanization, modernization, internal political instability, improved transportation, migration has 'revolutionalise' the traditional migration pattern.

In recent times, migration is increasing becoming feminized, with a variety and complexity of reasons which influence them to migrate (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf,2008) Techiman's strategic location at the heart of Ghana makes it the most important town that connects the major towns in the north to the big towns and cities in middle and the southern parts of Ghana. Because of this, child migrants population is on the increase in Techiman where most of these migrant children only intend to use it as a transit point but some of the children finally stay there as their final destination. Techiman's proximity to the northern regions and the low cost of living especially cheap prices of food entice some of these female child migrants to stay. There are a number of factors explaining such mobility over the past decades. Beyond geographical factors,

historical reasons also explain the pattern of migration in Ghana. Songsore (1983), Nabila (1985) and Adepoju (2005) have noted that deliberate colonial policies made the three northern regions of Ghana the suppliers of cheap labour force for the south and the middle belt of the country especially in areas abundant of mineral resources such as (gold, bauxite and diamond) and cash crops (cocoa and coffee). They attributed the north-south movement to the regional imbalances in terms of physical infrastructural development.

Recent studies have further attributed the migration of children from northern Ghana to the south to many factors ranging from cultural, social, and economic to environmental (Hashim 2005: Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf 2008: Kwankye et al. 2007 & 2009 and Kwankye 2011). Hashim (in Kwankye 2011) noted that children use migration as a coping strategy to respond to external shock in their environments. Kwankye et al. (2009:pp.19) argues that independence and money motivate children to migrate. "Children's migration from the northern regions to southern cities and communities is gradually appearing as a strategic economic investment by many parents against poverty. For example, in several instances, the decision by children to migrate is influenced by parents, relatives, and friends plausibly on the basis of the benefits they (parents) are likely to obtain from the migration of their children" (Kwankye 2011: pp. 536).

Furthermore, the structural adjustment programme which culminated in the withdrawal of subsidies on social services such as education, health, agricultural among others has worsened the plight of the people at the northern sector of the country resulting in high maternal and infant mortality rate, famine and social delinquency among children. These factors have contributed to the north having the highest population of poor people in Ghana. A study conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service indicates that 80% of the populations in the three northern regions are poor and 70% are also considered as extremely poor (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). Despite a reduction in national poverty levels from 51.7% to 39.5% from 1991/92 to 1998/99, the period also shows increases in poverty and evidence of the intensification of vulnerability and exclusion in the rural and urban savannah of the north, (Norton, 1995).

The phenomenon of independent child migration, especially from the three northern regions of Ghana has in recent years gained the attention of the government and civil society organizations. Out of the provisional figure of twenty four million people released by statistical service of

Ghana (GSS) in May 2012, hundred thousand children between the ages of ten and seventeen are independent child migrant who had moved to places like Kumasi, Accra, Techiman and Sunyani to engage in economic ventures (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). This posed a great risk to their health and development. The motives for female children to migrate include Poverty and the desire to do something to overcome poverty is seen as a major determinant influencing children migration. Female children therefore used migration as a strategy to overcome poverty, as well as to meet other needs, such as preparations for marriage. Also, biased colonial policies where the north was basically seen as a labour reserve for the development of the south and as a result of this the northern regions received little social and infrastructural development as compared to the coastal and the forest belts. Again, large family sizes put an undue pressure on family resources and therefore causes hardship which sometimes compels children to migrate to the South. Cultural practices such as female genital multilation and forced marriage resulted in the migration of children. Furthermore, as a result of children desire to help their family, they use migration as mechanism to support their families through remittances in the form of goods and cash

The phenomenon of girls migrating to other part of the country to serve as head porters is a recent development (Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf, 2008; Opare, 2003, Van den Berg, 2007; Whitehead & Hashim, 2005). Before 1990s, the carrying of loads was a preserved of boys who used trucks to convey items bought by the people from specific shops to the required destination. However migration of female adolescent to Techiman market to work as head porters has been on ascendancy in recent times. Most of these girls who come from the three northern regions of Ghana migrated with limited information with regards to accommodation, decent job and health care. The journey to Techiman was an ill prepared one for these girls, many of whom travelled alone through the night with little or no money on them to pay for their transportation. On arrival at Techiman, they were left to fend for themselves which was difficult for them to cope with. They often work under the scorching sun for close to ten hours daily for unattractive payment per day. This amount is insufficient to cater for their food, clothing and health care. Places of accommodation include abandoned kiosk, corridors and even open places where their personal security is under treat. The result of this is an upsurge in teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and drug abuse among such girls.

1.2 Problem Statement

An attempt to understand female children's migration and choice of engaging in load carrying activities in the Techiman market is what this study seeks to achieve. The activities of head porters known in local parlance as *kayayei* (plural) or *kayayo* (singular), (girl porters who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee) in Techiman market is an emerging trend. Before the year 2000, the cities of Accra and Kumasi which had well developed market were the main centers for independent child migrant many of whom sought greener pasture by carrying loads on their heads for negotiated fee so as to surmount the challenges of broken homes, hunger, health care and education.

Today, the problem of independent child migrant which seems very far away has dawned on the people of Techiman. Been the third largest market in west Africa, Techiman is flooded with large numbers of traders from nearby countries like Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Togo. These traders come to engage in economic activities on daily bases with the main items of trade been cassava, yam, maize, fish and tomatoes. These economic activities have become a pulling factor for many adolescent females to migrate from the three northern regions to engage in head porterage for a negotiated fee.

The migration of girls began with few people who return to their hometowns with bountiful goods, money and a lot of merchandise after experiencing city life. The stories from these return migrant girls serve as a catalyst which culminated in the movement of child migrant to Techiman to participate in the newly found 'enterprise'. At the end, girls who were better placed in terms of good parental care and education inexcusably join bandwagon (Appiah-Yeboah, 2007:14).

On arrival at Techiman, their dreams were however shuttered when they came to the realization that, the well advertise 'paradise' had turn into 'hell'; there was no decent accommodation, health care nor food. The newly found 'enterprise' was characterized by the survival of the fittest. Most of the girls were either cheated or not paid any fee for the work done. Some also suffered sexual abuse (rape and defilement) resulting in teenage pregnancy, unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted infections.

The reasons underlying the migration of girls from the three northern regions of Ghana are multifaceted. First, the erratic rainfall pattern does not promote farming activities in the three

northern regions. There are three months of raining seasons and the long period of dry season which gives rise to drought leading to faming and distraction of farm produce. Those who engage in farm activities are therefore left jobless and as such unable to take care of their children's education and other basic needs (Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf 2008: Hashim and Thorsen in Mitchell 2011). Second the cultural practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) is another main push-factor. This practice involves the cutting of the clitoris of the female genital organ in order to satisfy the notion that, women with clitoris turn to be sexually active and for that matter, unfaithful in marriage. Girls who have had education on the dangers associated with this practice are compelled to flee to the south in order to secure their womanhood.

Some attempts have however been made to study this kind of migration of young girls from the three Northern regions to the southern part of Ghana to exclusively carry load and the reasons for doing so. For example, *Kayayei: the women head porters of southern Ghana* (Opare, 2003), *The Kayayei: survival in the city of Accra* (Van den Berg, 2007), *An examination of the cultural and social economic profiles of porters in Accra, Ghana* (Adjubi Yeboah & Appiah Yeboah, 2009), *Symbols of Success: youth, peer pressure and the role of adulthood among juvenile male return migrants in Ghana* (Urugruhe, 2010) among many others. I acknowledge these researches for their immense contribution to the understanding of children migration in Ghana. However, it is important to state that the focus of all these studies were in the major cities of Ghana (Accra and Kumasi) forgetting the fact that urbanization has caught up with Ghanaians and hitherto smaller towns and villages have become centers of economic activities and population growth. Also, the above studies did not contribute much in examining the issue of decision making on the part of the migrant which would help in providing a comprehensive overview of their activities. It is therefore timely for a study to be done into the phenomenon of independent child migrant at Techiman with the view to putting in the right perspective the motives, mode as well as the effects of independent child migrant which will go a long way to help policy makers in drawing up good strategies towards ameliorating the canker

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

This study aims at exploring the everyday life experiences of female children who migrates and engages in carrying loads on her head for a fee at Techiman market in Ghana. The study brings to the fore issues that necessitate priority attention from all partners in the total development of

the child not only in Techiman but in Ghana as a whole. The main research question the study seeks to answer is: why do female children in the northern part of Ghana migrate to Techiman municipality and what kind of effects this movement has on their livelihood. This question will be addressed through the following specific research questions.

1.4 Specific research questions

In order to achieve the aims of the research these questions will primarily serve as a guide for my study.

- What motives might female children have for migrating independently?
- How is female children's independent migration decided?
- How do female children experience independent migration?
- What are the consequences of independent migration on children?

The above research questions are translated into the following specific research objectives

- To explore the motives of female child migration to Techiman.
- To explore the decision making process, mode of movement and experiences of female child migrants.
- To explore direct and indirect consequences of migration on children's lives

1.5 Purpose and significance of the study

The study is meant to contribute to the debates on child migration and the child as a social actor. An important aspect of this study is the recognition of children as social actors and social studies of children and childhood (James & James, 2004; Qvortrup 2002). This study seeks to understand children's agency through their interpretation of and responses to their environment (Qvortrup 1994).

This research is chiefly about independent migrant children who have moved to Techiman for a greener pasture only to end up becoming head porters (kayayei). Studies conducted on the phenomenon focused on the activities of the head porters in the cities of Accra and Kumasi. With Techiman becoming a fast growing market in Ghana and for that matter West Africa, the town has been inundated with the activities of child migrant whose livelihood is characterized by

vulnerability and social deprivation. Surprisingly, no research has been conducted in the municipality to establish the historical antecedent as well as the rationale behind the emerging trend which has serious implication for the educational development of the affected children.

Again, all the major research conducted in Ghana was in the cities like Accra and Kumasi. They forgot the fact that urbanization has caught up with Ghanaians and hitherto smaller towns and villages have become centers of economic activities and population growth. However, this study is the first research to be conducted on female children migration in Techiman municipality and Brong Ahafo as a whole.

It is against this backdrop that I intend to conduct a study in this area in order shed light on the plight of independent child migrant and the effects that their engagement in economic activities have on their growth and development. Also, the work aims at bringing into perspectives the motives of the girls engage in carrying loads, how they take the decision to embark on the journey, the challenges they face on daily basis in carrying loads and the risk which they are exposed to. Furthermore, the study is in line with the overall goal of the government of Ghana in championing the issues that affect the well being of children.

These commitments included national initiatives and the participation of Ghana in international arenas such as UNICEF, the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the African Union. Ratifying the 1989 UNCRC and ACRWC, and promulgating the Children Act are important milestones on the road to meeting the needs of Ghana's young population. The outcome of my study could therefore form an important input in the preparation and planning of regional projects that pertains to children. The findings from this study will help the government, non-governmental originations, civil society originations and policy makers in focusing attention on the activities of independent child migrant in fast growing communities which have not received attention during the past decades and thereby formulate appropriate policies that will help stem the canker

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organized in seven chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the thesis, background of the study, statement of the research problem, aims and objectives of the study, the research question, significance of the study and broad outline of the thesis.

Chapter two will present the profile of Ghana. This includes the geographical location and the description of Ghana, brief history of the country, the main economic structure. The chapter also covers the migration situation in Ghana, a description of the study area (Techiman Municipality). It provides background information on the location, physical and socioeconomic characteristics, population and settlement structure and information on occupation distribution.

Chapter three will discuss the main theoretical perspectives that inform the empirical study and review related literature.

The methodology will be discussed in chapter four. Here, , I will present and justify the background to doing research with children, show how I entered the field and discuss the various methods adopted on the field to collect the relevant data. My role as a researcher, some ethical guidelines on the field and challenges in the processes of collecting data will equally be highlighted.

Chapter five and six present the results of the study and analyses of the data.

Finally, in Chapter seven I will draw the conclusion of the research and present summary, and recommendations. The main issues arising from the study together with a recommendation for further studies will be given equal attention in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the background information of Ghana and Techiman municipality. It presents the political, economic, socio-cultural history of both the country and the study area as well. Furthermore, the chapter briefly describes the Republic of Ghana and provides an overview of the demographic characteristics, and the migration situation of the country. Finally, it gives the profile of Techiman municipality and among other things highlights the geographical context, population, age and sex structure and migration situation.

2.2 Geographical Position of Ghana

The Republic of Ghana, formerly called the Gold Coast is located on the Western Coast of Africa; Ghana was first Sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in 1957 from Great British. Ghana shares boundaries in the East with the Republic of Togo, in the North with Burkina Faso, La Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) in the west and Gulf of Guinea in the South. The country population is estimated to be 24,658,823 of which about 51.3% are females and 48.7% are males (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). It has a total land area of 238,537 square kilometers which is characterized by two distinct seasons that is dry and rainy in the country (GSS, 2004).

Administratively, Ghana is a republic and constitutional democracy headed by president who doubles as head of state and head of government. Accra is the administrative capital of Ghana. The country is divided into ten regions for administrative convenience. These are; Western, Central, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Volta, Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions. Each region is headed by a regional minister appointed by the president with approval from Parliament. The ten regions are further sub-divided into district, municipal and metropolitan assemblies amounting to 192 headed by District Chief Executives and Municipal Chief Executives nominated by the president of Ghana to ensure equitable resource allocation and efficient and effective administration at the local levels (GDHS, 2008).

This is also aimed at ensuring efficacious decentralization in Ghana to promote grass-root participation to ensure development at the various localities. Besides, there are also traditional

rulers in each district and region who are constitutionally recognized. Historically, Ghana gained independence on 6th March 1957 after a long period of British colonial rule. Between 1957 and 1992, the country has experienced a turbulent political history characterized by intermittent coups de tat and military rule. Within this period, there have been three civilian government and four military regimes.

2.3 Economy

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), Ghana witnessed a growth of 7.1% in 2012 in its gross domestic product. The service sector contributed to 49% of the GDP being the highest recording 8.8% growth. The second largest sector was the industrial sector which contributed 27.6% and the agricultural sector 23.1% being the third largest sector of the Ghana's economy. The unprecedented declines in the agricultural sector in recent times have many implications on migration in Ghana which will be discussed later in this thesis. Most Ghanaians are very optimistic that the recent discovery of oil will lead to tremendous increase in the industrial sector and create jobs for many youths. The government economic priorities in recent times have focused on four basic areas: macroeconomic stability, growth and employment, poverty alleviation, and human resource development. Strategies for realizing these goals have included: reform of the public sector, especially better revenue generation and expenditure management and divestiture, accelerated private sector development, improved access to basic education and health services, decentralization in delivery of essential services, and targeted poverty alleviation and social welfare programmes for the population (Manuh, 2006a). The contribution of tourism to the economy of Ghana cannot be under estimated. Revenues from tourist in terms of transportation, hotel accommodation, food, recreational activities and entertainment has made tourism the third foreign exchange earner for the country after cocoa and gold. (http://www.ghanadistricts.com). From the early 1980s to the late 1990s, Ghana pursued an economic programme known as Structural Adjustment Progamme (SAP) which was aimed at diversifying the economy in order to revitalize it for accelerated growth and development.

This programme was a prescription of the Bretton Woods institution (the World Bank and International Monetary fund). Structural Adjustment Progamme focused on full cost recovery leading to the withdrawal of subsidies on social services like education, health care and agriculture (Abebe, 2007; Ansell, 2005; Ennew, 2005). The result of which were redundancy,

high infant and maternal mortality rate as well as low enrolment in school especially in poor and deprived communities. The health and education of children were affected as parents had to provide the health and education needs of their wards which exacerbated the standard of living of the already poor folks. This condition reduced the children's enrolment in schools in Ghana with the greatest consequences on children in the three northern regions that had already been neglected in terms infrastructural development. However, the introduction of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) as well as the Capitation Grant for schools in the early 2000s, the national health insurance scheme and other social interventions have contributed a lot in increasing enrolment in schools and also reducing infant and maternal mortality to appreciable levels.

2.4 Ethnicity and Region

The main groups of the people of Ghana are distinguished largely by language and to a lesser degree, by their political, social and other cultural institutions. The Akans are the predominant ethnic group in Ghana (47.5%), followed by the Mole Dagbani (16.6%), the Ewe (13.9%) and Ga-Dangme (7%) (GSS, 2010). The Mande forms the smallest ethnic group (1.1%) in Ghana (GSS 2012), Some of these people grew into strong kingdoms or even empires through conquest and immigration; others remained smaller states and indeed, at one time or the other, were annexed as vassals by the more powerful states like Denkyira, Akwamu and Asante (Boah, 1995). Each of these ethnic groups speaks different language therefore Ghana has got about 46 different languages (GSS, 2000). However, English language is a lingua franca.

2.5 Migration

Migration in Ghana has three aspects. These are rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration and rural-rural migration. Migration of Ghanaian to other countries has gradually increased in recent time. (GSS, 2005; Manuh, 2005). In the past, cross-border was usually done by men who left their homes to seek for paid employment for limited period of time in countries like, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Majority of them were fishermen who moved from their place of origin to other fishing communities which had abundant fish stock in their rivers and seas (Owusu, 2000). According to the 1984 Census Report, the Brong-Ahafo region where the study area is located, recorded a considerable loss of people to international migration compare to the rest of

the regions (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2009). The huge emigration of Ghanaians has persisted up until today (Van Hear 1998 cited by Anarfi et al. 2003, p.8). From the late 1990s and the early 2000s mass emigration of young and energetic men to North African countries like Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria took place. Most of them crossed the Mediterranean sea to Southern Europe for greener pastures. However, for the purpose of this work it is imperative to focus attention on internal migration in Ghana with emphasis on female child migrants from the northern regions.

In Ghana, the number of women and girls migrating from the three northern regions to the south to engage in menial jobs has reached alarming proportion during the past decade. The main centers of migration are Accra, Kumasi, Tema, and recently, Techiman municipality. Factors underlying the migration of the young people from the north to the south include sporadic and spasmodic ethnic conflicts which result in the displacement of people, climatic conditions coupled with long periods of dry season, cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, tribal marks and banishment as well as poverty and unemployment.

Apart from the above high population growth rate in the three northern regions more especially in the Northern Region which recorded the highest growth rate from the recent census in Ghana (GSS 2012) and thereby putting pressure on cultivable land for agricultural activities leading to pockets of poverty within communities and eventually leading to migration (Abdulai, 1999). Some of the affected young men sometimes migrate to the cocoa growing areas in the Western Region with their wives. According to the 2010 census report, the Northern Region has the largest number of people between the ages of 10 and 17 who mostly travel as independent child migrants and this is also true in the other two northern regions (GSS 2012). These young girls are sometimes compelled by no choice to resort to migrate to leading market centers in south as a livelihood strategy.

2.6 The study area: Techiman Municipality

This section presents a description of the study area, thus Techiman Municipality. It covers sub-topics which include population size, age and sex structure population density, as well as the migration situation in Techiman and the impacts it has on socio-economic activities.

Figure 1 Map of Ghana and the study area.

Map based on a UN map. Source: UN Cartographic Section

2.6.1 Geographical size

Techiman is a town within the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana which is about 80km from the regional capital Sunyani. It has a land area of 1119km (square). Techiman is one of ancient towns in Ghana with a very remarkable history dating back to several centuries ago. It is

believed to be the birth place of the Akan of Ghana who now constitute majority of Ghanaians. As an ancient town, Techiman has been a major commercial centre in Ghana and West Africa from historical times when resident traded in gold and other valuable article with traders from the Western Sudan mainly Timbuktu, Egypt and other Sahel regions of West Africa. Techiman became a district capital in 1978 (http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/techiman.html). Techiman holds the biggest food market in Ghana which attracts traders from the various parts of the country and other West African states like Burkina Faso, Mali etc (ibid).

The large food market in Techiman affects immigration in two main ways. First, it attracts many immigrants especially from the three northern regions in especially times of food scarcity due to bad harvest. Second, it has boosted trade, that is buying and selling of food stuffs in large quantities which require many hands to do the carrying and loading of food stuffs from large and long trucks to the market and vice versa. These activities have recently motivated some teenage girls from the northern regions to troop into Techiman to make a living there.

Techiman as historical and a commercial town is also well noted for its rich cultural heritage. It has a well-established, peaceful and stable chieftaincy institution that is resilient and capable of fostering peaceful relations among residents, external traders and tourists (both local and international). The *Apoo* festival of Techiman is one of the finest festivals in Ghana with magnificent cultural displays and attracts tourists to the towns both from within and outside Ghana. This festival is cerebrated each year and this helps to unite the heterogeneous population of the town. It also has beautiful sceneries that attract tourists such as sacred grooves, monkey sanctuary, the Tano River etc (http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/techiman.html).

2.6.2 Population size

According to the 2000 population and Housing Census, the population of the Techiman municipality stood at 174,600 with an average growth rate of 3.0% per annum. The population density was over 260 persons/km2, far higher than the regional figure of 45.9 and national figure of 79 (GSS, 2012). The population of the Municipality has witnessed rapid increase from a modest 34,642 in 1960 to 174,600 in 2000 with growth rates far higher than the regional and national averages (GSS 2001). However provisional figures of the 2010 population and housing census released by Ghana Statistical Service put the population of the municipality at 206,856

with the male population being 100498 while that of the female is 106358 (GSS, 2012). Children between age one and eighteen constitute 94,608 out of the entire population with female children making up 47,111 and male children comprising 47,497 (GSS 2012) Growth points such as Techiman, Kenten, Tuobodom continue to accommodate relatively higher population densities with corresponding pressure exerted on existing limited infrastructure facilities. This trend has led to the rise of urban slums with its attendant socio-economic problems. Fertility and child mortality has reduced substantially. In particular, the under-five mortality rate has dropped from 237 deaths per 1000 live births in 1993 to 171 deaths per 1000 live births in 1998 (GDHS, 1993; 1998). Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), provides an avenue for the children to have educational rights and ways for the child to develop to full potential and the 1992 Constitution indicates that basic education should be free and compulsory to all children of school age but there few schools in the northern part of Ghana which put much pressure on the educational facilities. Due to inadequate of schools that are not able to accommodate all the school going age children, some are compelled to migrate to areas that they will find work or education.

2.7 Migration situation in Techiman and its relation to socio-economic activities.

The history of migration in Techiman can be traced to historical times. Migration in Ghana has a long historical dating back to the trans-Saharan trade where Ghanaian engaged in trade with the North Africans and Western Sudanese. Techiman as an ancient town also participated in this international migration (Boahen 1966 in Awumbila et al. 2007). According to Awumbila et al. (2007), literature on north-south migration in Ghana had focused primarily on male adult migration where the migrants move from the northern part into cocoa growing areas and mining centers and also into cities like Tema, Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi.

However, recent trends in migration is changing as more females children also migrate like the adult male counterparts and their movement destinations are also changing. This is partly because some migrants find difficult coping up with conditions in the big cities. As a result of these, independent female child migrants from the three northern regions migrate to Techiman in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana which is relatively closer to the three northern regions. Compare to other regions, this region has also relatively cheaper cost of living. People begin to

migrate whenever imbalances exist in the place of origin and the destination points (Awaumbila et al. 2007). This is true in Ghana where there is imbalance in terms of physical infrastructural development between the north and the south. These imbalances tend to create *push and pull factors* in the regions and even within regions. For instance, the absence and/or inadequacy of modern educational facilities, electricity and basic needs, abject poverty in some households, overpopulation act as *push factors* compelling young females to migrate as independent child migrants in the three northern regions to the middle and southern parts of Ghana. Besides infrastructural development, the middle and the coastal zones of Ghana are also ahead of the north administratively, commercially and industrially (Awaumbila et al. 2007) the favorable conditions in these regions serve as the *pull factors* that attract people there.

In recent times, Techiman receives many immigrants although it is not as industrialized and as big as cities like Kumasi, Tema and Accra. Why? This is because Techiman is strategically located between the three northern regions and the south. It is also well known for its commercial activities. For instance its regarded as the biggest food market in Ghana and this is the main reason why female child migrants are trooping into the town where they get load to carry for money especially from Wednesday to Friday which are the main market days. Some of the immigrants also travel to the town not to stay permanently but to use it as transit point where they could work for some time, get some money and continue to the south to get more work and experience city life.

This makes labour cost cheaper and promotes economic activities, especially farming and trading activities. However, the outcome of this high migrant population is the over stretching of the Municipality's limited resources, social services especially sanitation and housing are under pressure (http://www.ghanadistricts.com). They also have implication for security, health and environment degradation as many of the immigrant from Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali come with large heads of cattle which have negative environmental impact.

Techiman is host to a major central market, which is the largest food market in Ghana and an important market in the whole of West Africa, attracting merchants from countries such as Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire. Internally, traders from all over the country, especially Tamale, Bawku, Kumasi, Bolgatanga, Hamile, Bole, Accra, Winneba, Cape

Coast, Nkoranza, Sunyani etc converge on Techiman, especially on main market days to buy mainly food stuffs. Besides, most senior high schools from all over Ghana buy their foods from the same market.

2.8 The history of head porterage in Ghana and Techiman

All over Ghana, people carry their wares on their heads. Head porterage for commercial purposes was first introduced in this country by male migrants from the Sahelian countries in West Africa, mainly from Mali. It was virtually a male domain. Those who practised it were called 'kaya', a Hausa word for load (Awaumbila et al. 2007: pp. 8). According to Awumbila et al. (2007), head porterage was initially a masculine job done mainly by Malians which came to halt in 1969 due to government policies. After 1969, the work was given a new facelift and was done by Ghanaians mainly from the Northern regions mainly in the big cities with hand-pushed trucks. But as motor traffic increased in the cities it became more difficult and slow to continue with hand-pushed truck and therefore people began to carry loads on their heads from shopping centes to lorry stations, to other shops and even to the door steps of shoppers.

The things they carry include plastic products, provisions, textiles, food stuffs etc (ibid). Head porterage in Techiman also followed a similar path but the difference is that while it began in other cities by male adult aliens, it began in Techiman by young and energetic men from Northern Ghana not by aliens. Initially, they started by using hand-pushed trucks and wheelbarrows who mainly conveyed food stuffs to and fro the Techiman market. They also carry non-food stuffs such as cement, firewood and non-consumables. However, the porterage business caught the attention of young females in the northern regions due to the remittances and other material things sent home by their peers in the business. These material benefits coupled with the relatively harsh economic, social, cultural and environmental conditions convinced some of these teenage girls to migrate independently into Techiman which is relatively closer to their home towns than the southern cities to work for the betterment of their lives. The robust and riskier nature of hand-pushed trucks and wheelbarrows compel these independent female child migrant to solely engage in load carry as they have no better options to survive on. These activities increased in the early 2000s although it has been there for a long time due to the expansion of the Techiman market.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES, CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Theories are important in research because they serve as an interpretive guide to the phenomenon under study and also help in the generation of ideas for a study. Nilson (2005) argues that theories help to lift the empirical experiences in serving the important task of providing insights and understanding. This means that theories are used to think through a research phenomenon, to enhance understanding. The study made use of theories and concepts and it is therefore important to clarify how these theories and concepts have been used in the study.

This chapter presents concepts and theories that are relevant to guide the study. Based on the aim and objectives as well as the research question some concepts that need to be clarified include social studies of children and childhood, children and childhood, agency and resilience, autonomous or independent child migrant, children as being or becoming/ being and becoming, migration as livelihood strategy, and review related studies.

3.2 The Social Studies of children and Childhood

The Social Studies of Children and Childhood acknowledges children as active social agents worthy of study in their own right. This approach sees children as active determinants of their own lives. It seeks to give a voice to children and therefore as Hardman (1973:87) suggests, they must be "studied in their own right and not just as receptacles of adult teaching". The proponents of this paradigm criticize the dominant framework which is dominated by socialization and development theories for their conception and approach in the study of children and childhood. The dominant framework sees and value children as what they will 'become' rather than what they are. James and Prout (1990), state some key concepts in the dominant framework surrounding the study of children and childhood which include three themes in relation to; 'rationality, 'naturality' and 'universality'. It must be noted that these disciplines to a large extent have in some way ignored the 'agency' of children which in this sense include the lived experiences of children in their everyday lives.

This approach emphasis four main stages of development for children which are: sensory motor (0-2 years), pre-operational stage (2-6 years), concrete operational stage (7-11years) and the

most important stage is formal operational stage (12 years and above). This is a strict order according to Piaget. The dominant framework approach viewed children as 'human becoming' and adults are seen as 'human beings' (Qvortrup, 1994). Talcott Parsons also asserted that socialization was the only way through which a child can be transitioned from the state of human becoming into a human being.

The Social studies of childhood draws inspiration from a wide range of disciplines and gives a methodological direction as to how children should be studied. This emergent paradigm recognizes the capacity of the child to exercise agency which include the lived experiences of children in their everyday lives (Qvortrup, 1994). Some of the characteristics of the social studies of children and childhood, as indicated by James and Prout (1990) include; understanding childhood, which as indicated earlier are constructed based on ideas of a society. These ideas vary with time and space in different societies. According to Corsaro (2005) children have their own agency and continue to create their own culture different from adults. Children should be given a voice in issues which affect them because they have the ability and knowledge about such issues. In view of this, Qvortrup (2009) argues that children should be seen as active subjects and not as passive objects of the various structures and processes. Ethnography has been pointed out as a particularly useful methodology in the studies of children because it allows children's voices to be heard in research (James et al., 1998).

The proponent of the new social studies of childhood see children as active beings capable of exercising agency on matters that concerns their development. Based on the views of the theory, four approaches have been proposed as approaches to studying children and understanding childhood (James et al. 1998). These are; studying children as socially constructed, tribal child approach, the minority group approach and the social structured child approach. Studying children as socially constructed. According to James et al., (1998, p.27) *'to describe childhood, or indeed any phenomenon, as socially constructed is to suspend a belief in or a willing reception of its taken-for-granted meaning'.* What childhood entails are constructed knowledge and ideas pertaining in societies and varies at place and time.

This means that, what childhood entails are constructed knowledge and ideas pertaining in societies and varies at place to place. The idea of childhood being a social construction suggests a variety of childhood. Children can also be studied using the tribal child approach. In this approach, children should not be seen as having misguided or irrational understanding of the

rules of their social life (James et al., 1998). Children must be seen as autonomous beings in the societies where they live. Their world should be seen independent of adults, having its own rules, rituals, and folklore (James, et al., 1998). In other words, children must be seen as essentially different from adults both in terms of conceptualization and methodology.

The minority group approach, studies children as a group who are subject to discrimination and are marginalised just like women and some ethnic minority. The approach is universalistic, differentiated and global because it suggests that in all societies, children are marginalized and exploited at various levels at various degrees (Abebe, 2008). This approach seeks to challenge the existence of power relations between children and adults rather than confirm it (James et al. 1998). Lastly, the social structural child approach is of the view that children live within the social structures. The approach believes childhoods at various places are manifested through the various political, social and economic structures pertaining at the places where they live. Therefore, in studying children, one must consider the context where the children live. Therefore in researching into children migration and its effects, I took the four approaches into consideration while researching. The theory gave me the opportunity to present children's perspective.

According to Corsaro (2005) children have their own agency and continue to create their own culture difference from adults. Children should be given a voice in issues that affect them because they have the ability and knowledge about such issues. In view of this, Qvortrup (2009) argue that children should be seen as active subjects and not passive objects of the various structures and processes. The new paradigm and approach of studying children emphasized that children are active beings whose agency is important in the creation of their own life world (Qvortrup, 1994). Children are considered as competent human agents – social actors- who have freedom of choice and actions (Cohen, 1989; Giddens, 1984). Therefore, children should be studied in their own right, as full social actors rather than being viewed as adults in the making (James & Prout, 1997).

Children should be studied from their present conditions and not as future conditions (Kjørholt 2005a). According to Frazer, Lewis, Ding, Kellet and Robinson (2004) children's agency can also be recognized by using them as collaborators in research, for instance using children as co researchers to conduct research on children. The essence of this theory in my study can be seen from different angles. First and foremost, this theory helps the choice of methodological

paradigm that is useful in studying children and childhood, and also gives me the opportunity to present children's perspectives on issues that affect their own lives. Also pointing to the agency of children was also remarkable, because of the activities my informants engage in. Here children become the key informants rather than adults. The theory also acknowledges children as social actors and agents in their own lives and the lives of those around them. I recognised children as not being passive objects but active social agents who are capable of voicing out their views. James, Jenks and Prout have recommended that, for anyone interested in children to understand them and how they handle their unique circumstances, one will need a study that focuses on their agency, their live worlds, and their daily life experiences; their experiences and understandings, their interactions with each other and with adults of various kinds, their strategies and tactics of action" (James et al 1998:138). In this study, the girl child who decides to migrate independently to engage in carrying load for a fee will be put in the perspective of a child who is a social actor exercising agency to change circumstances for the better in her own life.Therefore, I conducted the research with them.

3.3 Children and Childhood

Ideas about childhood are seen as socially and culturally constructed (Woodhead & Montgomery, 2003). This means that how childhood is constructed is based on the ideas of a particular society and so are culturally determined (James et al. 1998). Woodhead and Montgomery (2003) have intimated that, social constructionists are of the view that knowledge and ideas about children and childhood are not static and universal but rather change from one society to the other and are influenced by the social, cultural and the historical context of the society with time (see also Ansell, 2005). Societies such as Ghana, which comprises ten regions, in every region there are different tribes or ethnic groups that speak a particular language and have a unique culture. This means that experiences in childhood differs from culture to culture even within that same region. Children experiences in these tribes are relatively distinct from each other not to compare with their counterparts in the West. The UN 1989 convention on the rights of the child, defines a child as every human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier. This definition has been widely accepted by many governments who have ratified the convention and incorporated it into their domestic laws. For instance, the 1992 constitution of Ghana also defines a child as any person

below the age of 18 and thus requires parental care with regards to education, social and physical development. The Children's Act of Ghana (1998) defines a child in the same way. The 1999 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child (ACRWC) is not an exception regarding the definition of a child. This is ascribed in Article 2 of the Charter which states that "For the purposes of this Charter, a child means every human being below the age of 18 years". In this thesis, I also define a child as any person below the age of 18 years.

The 1992 Constitution, for instance, does not recognise persons less than 18 years to vote, but a young girl can get married at 16 years. 15 years has been fixed as the minimum age for employment for all persons. Whereas in some societies, for instance, the *Bono*- the study area- a person above 18years may still be regarded as a child if the person is not married or still eats from the same household as his/her parents. Girls below the age of 18years are not supposed to engage in any activity that deprives them of their education and social development. Engaging in this activity (female porters) is unacceptable if not illegal.

According to Cunningham, "childhood is certain idea that surrounds the children. Childhood and the experience of being a child is closely connected or linked. 'If the idea of being a child changes, the child's childhood also experience changes' (Cunningham 2005). Childhood is a time for children to be in school and at play, to grow strong and confident with the love and encouragement of their family , childhood…is a precious time in which children should live free from fear, safe from violence and protected from abuse and exploitation" (Unicef, 2005 cited in Abebe, 2008).

In the Ghanaian cultural setting, a person is considered as a child as far as he or she continues to depend on his or her parents for basic and educational needs regardless of his or her age. A person may be thirty years of age but cannot take any decision without the consultation of his or her parents if he or she is still under the care of his or her parents. Economic independence is what determines a maturity of a person but not his or her age. Migration has therefore become a platform for children to work in order to attain economic and social independence. The definition of a child as provided by the 1992 constitution of Ghana has no link with a cultural construction of a child since it does not consider the economic independence of the child.

3.4 Agency and resilience

The term agency refers to the ability for an individual to act independently and to make own decisions and choices. The Social Studies of Children and Childhood acknowledges children as active social agents worthy of study in their own right. This approach sees children as active determinants of their own lives. It seeks to give a voice to children and therefore as Hardman (1973:87) suggests, they must be "studied in their own right and not just as receptacles of adult teaching". James and Prout provided a definition of what this notion of children as social actors might embrace: "children are and must be seen as active in the construction of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live and that children are not just the passive subjects of social structures and processes (James and Prout 1990). Jame and James on the other hand summaries agency as; "the capacity of individuals to act independently" (James and James, 2008).

The dominant framework referred to developmental psychology and socialization theories developed by Piaget and Parsons respectively. These theories dominated the ideas about children in the past and these influenced policies, ideas and notions about children worldwide. It must be noted that these disciplines to a large extent have in some way ignored the 'agency' of children which in this sense include the lived experiences of children in their everyday lives. Children were viewed as incompetent and not fully human. The child being presented as irrational, immature and 'human becoming' means that the child is on the way to becoming an adult and by implication, competent.

This necessitated the emergence of the social studies of childhood or the sociology of childhood. The paradigm claims that children should be seen as human beings who are competent. This idea about children will inform how they are seen and treated in society. Children must be considered as competent social actors who influence and contribute to their own lives (James et al, 1998). James and Prout (1997) are of the view that children must not be considered as small adults. Researchers must therefore recognize that children are competent social actors. The new paradigm, social studies of childhood sees children in a different light. The paradigm claims that children should be seen as human beings who are competent. This idea about children will inform how they are seen and treated in society. Children must be considered as competent social actors who influence and contribute to their own lives (James et al, 1998). James and Prout (1997) are of the view that children must not be considered as small adults. Researchers must

therefore recognize that children are competent social actors. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes (James et al, 1997).

Children are considered as competent human agents – social actors- who have freedom of choice and actions (Cohen, 1989; Giddens, 1984). Therefore, children should be studied in their own right, as full social actors rather than being viewed as adults in the making (James & Prout, 1997). This approach seeks to understand children's agency through their interpretation of and responses to their environment (Qvortrup, 1994). Children in my studies exhibit their agency by and cooperation with family in decision making to migrate. Others also exhibited their agency by taken the decision on their own to migrate in search of a better life. Upon arrival, the children engaged in economic activity and thus load carrying for a fee. The migrant children can be very responsible by taking care of themselves and sending remittances home.

Social Structure looks at the various interactions that exist between human agents and the social structures in which they live. It also refers to the social institutions and relational components of the social fabric around which societies are organised; These delineate the processes through which social reactions are organised and transacted, and from which each society derives its identity" (James and James, 2008 p. 137). The importance of understanding social structure in the study of childhood is that sociology, as a discipline, examines the influence of social structure in determining who we are and how we behave. Within the social structure concept, a child is seen to be operating within parameters such as economic, political, social and environmental. Such an approach enables us to compare children within same countries that is intercultural and also internationally because we are availing ourselves to the same type of parameters (Qvortrup 1994 cited in James et al, 2003). The theory further posits that humans have agency, and are affected by the structural conditions in which they live and interact with. It is an undeniable fact that structures limits our choices and often serves as impediment of free will.

The application of this concept to this study is very important because the migrant children I worked with are also confronted with these social structures which motivated in pushing them out of their original home. For example in the area of schooling, the political decision of cost sharing may be beyond the reach of some parents, thereby keeping their child at home. In the rural areas and even in the urban areas for instance not attending school makes children move from one place to the other. One major contribution of childhood studies has been to demonstrate

that, although it is important to acknowledge the powerful influences that structure exerts on children and their childhoods, within this, children constantly exercise agency: they make self conscious decisions and choices as independent social actors they are not determined solely by structure.

The lack of social power among youth and children in general put them at risk of the negative impact of adverse social and economic situations within a country or geographical location(Boyden &Mann, 2005). Hence some of them tend to live at the mercies of such worse Conditions without any/adequate protection, provision and participation in development process. However, not all of such children are harmed by such circumstance as has been the notion due to their ability to respond and withstand the so called adversities (Boyden &Mann, 2005). Thus, despite the apparently devastating odds, however, not all children exposed to risks and adversities develop problems later on, Such children are considered 'resilient'. Schaffer (1996) cited in Boyden and Mann, (2005) stated that 'whatever stresses an individual may have encountered in early years, he or she need not forever more be at the mercy of the past….children's resilience must be acknowledged every bit as much as their vulnerability'.Resilience is defined as "observing a normal or even exceptionally positive developmental outcome in spite of exposure to major risk for the development of serious social or health problems. The term 'resilient' has come to be used to describe children who achieve positive outcome in face of risk. Resilience can also be defined as individual's capacity to recover from, adapt, and remain strong in the face of adversity (Boyden &Mann, 2005; Panter-Brick, 2002). Resilience has been ascribed to three kinds of phenomena: good outcome despite high-risk status, sustained competence under threat and recovery from trauma (Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990 cited in: Boyden and Mann, 2005). The work will focus on the sustained competence migrant children develop with regards to their health problems irrespective of the potentially higher risk they may have in contracting some illness due to their situation. Ability to be resilient depends on the individual and certain elements in the environment in which the person finds himself. For example children who are strong and healthy are likely to be more resilient than those who are weak and sick. Gender has been found to be one of the factors that influence children's response to adversity (Werner and Smith, 1998 cited in: Boyden and Mann 2005). Children who are optimistic about their life are likely to be resilient than those who are

not. Thus, children who remain hopeful and actively assume control over their own lives are less likely to be vulnerable than children who remain passive to accept any bad situation they find themselves in.

According to Boyden (2005), research has identified several processes or mechanisms at the individual, family and wider environmental levels that have been shown to have a significant influence on resilience in children. One of the key factors contributing towards children's resilience is having a goal or purpose of life and a need and ability to help others. This is also shown by Kwankye who mentions that the income earned by migrant children who carry load allowed the children to feel that they were earning money to help their parents and fulfilling their family obligations. This allows children to see themselves as good sons and daughters who are supporting their parents and doing their duty as best as they can. It does not only retain their self respect but also gave them a possibility of taking up a socially approved role of dutiful children. To associate children as 'victims' portrays them as being defenceless in times of adversities and having no ability to cope on their own. Having a broader insight on children's own views and understandings to adversity and how they employ strategies to protect themselves are important to resilience and coping. Children respond to misfortunes differently just like adults do.

3.5 Autonomous/ Independent Child Migrant

Independent children are those living without a parent or legal/customary adult guardian. The definition covers independence in travel and independence at destination. Independent child migrant as used in the work applies to children especially girls who migrate autonomously based on their own initiative from the three region of northern Ghana to cities in the south to engage in load carrying activities for a fee including as 'kayayei' or porters, carrying heavy loads on their heads (Riisøen, Bjerkan, & Hatløy, 2004). Porters are embedded in family structures but due to cultural and low socio-economic conditions they are forced to move to the cities to earn a livelihood (Yeboah, 2008). This therefore confirms the observation that economic motivations predominate as causes of internal migration in Ghana and other West African countries (Adepoju, 2003). The main cities of attraction in the south for these girls include, Kumasi, Accra, Takoradi and in recent time Techiman. These girls are known in local parlance as kayayei (female porters) migrate independently and without the influence of parents and adults to

undertake this all important exercise. Most of them migrate in groups while a small segment also moves individually to the urban center at the southern part of Ghana (Kwankye et al., 2007). The children are autonomous in that they have been left by their parents to fend for themselves and are therefore responsible for their own upkeep all matters that affect their growth and development. Studies have widely acknowledged the role children's play in supporting family poverty by embarking on migration. According to Ansell and Van Blerk (2004), like adults' migration, migration by children reflects both individual motivations and wider social processes, for instances to help relatives. Various studies in Ghana among female potters clearly buttress this perspective that children use migration as mechanism to support their families through remittances in the form of goods and cash (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005).

3.6 Children as either 'Being' or 'Becoming' / Being and Becoming

The dominant framework referred to developmental psychology and socialization theories developed by Piaget and Parsons respectively. These theories dominated the ideas about children in the past and these influenced policies, ideas and notions about children worldwide in terms of caretaking, nursing, schooling. A key concept in the dominant framework surrounding the study of children has been the concept of 'development' and the three dominating themes in relation to it are 'rationality', 'naturalness' and 'universality'. Children are seen as 'human becomings' and adults are seen as 'human beings' (Qvortrup, 1994). Talcott Parsons asserted that socialisation was the only way through which a child can be transitioned from the state of human becoming into a human being. When a child is born he/she is unaware of the social conventions of the society that can make him/her a fully fledged human being. Therefore, socialisation provides the gateway for children.

The being child is a social actor in his own right, someone who is actively constructing his or her own childhood and someone who has views and experiences about being a child (Uprichard, 2004). The becoming child on the other hand, is seen as an .adult in the making, someone lacking universal skills and features of the adult that he/she will one day grow to become (James and James, 2004 in Uprichard, 2004 p.304). According to Jenks (1982) children were studied as learners, being initiated into the cultural and social worlds of adults. Uprichard asserted that the concept of the child as a Becoming contains two main issues: first, the child is put in a future perspective; he/she is seen as a future adult rather than as a young human being. This portrays

the child in the light of what he/she will be rather than what he/she is now. The second aspect is that, the child is seen as being irrational, universal, incompetent, incomplete, and immature, in relation to adults. In view of this, a child is seen as progressing from a state of vulnerability to sophistication from an earlier lack of skills to a latter possession of abilities. The argument above portrays that, competence is the preserve of adulthood and an adult characteristic. However, this does not hold true in many practical circumstances. James and Prout (1997) sought to give an alternative way of positioning children as competent, complete human beings and not human becoming. New paradigm and approach of studying children emphasized that children are active beings whose agency is important in the creation of their own life world (Qvortrup, 1994). Children should be studied in their own right, as full social actors rather than being viewed as adults in the making (James & Prout, 1997). This is mainly based on the view put forward by the social studies of childhood that children are active social subjects worthy of studying in their own right as active agents and not only as incomplete beings learning to become adults as put forward by some of the developmental psychologist (Frazer, et al. 2004).

The migration of my respondents fits well into the discourse of being and becoming child. With regards to a being child, my respondents can be view as adults in their own rights who exercise agency and has the capacity to take decision that affects their daily life. They took the risk by travelling over several kilometres to Techiman to engage in load carrying activity, an occupation which is considered to be over and above their age level. Since this was the only way they could survive, most of them did not even seek the consent of their parents or any guardian before embarking on the journey to engage in this occupation. An aspect of my respondents activity which fits well into the becoming discourse has to do with the method they employ in their charging customers. Due to their lack of experience in load carrying activity, they used the post paid method for a while before coming to terms with the realities of the job. With this method, they carry the goods to the destination of their customers before charging and this made them to accept any amount at all with regardless of the weight of the luggage or the destination to which it was carried. However, their adult's counterparts, weigh the luggage and determine the amount to be collected before rendering services. Upon the advice of their adult's counterparts, they abandon the post paid method and employ the pre paid method of charging which made them a lot of advantages.

Recently, the two discourses of children that is the 'being child' and the 'becoming child' are considered to be complementing one another instead of conflicting each other. 'being' child is seen as a social actor in his or her own right, who is actively constructing their own 'childhood', and who has views and experiences about being a child; the 'becoming' child is seen as an 'adult in the making,' who is lacking universal skills and features of the 'adult' that they will become (James and James, 2004; James and Prout, 1997a; Jenks, 1996; Qvortrup, 1991;). The construction of the 'becoming' child discourse places importance on what the child *will be* rather than that which the child *is*. The child is seen as 'a future adult' rather than a 'young human being' in his or her own right. However, how we conceptualize something in the future may influence how we conceptualise it in the present. Furthermore, whilst our anticipation of the future may influence how we conceptualise something in the present, our anticipations may be wrong (Davis, 1985). Children are again considered as incompetence but adults are not. The notion of competency has been challenged by emphasizing the social context in which a person is situated. From this perspective, both children *and* adults can be both competent and incompetent depending on what they are faced with (Lee, 2001). In sum, Lee suggests, we are all - children and adults - inter-dependent beings who are also always in the process of 'being' and 'becoming' with one another, who are more or less competent at doing certain things throughout our lives.

3.7 Migration and livelihood strategies

Migration has important implications for the livelihoods of both migrants and the people who stay behind. Livelihood strategies refer to the strategies or methods employed by actors to improve upon their living standard or make life better. As discussed earlier, several factors made it almost impossible for my respondents to continue their stay in their various hometowns. Among these factors were poverty, female genital multilation, forced marriages among others. Migration therefore became a spring board for my respondents to seek better living condition and also achieve their future goals. Migration thus became the last resort for the independent child migrant to overcome their predicament. According to Kwankye et al. (2007) young female potters in the urban south of Ghana face a number of difficulties which include poor housing facilities, poor health care, inadequate sanitation facilities and harassment from male colleagues (rape, assault, theft). Female porters have developed various ways of surviving, involving a collection of strategies which include the use of collective credit scheme, shelter (sleeping in open space), Health-seeking Behaviour and various eating habits. The female head potters developed a collective credit schemes (susu) which members contribute and withdraw money

from their savings especially in times of need. Those with special needs in times of needs, such as health can take money out of turn. The relevance of collective financial schemes as survival is shown by the fact that on bad business days, where girls do not earn nothing, they can borrow from the scheme and pay back later (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

Studies in Ghana show that, there are different kinds of migration and some of them are as follows: rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration and rural-rural migration and a large chunk of Ghanaians migrating to other countries which have been noted as very persistent (GSS, 2005; Manuh, 2005). Traditional migration pattern has been male dominated involving long-term and long distances especially in the 1970s and 80s where most men migrated to the cocoa growing areas as wage labourers (Kasanga & Avis, 1988). In recent times a dominant migration stream from north to south has been that of female adolescents, moving independent of family, largely towards the cities of Accra, Kumasi and recently Techiman, and not always with positive outcomes for the migrants (Anarfi et al., 2003). A recent phenomenon in this migration trend is the migration of young girls from rural areas, particularly the northern regions, to markets in urban centres to serve as 'kayayei' (girl porters who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee). Again, a number of studies confirm that female children are increasingly migrating from these three regions to work independently of their parents (Hashim, 2005; Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe, & Castaldo, 2007; Whitehead & Hashim, 2005).

Although other studies and anecdotal reports have indicated that girls from other regions, such as the Eastern Region (Agarwal et al., 1997), Western, Greater Accra are working as porters. A study by (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008) shows that 97% of the female porters come from the three northern regions, that is upper east, Upper west, Northern Region. This shows that female porter business is mostly a northern phenomenon. All ethnic groups in Ghana trace their history as having emigrated to their present homes. Historically, the international movement of Ghanaians usually involve smaller group of people mainly fishermen from the coastal areas in Ghana (Owusu, 2000). Migration and remittances are inter-related. Remittances here refer to the money sent by migrants to their families left behind. Remittances sent by migrants may contribute to satisfying the basic material needs (Bryant, 2007).

My work buttress the study by (Kwankye et al., 2007; Yeboah, 2008) in Accra and Kumasi that indicate migrants sleep in open spaces as a strategy to minimized rape attempts and other illicit

crimes such as theft. Collectively, they are able to attack and drive away such unscrupulous criminals who decide to take advantage of them. However, Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) indicate they sometimes go to sleep in homes belonging to relations. This clearly deviates from the widely held view these children are able to migrate independently of their family or friends.

3.8 Brief literature review

This section attempts a review of relevant literature on the phenomenon of load carrying for a fee popularly referred to as kayayei. Various studies have been conducted on the phenomenon and ifferent reasons have been assigned for the engagement of children in this kind of activity. Some of these reasons range from economics, education, and the lure of the city or the attractions in the city and many others. According to Ungruhe (2010 p.260), the underlining reasons for the migration of children is premised on economic interest and social factors and also the need to attain better adult life. Furthermore, Thorsen added that, the migration of children is largely influenced by the desire to aquire new skills necessary for the development of the family (Thorsen, 2007: 99). He further explained that the attractive and modern goods which children bring upon their return to their home town which include cloths, shoes, jewelries and mobile phone accord the higher status among their friend and family members (Thorsen 2007).

Other scholars have attempted to provide other motivating factors for the migration of children especially girls to urban centers to engage in load carrying activities. For example Hashim (2005b) indicated that girls migrate to urban center so as to obtain modern goods and also get money for their educational needs (Hashim, 2005; Ungruhe, 2010). Apart from the reason being based on economic interest, negotiating social position is also cited in Ungruhe (2010). The World Bank has given other precipitating factors as poverty and economic constraints. (World Bank, 2007).

Appiah-Yeboah (2009) has also cited socio-cultural reason for the migration of girls. In his view the gender bias in education in the northern part of Ghana makes it impossible for girls to have access to formal education due to the fact that traditionally the role of girls is to become wives and deal with domestic chores and the best place to impact those values is the home and not the

school (Appiah-Yeboah, 2009:12). As a result of the above stated, it makes sense traditionally not to spend money on the girl who eventually ends up in somebody‘s home.

Another cultural barrier is girl child betrothal and force marriage which is predominant in the three northern regions. Girls who do not wish to subject themselves to these practice migrate to urban centers at south including Accra, Kumasi and Techiman to work as female porters for their up keep .The Dagombas practice which enjoins girls to be raised by their paternal aunts for the purpose of strengthen the extended family bonding and also give women who are not able to have their own children the opportunity of raising children (ILO,2004). However economic hardships have resulted in the exploitation of such children by their aunts leading to migration and the carrying of loads for a fee. There is another social factor which as no religious or culture undertone and this is what Beauchemin (1999) calls the exodus factor, that is to say, everyone is leaving for the city so I must also leave. He believes it usually starts in a simple but subtle way.

Finally, a study by Camacho (1999) titled “family, child labour and migration: child domestic work in Metro Manila” revealed the most reason children give for migrating to urban centers. These include helping parents and siblings, attending school, getting income. Other reasons were; to buy personal needs, ideas of good life in the city, to be independent and learn how to work, domestic violence or problems. For the majority, parents and siblings participated in the decisions, although the ultimate decision rested with the migrating child. Camacho describes how families try (not always successfully) to use social networks to provide protective environments, even long distance.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The chapter describes the methodological approach of my study. Methodology is a coherent set of rules and procedures which can be used to investigate a phenomena or situation within a framework dictated by epistemological and ontological ideas (Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p.6).

The chapter begins a write-up on the research site and how it was entered. This is followed by choice of informant and sampling technique, methods of data collection. Since it is a qualitative research, participatory methods such as participant observation, focus group discussion, interview technique which was semi-structured and migration stories were used. The chapter also captures my role as a researcher; ethical considerations thus informed consent, confidentiality, protection; data transcription and analyses, field experiences and challenges and finally the limitations of the study.

4.2The Research Site and How it was Entered

The data was collected in Techiman municipality which is located in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. The focal location for the data collection was at Techiman market which was the work place of independent child migrant who came mainly from the three Northern Regions of Ghana to engage in load carrying activities. Since these migrant were independent and live on their own, there were no gatekeepers to seek their consent but rather the children themselves. I spent close to two months for my data collection from 15th June- 10th August, 2012. Prior to the data collection, I sought verbal permission from Techiman Municipal Assembly to embark on this exercise since the market is owned and control by the assembly. Though I got the permission of the local authority, my effort was nearly marred by an internal conflict which had ensued between the indigenes in the market (Bono) and the northerners who work at the market. The conflict was as a result of misunderstanding as to who had the right to sell in front of a newly built store involving two traders who belong to the two blocks. The misunderstanding degenerated into a full blown conflict with members from the two blocks (two tribes) engage in ‘fight for all’ in April 2012.

The one month conflict was resolved by the local authority but the northerners refused to have any dealings with the indigenes so as to fore store the recurrence of the conflict.

As a result, my initial efforts to interview my respondent (independent child migrant) were resisted by the leaders of the northern community since as an indigene I spoke the dialect. As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) put it, qualitative research interviewers work in an area where it is often more important to remain open to the dilemmas, ambivalence, and conflicts that are bound to arise throughout the research process. However, when they came to the realization that I was a student researcher who had no ill motives, they allowed me to interact with my respondents. Although these children were independent, as a result of the conflict, the elders of the northern community wanted to protect their tribe and every member of the tribe that is why it became difficult for me to have access with the children during the conflict. After the conflict resolution, they assumed their independence again.

Observation is the basis of all good research (Ennew et al., 2009). Therefore, I spent one day observing the activities in the market such as how traders and customers move to and fro, the load carrying activities of the independent child migrant and how trading activities in general are organized in the market. One difficulty I encountered in the selection of my respondents was their unwillingness to sacrifice a little of their time for an intellectual exercise which they knew will not bring anything to the table. I got an appreciable number of the respondents who were willing to work with me.

4.3Choice of Informants and Sampling Technique

Since the purpose of the study was to describe and interpret themes in the informant's perception on the topic and not to study a representative sample of the population, a small but carefully chosen sample is important for the purpose of data collection. I used a number of sampling techniques because of the specific migrant children I proposed to study. The major techniques are; purposive sampling and snowball techniques. The first technique I used was the snowball. With snow-ball technique (Babbie, 2005), I was able to recruit my participants. It involved utilizing well informed people to identify participants who are knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation. This technique was important for the study because it enabled me to select key participants to discuss critical issues on the research.

I got in touch with two girls who were carrying my grandfather's item from the market to our house. Initially, I spoke with these porters and introduce myself to them and the girls lead me to other migrant children. I was able to identify these girls as migrants from the three northern regions of Ghana because of the tribal marks they bear on their faces.

I then continued the sampling process with purposive sampling because I was specifically going to study independent migrant. I had a number of children who were migrants in Techiman market but some of them were not from the three northern regions of Ghana, I therefore selected the independent migrants who were from the three northern regions of Ghana to serve the purpose of the study. I then finished it off with quota sampling, because I had more than 15 independent migrant who wanted to take part in the study. Quota sampling is a non-probability method which aims to make the sample representative of the population by setting quota control. I therefore randomly sampled 15 girls to participate in the study. A total of 15 girls were selected as my participants whose ages ranged from 12-17 years. Out of this number, 3 were aged 13years, 2 were aged 14 years, 4 were aged 15, 5 were aged 16 years and the remaining was 17 years old. Load carrying in Techiman market is a gender based activity, hence the choice of girls as my respondents. Boys who move as independent migrants to Techiman, however, usually engage in farming activities.

Table 1. The Age group and the number of Participants who participated in the study.

AGE OF PARTICIPANT	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
13 YEARS	3
14 YEARS	2
15 YEARS	4
16 YEARS	5
17 YEARS	1

4.4 Ethnographic Method

The proponents of the new social studies of childhood, which is the theoretical basis of this thesis, strongly recommend that ethnography is particularly a useful methodology for the study of childhood. This method allows children a more direct voice and participation in the

production of sociological data (Prout and James, 1990). Ethnography is a distinct type of research because it aims at understanding behavior from the perspective of the participants and to capture social reality through fieldwork in natural settings. Ethnography essentially involves descriptive data collection as the basis for interpretation. It represents a dynamic picture of the way of life of some interacting social grounds. Christensen (2004) argues that, knowledge produced in ethnographic research depends on the researcher taking part in close social interaction with participants over an extensive period of time. Atkinson (1994) outlined some features of an ethnographic research which includes; exploring the nature of particular social phenomenon, working primarily with unstructured data, working with a small sample or even a single case in detail and analyzing data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human action.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

The research is a qualitative study and therefore embraced a wide range of multiple participatory methods. Boyden and Ennew (1997:157) asserted that 'using three or more methods facilitates triangulation or cross-checking information on the same issue or topic obtained through different methods, perhaps from different sources'. The methods of data collection for this study include the following:

1. Participant observation
2. Focus group discussion
3. Semi structured interview
4. Migration stories

4.5.1 Participant Observation

According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behavior, and artifacts in a social setting. It is a suitable method to understand interactions between people and structures in their natural contexts. Robson (2000) explains that in participant observation the observer seeks to become some kind of member of the observed group. Atkinson and Hammersly (1994) stated the four types of observation thus; complete observer, observer as participant, participant observer and complete participant. During

my field work, I assumed the role of participant as observer. This means I observed as well as participated in all activities of my participants.

The first part of my data collection I took a walk through Techiman market in order to have a vivid picture of the behavior of girls engaged in load carrying activity. This was relevant to the study because, Robson (2002; 309) argues that, "as the actions and behavior of people are central aspects in a virtually any enquiry, a natural and obvious technique is to watch what they do, to record this in a way and then to describe, analyze and interpret what we have observed".

My participants were observed during the day and at night. During the day I assume the role of a participant as observer and at night I assume a complete observer role. During the day I observed my participants' work, play, peer and adult relations and observed their sleeping situations at night around 10:00 o'clock p.m. when everybody was supposed to be asleep. Participant observation was used during the day in order for me to capture what my participants' daily routines were. I used this method during the day because this was the only period I could learn about participants actively engaged in their livelihood activities.

Creating a rapport with my participant became very easy for me because of my status as '*burger'* (someone who has return from Europe). There is an innate perception that *burgers* have a lot of money. These children therefore thought the more they come closer to me and establish good relation with me, the easier it becomes, for them to ask for something (money or materials item) from me. To establish a friendly relation with my participants, one of the activities I participated was the 'mass cooking' they do once in a month when they have no place to go. My participants organize themselves to contribute and prepare food together. They coined their own term for cooking together *'no contribution no chop'*. This means if you don't contribute then you can't partake in the cooking or you won't eat. However, the contribution could be in cash or delivery of personal services like fetching water and running on errands. On one Saturday, I took it upon myself to pay for the total cost of the food that will be prepared for us all to enjoy. After the preparation of the food, the girls wanted to serve my food separately, but they were surprise to see me dine together with them from the same eating bowl. This made them confine everything in me because they then perceive me as a *'brother',* but I did not forget my role as a researcher. My relationship with my participants drew the attention of the public and they begun to question my status as *burger.* It was not surprising one man approach me and asked;

1. 'Are you sure you are a burger'?

2. ‘Which country are you coming from’?
3. How come you are eating and relating with these girls, if you are a *burger?*

As early as 7 a.m., most of the girls engaged in the load carrying activities were standing at vantage points at the market with the view of locating potential customers who may require their services. As soon as somebody was spotted having a luggage in front of him or her, two or three girls will approach the person and inquire if they could offer assistance in that capacity.

If the offer is accepted, a fee is charged depending on the weight of the item to be carried and the distance to which it will be sent; a luggage weighing about four kilograms and which will be sent to a distance of between 300 and 500 meters attracted a fee of Two Ghana cedis (Gh¢ 2.00) which is equivalent to U S dollar ($1). The principle of demand and supply has great influence on this activity, thus the more ‘*kayayie’* (girls engage in load carrying activity) there are at a given time, the lesser the charging since customers have more alternatives to choose from. However, festive occasion like Christmas, Easter and *Apor* (the annual traditional festival of the indigenes which takes place in April) serve as a seasons of bumper harvest for the ‘*kayayie’* since the number of people who requires their service increase during such times.

One interesting incidence worth noting was when I was interacting with some of my participants at the entrance of the market on one faithful Wednesday which happens to be a market day. Suddenly, a truck full of yam which also had on board its owners arrived at the bus terminal which was adjacent the market; my interviewees quickly rushed towards the truck and started off-loading some of the yams to carry for the owners voluntarily. I offered assistance to my participants by helping them put the loads on their heads to the respective destinations. To satisfy my curiosity, I followed two of them to a common destination in order to have a fair idea about the longevity of the destination as against the fee charged. To my surprise, one of the girls was not paid for the services rendered on grounds that the service she rendered was unsolicited. My observations later revealed that, this was an occupational hazard to which most of the girls were subjected to.

I did not only observe the daily routines and the interactions of the children involved, but i gained useful insight into the dynamics of the life of the children; that is when they play especially during the non market days thus Saturday to Tuesday, the kind of game they play, how they interact with each other during play, the people involved in the play, whether they have fun or not when playing and their attitudes during play time. Furthermore, in the night I observed the

sleeping places of my participants, the type of accommodation, the mode of arrangement, condition of the place, the people at the sleeping place and the risk associated with that kind of environment. The relevance of this technique is that it has a direct bearing on the phenomenon in that, it gives a vivid picture of what is done, who does it, the actions and inactions as well as the attitudes exhibited. This is in line with what Robson (2002) said, "you do not ask people about their views, feelings or attitudes but you watch what they do and listen to what they say and also help in getting the real life in a real world".

4.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion was another technique which was employed in my data collection. Focus group discussion; "is described as one of the qualitative methods, which possesses both observational and interview techniques while maintaining its own peculiarity and uniqueness as a distinctive research method" (Morga 1988 cited in Colucci, 2007 p. 1422). It is a collection of a small number of people (usually between 4 and 12) that meet to discuss a topic of mutual interest, with the assistance from a facilitator or moderator (Gatrell & Elliott 2009, p.80). In all, three focus group discussions were held with five members each made up of friends in a group. This is to ensure that all participants were actively involved in the discussion throughout the data collection period.

The discussion took place in front of the one of the stores at the market on Saturday which was a non market day and as such provided a serene atmosphere devoid of noise and destruction. The researcher agreed on that day with the participant since that was the day that will not interfere with the working activities of the participants in the market. During such meetings, the topic for the day is introduced, and children are expected to say whatever they want about the issue on board. The focal point of the discussions were; experiences that the girl-child goes through in her job, the motivating factors for migrating, risk involved in migrating, mode of migration and who bears the ultimate responsibility for the decision taken.

One interesting aspect of this data collection technique was that, participants were able to respond and comment on one another's contributions. In this way, statements were challenged, extended, developed, undermined or qualified in ways that generate rich data. In this way,

participants justify their position, and others persuaded by their colleagues to change their position and views. The aim of focus group is not to reach consensus about or solutions to the issues discussed, but to bring forth different viewpoints on an issue (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:150). As moderator, I introduced the topic for discussion to each of the groups and allowed each member to express her views freely without interference or intimidation from other members. In order to prevent the loud ones from taken the centre stage, as a moderator, I took control by pointing individual in the group to express their views, although this was not an easy task since everyone wanted to talk. This allowed for divergent views especially from those who felt shy during one-on-one interaction. As Sarantakos (2005) argued, the group environment which exists at FGDs, allows divergent points of view to be presented. During the focus group discussions, I sought the consent of my participants to record the proceedings. I also took some notes during the discussion. The FGDs also allowed the interviewer to clarify issues that were unclear during the interview, and to probe for additional information.

The essence for using focus groups in this study was to provide these girls a comfortable platform that enabled and allowed them to discuss and articulate in their own words, their perceptions, understandings and experiences in migrating from home, settling in the municipality and engaging in load carrying activity. I organized three focus group discussions with my respondent and each lasted for thirty minutes. One disadvantage I discovered in the process of undertaking focus groups is that it tried to reflect the ideas of dominant participants and repetition of the answers by the first speaker which I had to regulate. In order to minimise this in my research, I offered participants equal opportunity to talk by taking turns and I intervened by giving opportunity to the seemingly shy children to participate in the discussion.

4.5.3 In-Depth Semi Structured Interviews

The most frequently used method for the collection of the relevant data for my study was the use of in-depth semi structured interviews. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:2), the research interview is a professional conversation, where knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee.

It has been defined by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:3) as the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena". Also, Solberg (1996) argues that during interviews with children, the researcher should adopt

ignorance of age in order to get concrete data. She also continues to emphasize that the place where a researcher conducts an interview with child participants may influence the level of participation of the child in the conversation. Therefore, researchers interviewing children have to put this into consideration in order to produce good data which reflects the views from children as much as possible. The interview involved two set of groups, those who reside in the market and those who live among the indigenes in the town. Those who reside in the market were interview on Mondays and Tuesdays which were non-market days while those who lived in the town took their turn on Sunday.

The choice of non-market days for those residing in the market was to reduce destruction to the barest minimum and thereby create conducive atmosphere for the free flow of the interviews. Sundays between the hours of 9 and 12 noon were most appropriate for those residents in the town since majority of the people who might be attracted to the scene of the interview leave for church service, thus helping the interviewees to feel at ease in expressing their views in a passionate manner. In my interaction with my research participants, I prepared an interview guide that included a list of questions that attempted to address the issues raised in my research questions and objectives. The focal point of the interview guide were; experiences that the girl-child goes through in her job, the motivating factors for migrating, risk involved in migrating, mode of migration and who bears the ultimate responsibility for the decision taken. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way; using interview guide with the themes and questions bearing in mind the need for my flexibility (Clark 2005). During the interview, issues that I considered less sensitive were discussed first after which the more sensitive and personal ones were discussed, with the view to making the interview less stressing. Also, issues which hitherto were not part of the interview guide but were relevant to the subject matter were included in order to elicit responses that will give clarity to the issues raised. As such, the interview was characterized by informal conversation which made the whole process relaxing but producing the necessary data.

4.5.4 Migration Stories

Migration stories are yet another technique which I employed in my data collection. Migration stories as a technique is based on the principle that, it is not every bit and pieces of information

that would be assembled through interview technique. Thus migration stories enable respondent to tell all the 'untold stories' (Punch, 2002) and thereby highlight all the dynamics of the events which they have been deeply involved.

The stories were told by fifteen respondents on two Saturdays which as usual were non market days and as such suitable for my respondents since they were less busy with market activities been on a slow trend. I recorded the stories which were told by my respondents on an individual bases which I later subjected to attentive listening and critical analyses. For the purposes of illustration, stories told by my respondents were categorized into 'pre-migration stories' and 'migration stories itself'.

Pre migration stories centered on interaction between my respondents and girls who had engaged in load carrying activities when they journeyed back home with their possessions to despise village dwellers. The 'returnees' painted an angelic picture of what they had experienced in Techiman municipality as they carried people's loads on their heads for a fee.

They attributed their 'wealth' to this activity and for that matter had no regret embarking on the journey. Items such as nice clothing, high hill shoes, cosmetics and jewelries, mobile phones, cooking utensils and rechargeable lamps were exhibited by the returnees as well as their new status as bread winners of their families inspired my respondents to desire this load carrying activity no matter the consequences that might be associated with such a venture. The pre-migration stories therefore provided my respondents with fore knowledge about the load carrying activity in Techiman, notwithstanding the fact that some of the stories were embellished or exaggerated by the returnees in order to attract more girls into the venture whereby the experienced returnees create self image for themselves as queens or elders of the business.

During the second phase that is migration stories itself, my respondents narrated how they journeyed from their respective villages and towns in the three northern regions to the Techiman municipality. The journey was often done in the night by boarding old antiquated or rickety mini buses some of which had no motor insurance or had expired. Some of the reasons they narrated for travelling at night were that; one, some of them escape their parents, two, the buses they use are not road worthy and therefore it is necessary to embark on the journey at night to avoid disturbances form their parents and police at barriers on the highway during the day. It is therefore not surprising that the buses suffered intermittent breakdowns travelling along the eight

hundred (800km) kilometer road to Techiman. There were also armed robbery attacks which resulted in the loss of lives and property including some friends of my respondents. Some of the major towns along the 800km road are Tamale, Damango, Buipe and Kintampo. The journeys therefore are scary and heart breaking for my respondents some of whom have vowed not to embark on a night journey along this root.

The main reason stated by my respondents for their decision to migrate to their current place of residence in Techiman municipality was 'independence and money'. In this context 'independence' refers to the desire to be on one's own and not have interference in terms of how one's money is spent and desert from any outmoded customary or cultural practices.

This is especially the case among migrants in Techiman where the respondents gave this reason as the main factor influencing their migration. The migration stories given by my respondents were exceedingly revealing and they provided an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, capturing some of the aspects which would have been in an interview technique. The main difference between migration stories and the interviews was that, I gave them the opportunity to explore and tell anything on their journey but with the interview, I prepared the question forehand and I was asking them. The migration story technique was unstructured while the interview was semi-structured.

4.5.5 Field Notes

During the field work, I took notes which my audio recorder could not capture. The purpose was to record in writing, mostly all that I observed on the field and also during my interviews and group discussions. As most of these writings could not be done on the field, I normally scribbled them in short form and expanded them when I am off the field. Based on my experience and observations on the field, I documented precisely and accurately the important issues relevant to the research which was distinguished from the other categories. I tried as much as possible to present the actions, behaviours, attitudes, mood, perceptions and body language of the people I observed.

4.6 Being in the Field: My Role and Experiences as a Researcher

Unlike in quantitative research where researchers give out questionnaires to their participants (McCracken, 1988) qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand

phenomena in context-specific settings. It requires researchers to have direct contact with their participants and the use of participatory methods to obtain relevant information. Solberg (1996, p.58) argues that, the relationship between the researcher and the researched is seen to be influenced more by issues of power-powerlessness.... Therefore, as researchers, there is a need to take cognizance of our positions relative to that of our research participants. The research was conducted in an area which I was familiar with, since I spent the later part of my school going age in the municipality. This placed me in an advantageous position as a researcher who had knowledge about the cultural practices of the people concerned. Having experienced the phenomenon in Kumasi during my childhood stages, I understood some aspect of the phenomenon, though; variations exist in terms of the large scale nature it had assumed in recent times.

My childhood experience in the market has given me an appreciation of the magnitude of the problem today compared to the days when I was young. It is clear that there has been a great transformation in the phenomenon which is now female dominated and child centered. However, this position did not give me the insider status as I continued to be an outsider. Critical reflexivity involves the researcher constantly scrutinizing his or her role as a researcher and of the data collection process to reflect on what has been his influence (Fraser et al , 2004). As a researcher, I assumed the role of a moderator, an interviewer, a tape recorder and an attentive listener bearing in mind ethical considerations which are central to the success of the data collection. I assumed a *least adult role* (Mandall, 1991) where I did not see myself as a child but an adult who was interested in the affairs of children. In a typical Ghanaian society, these children would see me as an adult and will have to give me the accorded respect. This would have given me least data since they will feel shy about their activities; I therefore adopted a strategy to mingle with them bearing in mind my role as a researcher. I therefore dine with them in the afternoon, help them to carry load on their heads and sitting among them. This aided in building good rapport between me (the researcher) and participants Furthermore, I established cordial relationship with my respondents insisting that they should call me by my first name instead of '*bra*' a local term which suggest an adult man. This was to make them see me as a friend while maintaining my role as a researcher. In spite of this, my informants still continue to call me *bra.* Upon prompting them otherwise, they would still use the title '*bra'* in addition to

my name. My participants told me they consider it as disrespectful and culturally wrong to call me by my name without adding the title. We arrived at the consensus decision that they could address me in this manner. This in line with what Fine and Sandstrom (1988) suggested, ethnographic child researchers has to find a way of straddling the divide between adults and children's world. My experience with the phenomenon has brought to the fore factors motivating this social canker as well as the need to tackle the problem with the urgency that it requires in order to preserve the energies of the girls engage in load carrying activities for more productive occupation which will bring meaningful contribution to the socio-economic development of Ghana.

4.7 Ethical Consideration

Ethical issues are very important when doing research with children. Ethical research aims to protect the rights of children and young people involved in the research. It also re-assures parents and advocates of children's welfare and safety that research conducted with children is designed in their best interests (Ennew et al. 2009). Ennew et al. (2009) has noted that ethical principles in research with children comprise; not harming the children either emotionally, physically or mentally, protecting children from violence, abuse and exploitation, agreeing on interventions, not putting children at risk, not exploiting adult, confidentiality and seeking consent from children. According to Fraser et al. (2004:99), though research does not kill or maimed children, it may upset and worry children and parents, embarrass them or betray them, therefore ethics in research are very important. Paul Cozby (2001, page 32) argues that "ethical concerns are paramount when planning, conducting and evaluating research". In view of the above, I conducted my research bearing in mind ethical consideration which might affect the success of the data collection. In this study, the following ethical issues will be considered; informed consent, privacy, confidentiality, and protection.

4.7.1 Informed Consent

Informed consent means that children should know the research aims, research methods and processes, research topics, what the data will be used for and that it is possible to withdraw from the research at any time and their participation is voluntary (Ennew et al. 2009). In other words, "participants are provided with all information that might influence their decision to participate

prior to making that decision" (Cozby 2001, page 35). Before I commenced the process of data collection, I introduced myself to my respondents as students from Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway, whose mission is to research into the phenomenon of load carrying activity by independent child migrant to Techiman municipality with a view to compiling the necessary data which will help in policy formulation. In this regard I showed my student identity card to my respondents and brief them on the overall plan of the study. I also informed them that participation was voluntary and at any stage of the data collection process, they could withdraw if they so wish (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:70). After taken them through the procedure and the process that will be used for data collection, they accepted the format and willingly gave me their consent to participate.

4.7.2 Respect Privacy

As enshrined in the UNCRC which is the legally binding agreement that promotes the rights and welfare of young people under the age of eighteen (18), children have the right to privacy. Article 16.1 states that:

'No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her *privacy*, family, or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation'.

Once informed consent has been obtained, the next line of action was the negotiation of privacy for the children involved in the research (Alderson, 1995). As a researcher, one of my principal aims was to follow the moral ethical codes governing research with children. I must admit that sometimes ensuring privacy of my participants was difficulty. Though, the interviews were organized on non market days, some people who go to the market to buy food stuff during this time tried to stop bye and listen to what is going on. As a result of recent *sakawa* (killing of human beings for money rituals) issue in Ghana, people tried to interfere and find out what I am doing with the child. Privacy was crucial matter especially with the girls in that I wanted to conduct the interviews at a place where it was visible, so that it will debunk the perception of people that I am exploiting the ladies. As Nilsen and Rogers (2005) points out, there are difficulties in conducting private interviews in the family home, where space is at a premium and other household members may be tempted to eavesdrop. It was a little difficult trying to find some space to do individual interviews with migrant children who are in their homes (Abebe,

2009). I therefore have to book an appointment in days I can find only the child in the house, hence Sunday was agreed.

4.7.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality means that data must be stored where it cannot be read by anyone other than the person (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Detailed of raw data, participants and location must never be revealed to the media (Beazley et al. 2008). This implies that if a study will publish information about participants which will be easily recognizable by the general public, participants should agree before such information is published. Confidentiality is very crucial and a sensitive issue when it comes to research with children. Researchers can protect the identity of participant by changing their names or not collecting names at all and, if necessary, the name of their community, in research reports and other publications. Throughout the process of data collection, I assured my participants that the information given to me will be confidential and none of it will be released to the media or anyone who is not connected and related to the research. For this reason, I asked my participants to use their *''kra din''* (names which were based on the days of the week on which they were born example Kwasi or Akosu for Sunday, Kwadwo or Adwoa for Monday, Kwabena and Abena for Tuesday for male and female respectively). I tried cautiously when it came to personal, emotional and more sensitive issues which might make my participants feel uncomfortable (Davis 1998, pp 328).

4.7.4 Protection

In every research, the interest of respondents is paramount and must therefore be guaranteed in order to minimize economic and social deprivations. The perception that children are vulnerable and that interaction between researcher and child involves power relations creates an obligation on adults to ensure children do not suffer harm when participating in research (Morrow and Richard, 1996 in Davis 1998, page 328). Load carrying activity is the occupation from which my respondents earn their livelihood. This activity occurred on market days, thus Wednesdays to Fridays with each respondent making the best use of these days to obtain daily bread. In order to safeguard the livelihood of my respondents, the interviews sessions, focus group discussions and the migration stories were held on non market days that is Saturdays to Tuesdays which were leisure times for respondents and as such did not compromised their work. Also the interactions

took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and steps were taken to ensure that no member of the group was ridiculed based on comments or actions made.

4.8 Field Experiences and Challenges

First and foremost, the one month internal conflict between the '*Bono*' and the northerners which preceded my coming to Ghana delayed my data collection to some extent. The conflict was as a result of misunderstanding as to who had the right to sell in front of a newly built store involving two traders who belong to the two blocks. The misunderstanding degenerated into a full blown conflict with members from the two blocks engaged in a 'fight for all' in April 2012. The one month conflict was resolved by the local authority but the northerners refused to have any dealings with the indigenes so as to avert the recurrence of the future conflict. As a result, my initial efforts to interview my respondent (independent child migrant) were resisted by the leaders of the northern community since as an indigene I speak the dialect. This problem was resolved upon contacting elders and explaining my intentions of undertaking such research to them. One ethical dilemma which I was confronted with during the data collection boarded on mutual consent. The children saw it to be culturally and ethically wrong after explaining it to them that they have the right to participate or leave upon their own wishes. The migrant children saw it as a sign of disrespect and disobedience if they rejected the offer to participate. I resolved this ethical problem by making the children understand that the participation was not compulsory but voluntary. I added that, I will not see them as disrespectful and disobedience children. They can choose to withdraw their participation if they wish and they will not be punished nor intimidated (Ennew and Plateau 2004).

Another controversial ethical dilemma that I faced in my data collection on the migrant children from the northern part of Ghana, to the middle part of the country was the issue of money. The girls migrate to work as porters. They therefore demanded for money if I wanted to involve them in my research since they could have used that precious time to do other things and get money. I solved this dilemma by first of all asking them if they needed the money to buy food, or is because they were spending time with me that was why they were demanding for the money. In line with their request, I bought the food for them since the time for my engagement with them fell on non market days where commercial activities were on the low side and my respondent

had barely little to live on. However I needed to pay cash to them when they demand it continuously.

Earlier researcher in the town paid when the children requested for the money, it therefore became very important for me to adhere to their demand in order to keep them as my participants than to lose them. A more challenging problem was the issue of gender. All my respondents as noted earlier were girls between the ages of twelve and seventeen years, some of whom had reached the minimum age required to engage in relationship and marriage per their cultural setting. My frequent engagement and interaction with my respondents, especially those in the marriage category created undue suspicion from their would-be partners. I had a hint from one of my participants concerning a plot by the boyfriends of these girls together with others to attack and hurt me on my next engagement with the girls on grounds that I was using my status as a '*borga*' (someone who had return from a foreign country) to snatch their 'would-be wives'. Upon hearing this regrettable and amazing news, I sought advice with the elders of northern community who command respect in the sight of my opponents at which a meeting was organized for me to familiarize with them and explain my mission. In the end, the suspicion was over and the boys gave their maximum support which enabled me to continue with my work without any fear of intimidation.

4.9 Data Transcription and Analysis

To be useful, the research was interpreted in the light of the conditions under which it was done. Consistency of results should be considered in arriving at conclusions regarding the applicability of the interpretations of various research studies. The analyses and interpretation of the raw data of an investigation are the means by which the research problem is answered and the stated hypotheses are tested. In this context, analysis is defined as the ordering and breaking down of data into constituent parts. It consists of the statistical calculations performed with the raw data to provide answers to the questions initiating the research. The interpretation takes the results of analysis, makes references pertinent to the research relations studied, and draw conclusions about these relations studied.

This sub section describes how data from the field was transcribed and analyzed in order to have fair appreciation of the phenomenon. Transcriptions are translations from oral language to a

written language (Kvale & brinkman, 2009). Transcription of data comes forth the complex and challenging situation. This problem was identified when I was transcribing the interviews were conducted in the local language - *Twi*. Data from the interviews, focus group discussions and migration stories were transcribed by the researcher into English for the purposes of analyses. This process is important in that, researchers who take time to do their own transcriptions might benefit from the research process and they will learn more from the interview style and also are reminded of the social and emotional aspects surrounding the interview (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

I also used the narrative analyses method because most of the data collected from my participants were stories about their everyday activities as independent child migrant who engaged in loading carrying activity for a fee. The stories focused on the experiences of my participants during the pre-migration stage, the migration stage as well as their current situation as 'kayaye' (girls engage in load carrying activity). The use of this method was to gain an insight and have full appreciation of the daily experiences of my participants because narrative analysis focuses on the meaning and the linguistic form of texts. (Kvale and Brickmann 2009). In order to have a comprehensive understanding and full appreciation of the data, audio recordings of interviews, group discussions and migration stories were subjected to repetitive playing and listening for onwards transcription through the use of a computer. The data was thus categorized and coded in line with the research objectives and questions and subjected to content analyses allowing concepts and themes to emerge from the data (McCracken 1988).

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to present in a narrative form the perspectives and experiences of independent child migrant before, during and after their engagement in load carrying activity for a fee at Techiman market. Techiman market which is one of the fastest growing market in west Africa. My aim is to provide a platform for the articulation of the views expressed by my informants in a passionate fashion for the understanding of all. The structure of the chapter is guided by the set aims and research questions of the study. The chapter begins by presenting the personal and family profile of my informants, in order to establish their background. This is followed by the analysis of the motivational factors for the migration of independent child as well as who bears the ultimate responsibility for the decision taken. I attempt to highlight the challenges and work related risk that confront these girls in their day to day activities to and fro the market. Next in line is an evaluation of what is carried, how far it is carried and criteria for charging the loads. To establish if the girls who engage in this activity achieve their aims, I delve into the income and expenditure pattern of my respondents as well as the strategies adopted to cope with teeming challenges that came their way. The analyses cover children's activities before and after migrating in order for me to have a deeper insight into the lives of independent child migrant.

5.2 Informants profile and family background

This sub section describes the background of the girls who participated in the study. It highlights their age, their hometowns, the length of the distance covered to Techiman, their schooling and family profile. A total of 15 girls were selected as my respondents whose ages ranged from 12-17 years. Load carrying in Techiman market is a gender based activity, hence the choice of girls as my respondents. The United Nations Convention and the African Charter on the Rights of the Child have defined a child as anyone under the age of eighteen (Articles 1&2). The 1992 constitution of Ghana equally defines a child as anyone below the age of eighteen. Also, the Labour Act of Ghana sets the minimum age for working and for that matter engaging in

hazardous work at eighteen years which is in line with international conventions and protocols to which Ghana is a signatory. Those below eighteen are considered children and as such exempted from economic activities that will deprive them of their education, personal liberty and their total development of which load carrying among girl below the age of eighteen is inclusive. This is in line with what Boyden and Myers argued an ideal of childhood as a privilege phase of life properly dedicated only to play and schooling and with an extended period of dependence during which economic activity is discourage or actually denied (1998:195). However, the African Charter, which is specific in relation to African children, sees childhood not only as a period dedicated only to play and schooling but also a period that comes with responsibility to both family and society (Article, 31). However, in a typical Ghanaian context, these participants are not children but young and energetic girls who can take up responsibilities.

My respondents migrated from the three northern regions of Ghana to Techiman. Majority of them came from Walewale and Nalerigu all in the northern region, two of them came from kpaligu and Bolgatanga all in the Upper east region while one came from Fumbisi in the upper west region of Ghana. In terms of language many of them spoke wale (wale is the dialect of people from upper west region) with a few belonging to mamprusi dialect. The journey to Techiman was often done in the night aboard old fashioned urvan busses whose motor insurance were non existence or had expired. The distance covered by my respondents to Techiman vary from one region to another; those from Northern region spent six hours on the five hundred kilometer road to Techiman, those from Upper east region spent eight hours on the six hundred kilometer road while the one from the upper west region spent close to ten hours on the seven hundred and fifty kilometer road. It is therefore not surprising that the busses suffered intermittent break downs travelling to Techiman. Some of the major towns along the road were Tamale, Damango, Buipe and Kintampo. The background of the girls gives credence to the fact that female children are increasingly migrating from these three regions to work independently of their parents (Anarfi et al., 2003).

The introduction of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) as well as the Capitation Grant for schools in the early 2000s, was aimed at increasing enrolment of children especially girls who had reached school going age in order to create a solid foundation for their academic development. A research conducted by (UNESCO 2007) puts enrolment of children

who had reach school going age at 87%. The situation at the three northern regions however presents a picture which gives course for concern. Out of fifteen girls whom I interview, only two had undergone formal education up to junior high school level. The rest have not had any formal education. Despite the various programs that have been introduced to reduce illiteracy among children and for that matter girls in the country. Reasons given by my respondents for their inability to access formal education include; poverty on the part of the parents which is as a result of unemployment and crop failure and parental neglect especially on the part of their fathers which puts undue financial burden and pressure on their mothers leading to school dropout. If the results of this data is anything to go by, then it will not be far from wrong to say that there has been an increase in the number of girls who migrate from the three northern regions with limited or no formal education to leading markets in search of non existing job which eventually lands them into load carrying activities for a negotiated fee (Opare, 2003). Even though educational policies in Ghana do not contain biases nor discrimination which affects the enrolment of girls in schools, parental neglects and domestic responsibilities often force them to drop out of school. (Fayola and Salm, 2002 p.138).

The family background of my respondents presents an exciting scenario. Thirteen out of fifteen respondents came from polygamous home with ten out of that number, having more than three step-parents. The parents of the other two however practice monogamy. The dominance of polygamous marriage in the three northern regions is largely influenced by the traditional African culture as well as the Islamic religion which allows a man to marry more than one. Islam allows a man to marry up to four if only he can treat them equally the purpose of which is to reduce adultery which is a characteristic feature of monogamous marriage. Also, in traditional African societies, such as those in the three northern regions, men are permitted to marry more women in order to have more children for agricultural purposes. The largest family size of my respondents was eighteen and the least was ten all of whom live on the same compound in an extended family fashion. It is therefore not surprising that my respondents cited large family size as a central pushing factor for their migration since their parents could not adequately cater for their basic and educational needs due to resource constraint. This is in line with what Bourdillon, Tacoli and Mabala argue that, poverty within the family and economic and resource constraints in their home areas compel children to migrate (Bourdillon, 2005; Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). In

terms of occupation, the parents of twelve out of fifteen respondents engaged in peasant farming for their livelihood with the parents of the rest being drivers. The mothers of these girls however are unemployed with most of them merely assisting their husbands in farming. This may be due to what Ali Mazrui called the Islamic perspective in his theory of the African Triple heritage (cited in Abebe, 2007:82). According to Ali Mazrui, due to the Islamic practice of Purdah, women are secluded from public spaces and as a result use children as mediators.

5.3 Level of education of the respondent

The educational background of most of my respondent presents an alarming picture which gives course for concern. Only two out of the fifteen independent child migrants hard undergone formal education up to the Junior High School level. The rest had not been to the class room let alone acquire any skills in reading and writing. These situations surprising due to the fact that since 2001 free compulsory universal basic education was introduced in Ghana which meant that financial constrain should not prevent any child who is of school going age from accessing formal education. Furthermore senior high schools in the three northern regions have been enjoying free education since the early 1960s. This programe which started during the time of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the first president of Ghana was meant to bridge the educational gap between the north and the south. My respondent sited two reasons for their inability to access to formal education. 60% blamed it on financial constrain on the part of their parents with regards to the provision of educational materials such as exercise books and note books, pen and pencils as well as school uniforms. The other 40% sited cultural believes which relegated women to the background. According to them only their male siblings were allowed to go to school in other to take care of the rest of the family members. This practice is purely discriminatory and does not help in developing the skills and talent of the girl child which will contribute to the economic growth of the country. The various interventions aimed at ensuring the education of the girl child at the three northern regions needs to be re-examined if their impact on education is to be meaningful.

5.4 Motivations for Migration

In order to ascertain the underlined reasons or motivations for the migration of children to Techiman municipality, a number of questions were asked to elicit appropriate responses to the subject matter. They include;

Why did you migrate to Techiman to engage in load carrying activity?

What attracted you to Techiman market?

To what extent did your migration to Techiman have to do with peer influence or interaction?

Answers given by my respondents focused on both individual motivations and wider social processes (Ansell and Van Blerk 2004).

The response of Rashida, a fourteen year old female porter to the first question was that "I am a child but my parents are not financially sound to provide the things I need be it food, clothing and pocket money. I need to survive and I can only do that by getting money that is why I have come here to work in order to get capital to go and establish my own business when I go back home".

That of Mamunatu, a sixteen year old female porter was that ' we are ten siblings of which I am the eldest one, but our father is no more while our mother is a petty trader whose income is not able to sustain her let alone the rest of us. I have come here to work in order to get enough money for my upkeep and those of my siblings back home'

These views which represents the views of sixty percent of my respondents has re-echoed the issue of poverty and inadequate financial support for girls who migrate to engage in load carrying activity for a fee. The issue of poverty cannot be over emphasis in the life of independent child migrant who have no choice than to risk their lives day and night under the mercy of the weather in order to assemble some few coins for their own survival and that of their families as far as remittances are concern in the form of goods and cash (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005). There is a strong expectation in a Ghanaian family system that children should start 'giving back' to their parents as soon as they are able to, usually by early teens'' (Chant and Jones 2005, p.191). My experience as a child makes me understand that children are normally brought up with the idea that they will grow up and cater for the parents who will be very weak by then. At a very young age, my parents always showed my school fees and other expenses to me, making me aware that they are providing everything I needed now for to succeed in life and that I should not forget the sacrifices they have made for me and also do the same when they are old. This can be seen in our Ghanaian proverb which literally states that, the parents has a duty to

look after their children to help them grow their teeth, while the children also has a duty to reciprocate their parents when they lose their teeth and they are old. This 'reciprocal duty' in the society forces the child to take every possible means to be successful in life and thus, migrating to engage in load carrying activity was the only option for those coming from weak financial family background.

On the question of attraction, Zaliah, a twelve year old girl said that, she chose Techiman market due to the advantage it has over the other markets in Accra and Kumasi in terms of fewer numbers of porters who ply their trade in this market. 'Accra and Kumasi are chocked with female porters and so I would not like to go and add up to the numbers and remain redundant' (focus group, 2012). This view gives credence to the current position of Techiman market as the third largest in West Africa which draws hundreds of traders mainly from Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Togo. With regards to peer influence as a motivational factor for migrating to Techiman, Asana a thirteen year old female porter said that ' the village is boring and we those here have no exposure to modernity but the girls who migrated to Techiman barely a year ago have become heroines and icons on their return to the village. I also deserve the shiny shoes, jewelries, cloths and mobile phones used by these 'returnees' hence my coming to Techiman'.

My conversation with Fatima, (a seventeen year old) female porter on the issue of peer influence was as follows;

Interviewer: who told you to come to Techiman?

Fatima: my friend who works as a female porter at Techiman market.

Interviewer: why did you follow her?

Fatima: she assured me that I will get work to do at Techiman.

Interviewer: what made you believe what she told you?

Fatima: her hair style, shining shoes, fashionable cloths and her new status as the bread winner in her family made me believed her.

Interviewer: who financed your transportation cost to Techiman?

Fatima: my friend sponsored my trip to Techiman including feeding.

The role played by peers in the migration of girls to Techiman to engage in load carrying activity is significant and has contributed immensely to the exodus of migrant who flood the market day by day. Fuseina, a fourteen years old porter also indicated that her decision to come to Techiman market to engage in load carry activity was primarily based on influences from her peer group

who had experienced the phenomenon. According to her, anytime those friend return to Nalerigu, they despise those of them who were still dwelling in the village with no ambition to enjoy some of the attractive things and goods from the cities of the south.It is clear from the above that the decisions by the girls to migrate to Techiman would have been on a low pace if they had not received much information from their friends or if they had no fore knowledge about the benefit and the prospect that load carrying activity hold for them.

Quite a less number of my respondents cited socio-cultural factor which include female genital mutilation and forced or early marriage as a pushing factor for their migration to Techiman.With regards to female genital mutilation, Abiba a twelve year old girl said that 'my elder sister had been circumcised prior to my migration to Techiman. When I discovered that I was next in line, I fled during the deep night to avoid the pain associated with the practice and the damage it might cause to my womanhood'. Female genital mutilation (FGM) involves the cutting of the clitoris of the female genital organ in order to satisfy the wrong notion that, women with clitoris turn to be sexually active and for that matter, unfaithful in marriage. This barbaric cultural practice has been abolished in Ghana since the late 1990s but due to the entrenchment of this belief in the cultural system of the people in the three northern regions some unscrupulous members of the society still perpetrate this crime under the cover of darkness. These persons are either ignorant of the dangers associated with this practice or have just refused to change their belief and perception about women in the three northern region. Since the practice is against the fundamental human rights of the girls, these persons instill fear in the minds of the girl and often treating to kill or banish them if they should refuse to undergo the act.

On the issue of forced and early marriages, Fati, a fifteen year old female porter remarked 'how on earth will I, a beautiful young girl who has more years ahead of me be forced to marry a sixty year old man who has two wives and seven children and for that matter may soon die and leave me behind as a widow. It is better to carry load with difficulties than to be forced into early marriage where your fate lies in a balance'. Early marriage and child betrothal is common among the ethnic groups in the three northern regions of Ghana. Poverty and financial constrain is responsible for this practice since most parents who cannot cater for the needs of their children give their daughters to so called wealthy men as wives in order to get financial and material resources from them which may help in the upkeep of the rest of the family members, though

temporarily. The effect of this practice is the huge number of girls who drop out of school from the three northern regions to serve as wives for the so call wealthy men. Most of the men end up maltreating these girls which later results in separation as well as divorce. These socio-cultural practices which the children mentioned as a reason for migrating which include early marriage, female genital mutilation and child betrothal were very crucial in my work because non of the existing research in Ghana has pointed out these factors as a reasons for children migration from the northern part of Ghana to the middle part of Ghana.

> On the issue of asset acquisition as a reason of migration, Amina a16year old female porter said "I am of age and very soon I would like to get married. As our culture demands I cannot go to my matrimonial home with empty hands. I need to get some few items for myself like cloths, utensils, jewelry and at least six pieces 'Maayaafi' (veil for Muslim women) to enable me win respect in the site of my future husband. This is why I have come to Techiman to work as a porter in other to get money to accomplish my aim".

According to two of my respondents, they planned to embark on temporary migration and will return back home as soon as they acquire the basic needs to get married. But they situation they find they themselves in is different from what they were thinking and now they do not know when they are returning home. My one on one interaction with five of the porters gave credence to the story of Amina. Most of these porters were in Techiman to acquire asset either for their own future life or to help their younger siblings who depend on them for their basic needs and other materials necessary for their survival. Sometime parents also benefited from the asset acquired most especially house hold equipments.

5.5 Decision Making

One important aspect of the data collection process was the issue of decision making. A number of questions were asked to ascertain how the decision to migrate was arrived at. Some of these questions were

Who told you to migrate?

What informs the decision to migrate?

Who paid for your transportation to Techiman?

Some of the respondents indicated that, they single handedly took the decision to migrate without consulting any body and as such they borrowed money to finance their transportation. A number of other studies for instance, Punch, 2002, Abebe, 2007 &2008, Hashim, 2007 and Kwankye et al, 2009 have all shown evidence that the decision to migrate in order to take up paid job has often been made by children themselves. There is a strong tradition in Ghana of children leaving on their own initiative to find work (Kwankye et al, 2007: 4). This is what the New Social Studies of Childhood have argued for and it appears to be really practical in the life of my informants.

Three of my respondents took the decision to migrate in consultation with their parents whom as a result of their financial predicament had no other choice than to let the children go in order to reduce and lessen the parental responsibilities that confront them. In view of their poor background, these respondents prior to their migration engaged in menial jobs which include carrying of concrete known in local parlance as 'by-day' at construction site and working on plantation farms to raise the necessary funds for their transportation to their present destination. This is in line with what Abebe cited in his work in 2008 that children in poverty situation engaged in different economic activities in Addis Ababa- Ethiopia. It included hawking, busking, shoe-shining, peddling, portaging, daily labour, working as weyallas (filling taxi with passengers and collecting fares). He asserted that, according to data gathered from Ethiopia, the above have been triggered by poverty, parental neglect and failure of rural livelihoods (displacement due to drought, famine and war), harmful traditional practices for instance early marriage and uncaring environments (Abebe, 2008:275).

The table below shows the extent to which parents, friends and self decision contributed to their migration.

Table 2. Who made the decision for the child to migrate?

who made the decision for the child	Number of respondents
Decision in consultation with parents	3
Self decision	6
Friends	4
Other relatives	1

The category of the respondents who took the decision without the prior knowledge of their parents cited parental neglect as the bases for their decision. They explained that since their parents had nothing to do with how they survive of daily bases, there was no need to seek their concert before embarking on the trip. Those who consulted their parents however were enjoying some support in the form of the provision of basic needs even though their educational needs were not catered for.

The table below illustrates how the journey to Techiman was finance

Table 3. Person who finance the migration of the child

person who finance the trip	no. of children
Self finance	5
Sneak unnoticed into mini bus	2
finance by friends	5
Finance by parents	3

It is clear from the above that, friends did not only influence the migration of my respondent but also took it upon themselves to pre-finance the trip in other to win the trust of the respondent. Also those who financed their own trip got the money from the work they did on plantation farms in other to benefit from the item that their friends had acquired as a result of load carrying. Finally parental control or support was minimal due to the poverty situation in which the parents find themselves.

5.6 Migration related risk

Risk faced by my respondent as they journey from the three northern to Techiman is multi dimension. Notable among them were highway robberies and intermitted breakdown of vehicles. This was confirmed through a conversation I had with Zinabu a fourteen year old from Walewale.

Interviewer: How was your journey to Techiman

Zinabu: The journey was very scary and full of challenges. The vehicle on which I travelled broke down on three occasions with no mechanic on site to assist in it repairs. We had to wait for four hours waiting for another vehicle to take as to Techiman.

According Rashida the vehicle on which she travelled was stopped at Damango by high way robbers who ask all the passengers on board of the vehicle to get down for a search. The robbers collected all the monies they found on the passengers and latter flied into the bush before the police arrived. According to Rashida, she had to rely on friends for three weeks after arrival in Techiman for her food and other requirement. The risk that accompanied the migration of my respondent to Techiman has left a bad impression on them resulting in their pledge not to travel to the northern part of Ghana during the night no matter how relevant the journey might be. The analysis shows that the problem child migrant faces at destination are basically socio-cultural in nature and revolves around their living conditions. Independent child migrant who engage in load carrying activity in Techiman market face a lot of challenges and risks ranging from accommodation difficulties, health issues, injuries at work and robbery attacks.

Table 4. Major problem face by child migrant in Techiman

Problem	**number of respondents who stated it**
Accommodation difficulties	12
Health problems	10
Injuries at work	7
Robbery attack	3
Too heavy loads for less pay	10
No load to carry due to competition in labour market from more migrants	5

With respect to accommodation, most of the girls who engage in load carrying activities sleep in dilapidated structures which include kiosk, uncompleted building, wooden structures, as well as open places within the market and at lorry stations. Those who are fortunate to sleep in kiosk and wooden structures are overcrowded some of whom have barely enough space to lay their heads and also keep their belongings.

Fati a fifteen year old girl from Nareligu in the Northern region indicated that 'I shared kiosk which is ten feet long and eight feet wide with ten girls and we are required to pay GH2 each on weekly basis for using such structure but some of my friend pay GH1.50pesewas and GH2.50pesewas on weekly bases depending on the size on the room'. According to Rashida a

fourteen year old girl from Bolgatanga in upper east region they are overcrowded in the structures which they use as accommodation and this has led to the spread of airborne and communicable disease like measles, chickenpox ,CSM and ringworm among the inhabitants. Those who cannot afford the weekly charges for sleeping in kiosk turn to sleep in open places using discarded cupboards they pick from the street and whenever the rains set in at night they would be on their feet until the rain subside before they could get the chance to lay their heads. Due to the poor nature of the accommodation in which these girls live, they are exposed to robberies attacks leading to the loss of their belongings as well as money.

Table 5. places child migrants slept at night

place	number of respondents	how much they pay weekly
Home	1	GH¢8 (USD4)
Kiosk	2	GH¢2 (USD1)
Uncompleted buildings	3	-
Wooden structures	2	GH¢2 (USD1)
Open places within market	4	-
Transport station	2	-
In front of stores	1	GH¢1 (USD0.50)

The above table indicates that the migrant children have access to different places which serve as the abode of residence. Most of the migrant children in revealed in the focus group discussion that there were available rooms that they would have love to reside in the nearby houses but it is too expensive for them to rent. Some also indicated that some land lords refuse to give the room to them because of their status and work as kayeyei. Participants who sleep in uncompleted buildings, open places within market and transport station said their income is low to rent a room or sleep in a kiosk. Their income can only buy them food and nothing else. The girl who has been able to rent a room revealed that health she has been in the kayayei work for four years and has more customers that that she carry their loads for a fee. She said ‘I now have a mobile phone that my customers can call me to come and carry their load. I have been working with them for long and and they trust me. I can even take money from them in advance for my rent and food.’

This however depicts that the more time you spend in the work the more customer you get to carry their load since the new arrivals migrants indicate that they rarely get load to carry.

The health of most of the girls who engage in load carrying activity give cause for concern. As a result of this they suffer numerous body pains and aches (Kwankye et al., 2007). From dawn to dusk, rain or shine they carry loads which are sometimes too heavy considering their age and physical maturity. Due to stressful nature of their work, they often fall sick but do not seek proper health care; rather they go to chemical and pharmacy shops to purchase any drug which in their view would relieve them of pain. Those who are nursing mothers as a result of early marriage and teenage pregnancy do likewise when they themselves or their babies are not feeling well. Some of them have abused drugs especially pain killers to the extent that they have gain resistance to those drug that they often took to effect change in their body.

Below is my interaction with Sadia a twelve year old girl from Fumbisi in upper west region of Ghana on how she treats herself whenever she was sick

> Interviewer: how often do you fall sick?
>
> Sadia: anytime I carry heavy loads for three continues day under the scorching sun
>
> Interviewer: which kind of sickness do you experience?
>
> Sadia: bodily pains and malaria fever
>
> Interviewer: do you go to hospital?
>
> Sadia: hospital! Where is the money to give to the doctor? I go to the chemical shop over there and describe what is happening to me to the attendant for some few paracetamol to be given to me as pain relief.
>
> Interviewer: do you know that taking drugs without doctor's prescription has negative consequences?
>
> Sadia: yes I know but I have no other alternative, if I survive temporary, it is better than to die due to poverty.

Another health related risk is sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Some of the girls confirmed having unprotected sex with men who promised them financial and material resources and that they were experiencing symptoms that look like gonorrhea and candidacies but have not sought medical attention. The above has been confirmed by a recent survey conducted in 2011 by Ghana health service at Techiman which revealed that four out of every ten kayayei had one STI or the other (GHS, 2011).

Independent child migrant are confronted with occupational hazards in the form of injuries during their day to day activities in and outside the market. This involves falling in deep trenches, being knocked down by vehicles, heavy loads falling from trucks to hit them and falling from slippery ground when it rains. Rakia a sixteen year old girl from Walewale in the northern region informed me that she nearly lost her limp on one faithful Wednesday when she fell into a very deep trench that had been dug by the workers of Ghana Water Company for the laying of pipe lines to the market. This is what Aisha a thirteen year old girl from Kpaligu in the upper east region of Ghana said, ' on one Thursday I was following a truck loaded with yams so as to render my services as soon as it stops; suddenly the truck developed break failure and run into five of us who were following it. Two of them died on the spot while the rest of us sustain serious injury on our heads and legs. I was admitted at the hospital for two months and us you can see I still have scars all over my legs six months after the accident'. The activities of armed robbers and pick packet are major challenge which female porters had to deal with in Techiman market especially at night. This is my conversation with Zaalia one of my respondents who is 14 years old.

Interviewer: have you ever suffered robbery attacks in Techiman market

Zaalia: yes on many occasions

Interviewer: when and how does it happened

Zaalia: it normally happens at night when activities at the market are on the down side and everywhere is quite. These robbers stormed the kiosk which was accommodating me and my friend and made away with our monies, newly bought cloths and cosmetics.

Interviewer: did you report to the police

Zaalia: No because the police are not our friends and if I report to them I will be arrested for engaging in unlawful activities since I do not pay tax on the work I do.

According to Kwankye (2007) in his research of *Coping Strategies of Independent Child Migrants from Northern Ghana to Southern Cities*, the tax officers always harass the migrant children for not paying their tax. In my research, the participants stated that they are aware they have to pay tax because the tax office has given them education on the payment of tax but their income is too low for their survival left alone the tax and as a result they are not able to honour the education given to them by the tax office on the payment of tax. Despite their inability to pay

the tax, the officers do not interfere in their daily activities. Therefore, migrants in Techiman municipality enjoy tax free while migrant in the cities of Accra and Kumasi cannot escape the payment of tax. The enforcement of payment of tax in the big two cities may be due to the number of migrant children who work there. These two cities are chocked with migrant children who engage in the kayayei work that is why the officers compel them to pay the tax to either generate income or reduce their number in the cities.

The robbers often capitalizes on the ignorance of the female porters to report their activities to the police as an opportunity to subject them to frequent attacks since they enjoy impunity for the crimes they commit. It should be noted however that armed robbery and it related activities are not condoned by the police. They are crimes which are treated with the seriousness it deserves. They only problem is that my respondent failed to report to them for fear of being victimized. When the police become suspicious of the activities of armed robbers in the market, they conduct swoops or raids in other to arrest and prosecute the cooperate or the offendence.

5.7 An evaluation of what is carried, how far it is carried and criteria for charging

Independent child migrant who engage in load carrying activity have develop special skills which guides them in determining the weight of luggage and the fee to be charged bearing in mind the distance to be covered. According to my respondents, there are two ways of charging the loads of customers that is pre-paid and post paid. Those who use the pre paid system charge the loads before carrying them to their destination while those who use the post paid perform their duties before determining the price.

A luggage weighing about 4 kilogram and which will be sent to a distance of between 300 and 500 meters attracted a fee of GH2 which is equivalent to $1. The principle of demand and supply has great influence on this activity, thus the more kayeyas (girls engage in load carrying activity) there are at a given time, the lesser the pricing since customers have more alternatives to choose from. However, festive occasion like Christmas, Easter and Apor (Apor is the annual traditional festival of the indigenes which takes place in April) serve as a seasons of bumper harvest for the kayeya since the number of people who requires their service increase during such times.

My participants stated in the focus group discussion that the people only see the importance of their work when those travelers who arrive at the station at night may need them to carry their load but they are not where to be found since working in the night is dangerous. According to

them the customers shout high at night calling for kayayei to help them carry their load. The kayayei who is fortunate to arrive at the scene to help the customer can charge any price and the customer has no other option than to pay it since there are no other alternative. They stated that since the customers cheat then in the day time, they also take advantage of this time to charge the customers high prices. Sometimes, the destinations given by their customers tend to be misleading especially when they say 'we are going just here'. Such destinations which the girls presume to be shorter could be as far as 800meters but attracted the same fee of 2ghana cedis. The girls are therefore cheated but have no one to complain to for appropriate remedies. Also during lean season (non festive occasions) the work of the kayayei become on and off and during such times meager prices are forced down the throats of porters since if they decline or reject it, other colleagues who need money badly will give in by carrying such loads. According to Fuseina, a sixteen year old girl from Nareligu in northern region of Ghana, some of them (kayayei) have abandoned the post paid method of charging loads because once the goods reach their destinations the customers offer any amount at all which makes them worse off since they cannot return the goods to where they came from (Focus group, 2012).

5.8 Income and expenditure

To ascertain the income and expenditure pattern of my respondents, the following questions were asked

How much do you earn in a day?

Is it enough to sustain you?

How much do you spend in a day?

On income, Sadia said 'I earn five Ghana cedis on a good day especially festive occasions but when the market is down and commercial activities are slow, I earn only two Ghana cedis'. The response of Abiba was that 'on a good day I earn three cedis but on a bad day I do not get any money which rarely happens'. On income and expenditure, this is what Rakia said "my daily income ranges from GH2 to GH4 (USD1 and USD2) which depends largely on my ability to sport who require my services and my bargaining skills. I spend GH1 (uds1) on food, GH2 (usd2) on rent and save GH1 for future eventuality. In totality, the amount earn by my respondents ranges from three cedis to five cedis but this depends largely on market forces and the availability of loads to be carried. As stated earlier, festive occasions provide more

opportunities to the girls whiles lean seasons are characterized by gnashing of teeth (low income). The expenditure which is influenced by one's income as well as the responsibilities to be carried out differs from one person to another. Those who earn five cedis daily spent four cedis including remittances while those who earn three cedis spent two cedis for the same purpose.

Table 6. The weekly income and expenditure of nine respondents.

name	**income**	**total expenditure**	**food**	**rent**	**remittances**
ABIBA	GH¢16 (USD 8)	GH¢12 (USD6)	GH¢6 (USD3)	GH¢2 (USD1)	GH¢4 (USD2)
RASHIDA	GH¢14 (USD7)	GH¢10 (USD5)	GH¢4 (USD2)	GH¢2 (USD1)	GH¢4 (USD2)
ZATIA	GH¢12 (USD6)	GH¢10 (USD5)	GH¢6 (USD3)	GH¢2 (USD1)	GH¢2 (USD1)
FATI	GH¢14 (USD7)	GH¢14 (USD7)	GH¢8 (USD4)	GH¢4 (USD2)	GH¢2 (USD1)
AISHA	GH¢8 (USD4)	GH¢8 (USD4)	GH¢6 (USD3)	GH¢2 (USD1)	-
MEMUNATU	GH¢6(USD 3)	GH¢6(USD3)	GH6(USD3)	-	-
FUSEINATU	GH¢16(USD)	GH12	GH¢8(usd4)	GH¢4(USD 2)	GH¢4(USD2)
AMIMA	GH¢12(USD6)	GH12(USD6)	GH¢6(USD 3)	GH¢6(USD 3)	-
SADIA	GH¢10(USD5)	GH10(USD5)	GH¢6(USD 3)	GH¢4(USD 2)	-

It is clear from the above that though the independent child migrant who engage in load carrying activity have low income, they are able to meet at least their food and rent requirement for the week. This does not apply to the larger majority of the girls engage in this activity. Those in this bracket can be described as the most privilege and fortunate ones among the lot. Despite their

low income majority of the respondents were quite comfortable with the situation in Techiman as compared to their various home town where some of them could go hungry for the whole day not knowing how to meet their food requirement. However they see load carrying activity as a means to an end but not an end in itself. They look forward to rising the necessary capital which will enable them set up their own businesses or start apprenticeship programs when the go back home.

5.9 Coping Strategies

The hallmark of every human being is the ability to turn problems into solutions, challenges into opportunities and predicament into pride in order to make progress in life (Nyarko, 2008). Coping strategies refers to measures or mechanisms adopted by actors (independent female migrants) to respond to shocks and stresses (Vincent & Sørensen, 2001 cited in Abebe, 2008). Different strategies were adopted by my respondents to cater for their health needs, food and accommodation requirements as well as their savings culture which will guarantee for any future eventuality.

To meet their health needs majority of the independent child migrant who participated in the study relied on drug peddlers and pharmacy attendants who had little or no training on issues regarding the diagnosis and treatments of illnesses. Others also relied on herbal medicine for the treatment of diseases since they turn to be less expensive compared to the orthodox medicine. The practice of self medication among the porters is injurious to their health since most of them often diagnosed the symptoms and go to the shops already decided about the kind of medication they want (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Kwankye et al., 2007). The nature of their work demands that female porters should have adequate food stock to guaranteed and ensure they will be physically strong to go about their day to day activities. Due to the on and off nature of their work, it was not possible for the girls to get money each and every day to meet their food requirement. To cope with this difficulty, my respondents contributed 20% of their daily income to purchase food stuffs so that even if the market was down, they would not be on an empty stomach. This is what they nicknamed ‘wo antua a, wonni’ (no contribution no chop). These girls however, tempered justice with mercy by allowing anyone who was sick and could not go to work in order to contribute the required amount to participate in the communal eating.

Three out of the fifteen independent migrant who participated in the study were mindful of the fact that they needed to save some money for use in times of emergency. In line with this they signed up to susu schemes within the municipality whereby the agents of the schemes came to them on market days for the collection of their contribution which ranges from GH1 to GH2 . Some people and agents of companies go round to their clients and collect money daily, weekly or monthly for safe keeping or investment. This is known as *susu* system in Ghana (Abdul Moumin et al.,2005). Contributors could withdraw money any time they were sick, hard-up or needed to travel back home. The relevance of collective financial schemes as survival or coping strategy is shown by the fact that on bad business days, where girls do not earn nothing, they can borrow from the scheme and pay back later (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Others also bought money boxes into which few coins were dropped and when it accumulated enough, the boxes were opened and its content was used accordingly. To deal with the activities of armed robbers, pick-pockets and rapist, the category of independent child migrant who did not have accommodation but slept in the open spaces adopted the following strategy. During the night, the girls decided not to sleep individually in front of different shops in the market instead they chose stores that had broad verandas so that they slept in groups of ten and fifteen. This helped them to mobilize forces whenever they were attacked in the night by social miscreants. This is in line with a study conducted by (Kwankye et al., 2007; Yeboah, 2008) in Accra and Kumasi which showed that they slept in open spaces as a strategy to minimized rape attempts and other illicit crimes such as theft. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) indicated that female porters often slept in the homes of relations. This is not so in the case of independent child migrant who have no contact with relations in the places they work and as such leave by the principle of 'survival of the fittest'.

CHAPTER SIX
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the main findings of the research in relation to the key theoretical perspectives discussed earlier and also in line with my objectives. It will deal with children's motives to move and what influences their decisions to migrate, as well as how they finance their journey, means of transport and their choice of destination. The chapter then considers the experiences of the migrant children in their new destinations; the realities on the ground vis-à-vis their expectations, and how they face or cope with these realities such as their search for jobs, accommodation and food. The last part will look the negative and the positive consequences of migration such as the occupational hazards and health challenges confronting these migrants.

6.2 The Motives of Female Migrant Children

6.2.1 Poverty and Socio-cultural Practices

Ghana, like most Global South countries is confronted with numerous social and economic challenges such as HIV/AIDS, child mortality, illiteracy, poverty, environmental degradation gender inequality and so on. However, the recent migration of young girls of school going age from northern Ghana although has been attributed to factors such as large family sizes due to polygamous marriage, poverty and other cultural practices such as FGM and force marriages (Bourdillon, 2005; Tacoli and Mabala, 2010).

My findings from Techiman show that large family sizes put an undue pressure on family resources and therefore causes hardship such as inability of parents to provide the basic needs of their children such as food, education, clothing, and health needs which sometimes compel female children to migrate to the South. For instance some of my respondents complained about their parents wallowing in abject poverty who could not provide their basic daily needs as stated above. Others complained that FGM and force marriages influenced their decisions to migrate.

Although it is unfortunate that these cultural practices still exist in the North, but I think that it would be very unjust to jump into a hasty conclusion that such northern societies are primitive.

Simply because such cultural practices have some economic incentives as Jacqueline Castledine asserts. Such economic gains sometimes serve as palliative measures to sustain their families' temporary (https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/jc.htm). My informants who were in poverty, where their rights as human beings were trampled decided to migrate to alter their deplorable conditions. It is unjust to wholly condemn large family sizes in northern Ghana because from the colonial era to today the three northern regions are more underdeveloped in all aspects of infrastructure. Despite the large vast of land in the north, the poor residents still rely on rainfall and outmoded farming implements under harsh weather conditions in order to produce enough food for their families. This has been an underlying factor for large family sizes so as to get adequate cheap family labour in agriculture.

Children, like adults should be seen as rational beings with dreams and aspirations and therefore do not just migrate. They do so for a purpose. That is when they see abject poverty looming in their families. As stated earlier, most of the existing literature on child migration in Ghana focuses on poverty and other socio-cultural practices as key driving force of children's migration. However, they did not look critically at the root causes of poverty in the three north regions in recent times. The question that one might ask is this, why do many people including female children recently migrate from the northern Ghana to the south recently than a decade or two ago? When we think critically about this question and try to find answers to it, you could see that the answer goes beyond the poverty and socio-cultural discourses as the causes of children's movement, but it include environmental factors and even some elements of globalisation.

The death of parent(s) is also another factor behind the migration of some children in the northern regions of Ghana. Whenever children do not receive the kind of attention that their parents provide them some might decide to migrate. This came to light during my interview with my informants. For instance, *Mamunatu,* a sixteen year old female porter remorsefully said that ' we are ten siblings of which I am the eldest one, but our father is no more while our mother is a petty trader whose income is not able to sustain her let alone the rest of us. I have come here to work in order to get enough money for my upkeep and those of my siblings back home'. This

shows that children are social actors and are sometimes forced by circumstance to migrate not only for their own benefits but for the betterment of their other siblings and this in line with a research done by Reale in 2008.

According to some of my informants, extreme gender inequalities compelled them to migrate from the North. Some of the girls I interviewed confirmed that they are disadvantaged in terms of responsibilities compared to their male siblings. Girls have complete many household chores like setting fire, preparing dinner, fetching water, washing, caring for siblings etc in the morning and after school which discourage some of them from going to school as some of them cannot finish their home work before the next day. Some of my informants stated that boys are given the priority to attend school as the result of inadequate resources, where girls if given could have performed far better than boys. The negative effects of these gender inequalities between boy and girls are that; it affects the academic performance of the girls due to the tedious and numerous works they do. Some of them confirmed in the focus group discussion that their academic performance was bad because they often slept in class due to tiredness. The difficult nature of some of the work that these are subjected to also affect their physical health such as fetching water from distant places with heavy containers and carrying heavy bunch of firewood.

The effects of poverty and socio-cultural practices on families in northern Ghana are many and these effects also affect the livelihoods of children and therefore contribute to the migration of children. First, parents lose their parental control as the result of their inability to provide the basic needs of their children due to poverty. From the interviews I could see that girls sometimes listen to their friends and engaged in income generating activities. Through their close interactions with peers some were convinced to migrate in order to escape the dictates of their poor parents. Secondly, the large family sizes are partly due to poverty as some poor parents intend to have large families so as to get cheap labour for farming activities. These large sizes eventually increase the economic burdens rather than easing them and put more pressure on the little household incomes due to lower agricultural produce as a result of continuous farming. This condition forced some of my informants to migrate to Techiman as they complained of poverty due to recent crop failures.

Again, poverty affects the education of girls in the northern regions of Ghana as parents are not able to provide adequately the educational needs of their children. This inadequacy has made

parents to adopt a strategy of sending more often boys to school at the expense of girls when their resources are inadequate.

This also has a cultural dimension as always some parents see it as non-profitable to invest in girls' education as some of them get pregnant and waste the scanty family resources. Some fathers also see investment in the education of their daughters as complete waste because as soon as they married all the benefits go to their husbands. It is important to note that this notion is not only held in northern Ghana alone but also among some rural communities in most parts of middle and southern Ghana as well.

Moreover, some of my informants as social agents considered FGM and gender inequality as dehumanising, abusive and discriminatory. For instance, one of my informants said that 'my elder sister had been circumcised prior to my migration to Techiman. When I discovered that I was next in line, I fled during the deep night to avoid the pain associated with the practice and the damage it might cause to my womanhood'. Therefore, some of them saw that the only way to escape those discriminations and human rights abuses were to migrate which landed some of them in Techiman. According to the Millennium Development Goal Report (2012), gender inequality is one of the global challenges of development that the world have to battle today. This gender inequality although persists throughout Ghana but the northern cultures expect women to be totally submissive to their husbands. Women are discriminated against in employment, property ownerships and even household decision making over income and the size of families and these have made them worst off than their counterparts in the West (Baden et al (1994). In the focus group discussions it became known from some of my informants that their fathers sometimes beat their mothers when they decide to use the little income to cater for education and also to reduce the size of their families. Some of my informants also complain of forced marriages where teenage girls are sometimes given in marriage to old men. Who might already have wives and children older than these young girls who are given in marriage. The children's experiences of discriminations, human right abuses, and the worst of all abject poverty compel them to change their environment as way of changing their circumstances. The girls therefore migrate with motives of getting out of poverty and also having their personal independence. This view is in agreement with Kwankye (2011) who asserted that independence and money motivate children to migrate. In the above case the female children travel to be free in

order to construct their own world so as to change their previous poor conditions (Wartofsky, 1981: James et al 1998).

6.2.2 Climate change and Child Migration

Recent climatic change is one of the causes of poverty and hence influences child migration as their parents get poorer due to crop failures. This affects the nutritional status of children and the physical and mental development (International Organization for Migration 2009: UNICEF 2011). Some of my informants mentioned crop failure which causes poverty and hunger as one of the factors that propelled to migration to Techiman. Now, the question comes to mind is, why crop failures? Most elderly people in Ghana explained how the northern regions of Ghana were once famous food production and parents could support their large family sizes due to bumper harvest. This condition has changed due to environmental changes which could be human induced or natural climatic change which a recent global challenge (Hashim and Thorsen in Mitchell 2011). Over-population and overgrazing of farm animals have degraded the land as the recent data by the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) revealed that the Northern Region has the highest population growth rate in Ghana. This land degradation reduces soil fertility which tends to reduce the yield of farmers exacerbating their poor conditions which eventually compel children to migrate to safer areas when it becomes unbearable.

Another environmental issue that needs to be discussed is the recent global climate change. Rainfall patterns in Ghana more especially in the North has been more erratic because of the rapid rate of degradation due to rapid population growth and increase in the number of livestock especially cattle. This increase is caused by the move movement of huge herds of cattle from the Sahel region due unfavorable climatic conditions there. This is why the climatic conditions in the north are changing more rapidly in the north than the south. Low and unpredictable rainfall and high temperatures have contributed to major crop failures. Therefore, aggravating the conditions of hapless farmers as most of them could no longer cater for their children's needs (Hashim and Thorsen in Mitchell 2011). The harsh environmental conditions also promote the prevalence of diseases like cerebrospinal meningitis (CSM) which usually claim the lives of children when the dry season is prolonged.

This condition forces parents to spend their meager incomes on medical bills making it difficult to cater for their children. As climate change leads to decline in agricultural produce and leads to increase in poverty and hunger parents finds it difficult to control their children as they cannot provide their needs. This is one the reasons why some of the children migrated without formal consent of their parents.

Some of my informants shared the common view as held by some Ghanaians that, the weather conditions in the northern regions are not favourable and that the regions are poor and underdeveloped and therefore life there is boring. Because of this impression most students, policy makers, public and civil servants even sometimes refuse postings to the north regions and these same views are also held by some of my informants as they thought 'village life is boring'. Other conditions that support this environmental argument is that, polygamous marriages, large family sizes, FGM and even pockets of poverty exist in some middle and southern parts of Ghana such as some rural communities in the Brong Ahafo Region and Afram Plains which is regarded as one of the most underdeveloped areas in Ghana. In my fieldwork I did not encounter any porter from the middle and the south where polygamous marriages, large family sizes and poverty also exist.

Kwankye et al, (2007) and Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) have revealed that poverty, unemployment and socio-cultural factors are some of the reason why people usually migrate from the northern regions of Ghana. From my interactions through the interviews I conducted, i came to realize that hunger is also another factor that forces children to migrate to urban centres in Ghana as a result of poverty which is also induced by climate. In the case of female migrant children in Techiman, one of the key motivating factor that compelled most of my informants to migrate is their unquenchable desires to accumulate wealth or to make money (Kwankye et al. 2009: Anarfi and Kwankye 2005). This should not be misunderstood that female children migrate only to make wealth because some of them had genuinely good and tangible reasons such as getting money to support their siblings. In my interviews, some of the girls boldly told me that they migrated to work for money so that they could save money to purchase the needed requirements such as clothes; make-ups, cooking utensils etc so that they go back and marry. This point means that some of them migrated not because they were hungry or abused nor their parents too were poor but they were preoccupied with many things such marriage. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008:pp. 175) have noted that *the need to purchase*

requirements for preparation towards marriage is one of the factors that motivate female migrant children to migrate.

6.2.3 Globalisation and Children

Nowadays, one cannot underrate the desires and aspirations of children or teenagers at his or her own peril. I will attribute these growing demands and higher goals of children in recent times to globalisation. Globalisation is used in this work to refer to *time-space compression* as in the words of David Harvey (1990). Harvey argued that recent advancements in transport and communication technologies have made it possible for time to annihilate space- that is, distance is no longer important because, with the help of cell phones, television, radio broadcast, the internet etc and efficient transport systems movement of people from one place to another is made easier than before and this is also true for female migrant children in Techiman (Harvey 1990). The rapid dissemination of information through the electronic media especially radio and television enable children to have fore knowledge of what transpire in the cities and even beyond Ghana. As children become aware of the living conditions of their counterparts elsewhere in the south, they are entice by such conditions that they see and hear on the media and some begin to feel that life in the north is boring. Some decided to migrate base on the information they had from the media and friends. None of them made mention of working for some time and returning to school or learning a trade. Placing marriage at the top of priorities could also somehow portray children as *human becomings* because getting married without education or any trade or employable skills will still worsen their conditions.

It is important to note that not all the female child migrants were concerned with wealth accumulation but some of them have genuine reasons of helping their poor and needy siblings or parents back home. For instance, *Mamunatu*, explained that she has lost her daddy and has nine other siblings with her poor mother back home and as the eldest child she must work so that she could remit them back home. According to the children, the type of support given ranged from sending money to sending other items like fish, soap, and clothing among many others. In 2007, Abebe argued that, children in Ethiopia perform numerous domestic and reproductive activities as a contribution to the survival strategies of their households (Admassie, 2003 cited in Abebe, 2007). Verhoef, 2005 has also argued that, children's labour is not only vital in economic terms;

but also comes to the fore in the contribution of societal systems themselves (in Abebe, 2007). From the above discussions it is clear that the motive behind children's migration from northern Ghana to Techiman is their desire and the need to change their immediate environment to better poor conditions. Poverty is the main factor that pushes children. Other socio-cultural factors like force marriages and FGM also play a role in their migration. Children's desire for independence, money (Kwankye 2009) and wealth Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) as well as their desire to escape harsh weather conditions and what they called the boring village life also play a very significant role in migration.

6.3 Decision Making in Children's Migration

Who Decides? Parents or Children Themselves

Previous researches on children's decision to migrate have been done by Punch (2002), Abebe (2007 &2008), Hashim (2007) and Kwankye et al. (2009) and their findings reveal that in certain cases children's decisions to migrate are taken independently and covertly from their parents. However, Mitchell (2011:3) remarks that the term *independent* is misleading as very few children migrate entirely independent of their family network. *Parents often encourage or support the migration of their children, seeing it as opening opportunities for a better future* (Reale 2008:pp.8). Kwankye (2009 & 2011) posits that many parents actively involve themselves in the decision process of their children's migration. When parents succeed in convincing their children to migrate to unknown destinations where some of them even suffer initially more than their origins, children then can considered as *human becomings* who are not capable of taken independent decision and cannot be considered as independent social actors. This situation is different from the case of Techiman. From my fieldwork I became almost dumbfounded when most of my informants told me that they took their own independent decisions to migrate to Techiman.

Three of the out fifteen of my informants sought parental consent. Some of these children's ability to take independent decisions means that children are social actors. Those who migrated without seeking the consent of their parents could also be seen as independent social actors capable of taking their own decisions that affect their lives. However, they could also be considered as human becoming because in the Ghanaian context it is unusual and uncouth for

someone including even adults to travel without informing the immediate parents or relatives because travelling covertly always stirs up the hearts of their parents as they wondered where their children could have been, whether they were alive or dead. Like adults, children sometimes make independent decisions once they have dreams and aspirations to accomplish but continue to suffer hunger and poverty under the dictates of authoritarian fathers. It is also important to bear in mind, even those who consulted their parents before migrating could have been unstoppable by their parents because they think that they have genuine reasons to migrate but they did that to show some respect to their parents and to avoid them from being thinking that they are missing. This is evident in my conversation with *Rashida,* a fourteen year old female porter; '*I am a child but my parents are not financially sound to provide the things I need be it food, clothing and pocket money. I need to survive and I can only do that by getting money that is why I have come here to work in order to get capital to go and establish my own business when I go back home'.* The above conversation demonstrates a sense of agency of migrant children. From the above statement it is also evident that some children migrate as the only means of survival. We can also see that some migrated to Techiman with intention saving money to start their own business. This view contradicts the views of others who were thinking getting their requirements for marriage.

Again, apart from the influence of parents and relatives children themselves act as social agents who decide for themselves to migrate. Apart from their decision to migrate, they also have to decide where to migrate to. Female migrant children in Techiman acted rationally and competently by even applying some simple principles of demand and supply. For instance, on the question of what attracted them to the Techiman municipality, *Zaliah*, a twelve year old girl said that, she chose Techiman market due to the advantage it has over the other markets in Accra and Kumasi. *Zaliah* said '*Accra and Kumasi are choked with female porters and so I would not like to go and add up to the numbers and remain redundant'.* This portrays children as social actor and rational beings who are capable of taking rational decisions.

6.3.1 Peer influence in the decision making process

From my analysis, I found out that the influence of peers is very great and this motivates the female child who wallows in poverty to migrate. The influence is usually greatest especially

when friends who had earlier migrated return home with many things like cell phones, beautiful clothing and make-ups from the cities. With these things, they are able to convince their peers about the conditions in the in the city by sometimes exaggerating the conditions. They also offer their friends with some presents that entice them to migrate to the city. Peers also in some instances lend money to their friends to migrate which they repay without interests later in after working some time in their destinations. They also give them directions and sometimes migrate together with them. Besides, they also promise them of accommodation, food and clothing that might enable them to cope with the situation when they arrive in Techiman. In my interview with *Fatima* about who told her to come to Techiman she said that her friend who works there told her she would get a job in Techiman, her possessions, her hair style and her new status as a bread winner also attracted. *Famita* believed in her friend based on empirical evidence.

6.3.2 Sources of finance of children's migration

In Ghana, there is a common norm among most ethnic groups that children are not suppose to possess or keep money on them probably apart from the money that children take to school. This is usually only in the cities and urban homes and even among the rich but not the urban poor. In rural areas children are prohibited from keeping money no matter the source. This condition prevails in the rural areas of the northern regions of Ghana and even rural settlements in the Brong Ahafo Region. Abebe (2007) asserts that children in poverty situation engage in variety of economic activities to make money. This is also true in Ghana and my informants are no exceptions. Some of them worked on farms and others worked with building construction firms to make money to meet some of their immediate needs and also saved some as their transport fares to Techiman. This attitude of children working for money to meet some of their immediate needs and saving part as their future transportation fare portrays them as competent beings who think about the future yet to come. Reale (2008) has asserted that children from families with absolute poverty usually find it very difficult migrating but rather children from homes with relative poverty can usually migrate and therefore it is not absolute poverty that causes child migration but relative poverty.

Apart from self accrued monies, children like adults resort to borrowing from friends or peers who have usually returned from the cities. This borrowing implies that children have very strong

trust in themselves. This is because it is riskier at best to give money to fellow children who intend to escape from parents and work in the city and pay back when they get money. For example, *Fatima* confirmed this *'my friend sponsored my trip to Techiman including feeding'* this depicts girls as kind and secretive for giving money to their poor and needy friends without informing their parents with the intention of helping them out of their poverty. This secretive and risk-taking attitude of female child migrants in their financial dealings can compel us to consider them as rational beings who were ready to help one another as most adults always think about the risks and legal issues and sometimes look for witnesses when lending money to friends whom they believe can default the payment. However, we can also consider these children as *human beings* and social agents who have compassion for their fellow friends in need or poverty. This also confirms the view of Corsaro (2005) that children have their own agency and continue to create their own culture different from adults. Children are considered as competent human agents – social actors- who have freedom of choice and actions (Cohen, 1989; Giddens, 1984). This implies that children could lend to friends whenever they think it is appropriate. It is important to know that the migration of children is sometimes sponsored by parents after they succeed in convincing them to migrate. They give them financial support especially those from families with relative poverty. This is because Kwankye (2011) has noted that some parents in the three northern regions see the migration of their children as an investment.

6.4 Children's Journey from the North to Techiman

There is a popular African proverb that goes like this; *a toad does not run in the day time for nothing;* when it does, then something bad or dangerous might has happened to it because a toad is a nocturnal creature. The contrary is true for a Ghanaian child. Children are never expected to travel alone at night in Ghana for the fear of being hurt by dangerous creatures like scorpions or snakes or dangerous people. But what do we see? Most independent female child migrants travel at midnight because of their covert intentions. Some of my informants told me that they left their villages at midnight when their parents were far asleep so that they will not be interfered. They usually travel in groups like twos, threes or more after all their secrete preparations are done including the estimated transport fares. They are usually led by those friends or relatives who have had such travelling experience in case they luck to have one, if not they then lead themselves. The few ones who sometimes do not have the fares sneak themselves into the bus

and when they are caught unluckily, they are assaulted and thrown out of the bus. The buses are usually uninsured rickety *urvan* buses which are always overloaded with goods and passengers who sometimes exploit these poor children (Reale 2008). This does not imply that all children that harmed in their journeys.

These types of journeys are weary because of the immotorable nature of some the roads especially those linking the villages to the highways. Secondly, the rickety and the overloaded nature of the buses make conditions very uncomfortable for passenger. The overloading and the lack of maintenance of this bus sometimes cause accidents and lead the deaths of poor innocent children. It is important to note that sometimes some of these poor children go through some ordeals as the buses have intermittent breakdowns, fatal accidents, armed robbery attacks and sometimes beaten by rains on the wilderness at night on an unfortunate night. These terrifying experiences are inimical to their physical and emotional development of female child migrants as their fundamental human rights are trampled upon by some unscrupulous adults.

6.5 Experiences of Female Migrant Children in Techiman

Female migrant children after travelling all night finally get to their new destination, Techiman. Immediately upon arrival they either become happy or sad. Those who have friends or relatives to receive them are immediately filled with joy and the opposite is the case for those who know nobody. Such unlucky one becomes stranded on streets, the transport terminals and in the market. However, within no time they find friends who share their food and accommodation with newcomers and life continues (Mizen and Ofusu-Ofosu 2010).

In every migration the migrants travel along with their expectations but expectations might not be met in the new destination. This could be so because of misinformation by others who have experiences of the environment. They could simply exaggerate conditions over there to attract friends and relatives. In my study in Techiman, it came to light that all the migrant children had not fully realised their dreams. There was only one who had gotten near her expectations. Apart from her, the rest have been disappointed in some ways when they match their expectations with realities on the ground. Although these children do not require formal residence permit to work in their new destination they sometimes face challenges in getting jobs especially in the lean season when farm produce is on the decline in the market and the streets. Newcomers have to

attach themselves strongly to old ones so that they could eat and sleep. This emphasises on the strong social networks that exist among the migrant children. Children's ability to develop networks of friendship to cope with their daily challenges shows the agency that children have. There are also strong ties between their customers mainly shoppers, market women and food vendors. Those with broader social networks get more customers and hence more money. The lives of female child porters is characterised by well developed friendship as asserted by Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2010). They emphasised that migrant children develop friendships that enable them to cope up with some of the daily challenges such as illness. They emphasised that asking, giving and receiving is part of their lives and lead to the development of strong friendship. This situation is also true for my informants in Techiman. These children acted as parents in times of illness by caring for their sick friends who could not work in such critical conditions by procuring them food and medicines. Besides, friends also lend money to their other friends in times of need without interest that show how strong their relationships are. They do this out of strong affection because there is high likelihood that such friends could default the payment. These female children also share food and accommodation as well like other street children and hawkers in Ghana. Their friendship, cooperation, mutual sharing and trust make them more resilient (ibid). The above strategies adopted by migrant children exhibit their sense if agency as active social agents who are capable of adapting several means to change their unhappy circumstances. The friendships they develop also help them to be resilient against hardships.

Finally and more importantly, children's ability to care for their sick friends also portrays them as competent social actors and therefore Hardman (1973:87) suggests, they must be 'studied in their own right and not just as receptacles of adult teaching'. The living condition of my informants in Techiman has not met their expectations. Although a few of them have relatives in Techiman, but the reality is that they prefer staying in shanty places where they would have their freedoms and would not be exploited by relatives (Reale 2008). Some of the children live in dilapidated structures, kiosks, incomplete buildings for free and others in the market. Some also sleep in shops or stalls after the day's business is over where they pay little fees. Children's want of independence and money (Kwankye 2009) in their lives including their finances portray them as active social agents and human beings who know their rights and always try to maintain them

despite the challenges they face in their accommodation hoping that they would change their circumstances one day.

Some of the experienced ones who have been in the business for some time often manage to rent rooms in low-quality areas usually lacking electricity and water supply where they share with their friends in an overcrowded manner. Those ones are relatively safer from theft and sexual violence (ibid). The lives of my informants are characterised by cooperation, mutual sharing, friendship, trust and affection (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010) which make them resilient despite the numerous challenges. The ultimate aim of migrant children in Techiman is to work and make a living in an atmosphere of freedom (Kwankye 2011) but securing jobs has not been as easy as they thought before their migration. This can be attributed to the fact that their numbers have increased of late and therefore there is an unwholesome competition for the few existing jobs as compare to big cities like Kumasi and Accra. Another reason is that these girls are uneducated and lack any meaningful employable skills to be hired for paid jobs in the formal sector. Their gender also determines the nature of work they do (Reale 2008). Their ages also bar them from getting legal jobs. Newcomers also face language problems as they could not speak *Twi* which is main language spoken in Techiman. However, they try and learn the language within the shortest possible time with help of their friends.

6.5.1 The Mode of Operation of Kayayei in Techiman

It also worthy to know about the operations of female child migrants in Techiman regarding the ways they value and charge loads their customers on the streets, transport terminals and in the markets. Kayayei do not charge their customers using any standard scale.They just simply look at the size of the load and try to weigh it by trying to lift it up and then decide on the price. However, apart from the *weight*, the charge depends on certain other factors; one, the *number* of kayayei present at that a particular place at given time, if there is high competition over one load as the result of their numbers, they use the post-paid method of charging and vice versa. Two, it also depends on the *condition of the customers*. That is, whether they are in hurry or not. When the customers are in great hurry they do not get the chance to weigh and value the load and here they use the post-paid method. Thirdly, the *distance* where the load is to be carried to or the destinations of customers also determines its value. Here either of the charging methods could be used base on whether the customer is in a hurry or not. *Time* is final determinant of the value the

kayayei attach to the loads they carry. Time is very crucial to the kayayei when it comes to determining their charges. To some of them the work is more profitable in the night than during the day. It is interesting to note that, although most are illiterate but once again, they are very rational because they know some basic principles of demand and supply that they use to their benefit. They charge very high at night when very few of them are operating especially travellers from places like Accra, Kumasi and Tamale who arrive at the transport terminals at night. Here, they use the pre-paid method of charging. The type of charging method that is used is determined by the above listed factors. Here, children act as social agents or actors who use their mental faculties to construct their social world to suit their various circumstances.

6.5.2 Pre-paid Method

The pre-paid method is a way of charging loads or luggage of customers or travellers by kayayei in the market, streets and transport terminals where the price of the load is decided by carrier (the kayayo) before the service is provided. Here, the two negotiate and either agree or disagree. The power relations here are complicated. It is determined by factors such as time, distance, competition, weight, the income of the customer and that of *kayayei* and sometimes mood of the carrier and payer (customer or traveller).

When customers are in good moods or have enough money some of them might consider to pay as the carrier demands and vice versa. On the other hand, if the *kayayei* is extremely poor she has a weaker bargaining power because if she refuses the offer she might go hungry. If she also has some money on her she might refuse very bad offers especially when there are other offers available. Hungry and sick *kayayei* may also reject very bad offers.

The advantage of this system is that it allows the *kayayei* to get the value of their services base on the weight of the load and the distance to be covered. This method according to my informants is more lucrative than the post-paid method because if the *kayayei* knows the destination exploitation is eliminated from the deal. This method is usually used by the experienced *kayayei*. The *kayayei* ability to negotiate or bargain the price of the load they carry is also a sign of agency. That is, they are able to express their views in the presence of adults although they are sometimes exploited by some adults.

The problem of the pre-paid method is that the *kayayei* are sometimes cheated or exploited by their customers usually by reducing the distance when bargaining or negotiating. Sometimes

some customers usually prolong the distance by persuading them like this; as *Aisha* narrated ‘oh! We are almost there, look, just that blue house, look at that storey build my house is adjacent it’. The deceit continues this ways for several metres and the *kayayei* gets furious as no extra charges could be paid to her again beyond the negotiated fee. *Aisha* added but some of such customers usually try to convince them by offering food to compensate them but she rejects their food for being dishonest.

6.5.3 The Post-paid Method

Post-post mean that the *kayayei* carries the load to the customer’s destination and she is then paid afterwards. This approach is usually used by the newcomers but in some instances the experienced ones also resort to it especially when the competition is very great. The main advantage of this method is that the *kayayei* is able value the service rendered according to the real weight and the distance from the point of origin to the final destination of customers. This method could also be profitable on condition that the customers are faithful to the *kayayei*. The disadvantage of this method of charging is that sometimes some customers exploit these poor migrants by paying any price after the load has been brought home**.** It is difficult to classify the *kayayei* as competent for using either of the methods where they are sometimes cheated because the market conditions that exist at a given time determine which of the two methods should be applied. But the extents to which children are able to bargain with adults and decide on how much they want for a given load confirms that children should be studied as social actors and human beings rather than passive actors in society.

6.5.4 Survival strategies

When one considers the various assets of these migrant children such as their financial asset, it is really difficult to believe how these children with various vulnerabilities and challenges manage to survive in their present conditions on the streets, at the transport stations and in the market. Although these children are confronted with various challenges such as insanitary conditions, limited livelihood opportunities and inadequate safety nets to contain their conditions (Kwankye et al. 2007); they devise ways and means or strategies that enable them to ease their conditions in various ways.

6.5.5 Friendship

Kayayei, like the ordinary street children in many Ghanaian cities develops very strong relationships or friendship as a means of survival (Mizen and Ofuso-Kusi 2010). My informants demonstrated that they have many friends in Techiman which allow them to survive in times of adversity or hardship. Their lives are typically characterised by cooperation, trust, affection and mutual sharing of food, drugs, clothing and even money (ibid). Those who have been in the act for a while assist newcomers in terms of accommodation, food and also lend money to their friends without interest (ibid). Friendship plays a crucial role in searching for work by newcomers. Old and senior ones assist newcomers to build their social capital. Their friendship extends outside their group. They have connections with their male counterparts although these relationships are not as strong as the female ones, but in extremely difficult situations they resort to them for help. In some few cases too, a few of them manage to establish friendship with some of their customers that they usually deal with and this type of friendship is extremely beneficial as they could even call them on their cell phones when they have a load to be carried. The application of modern communication technology in the *kayayei* work gives undue advantage to those who do have it, when it comes to getting customers those who have access to cell phones could be called to carry loads. However, this is only possible for those who have been in the business for quite a long time.

Without friendship the lives of *Kayayei* would be extremely hard because it is their friendship that triggers their other coping strategies. Without friendship, asking, giving and receiving (ibid) which makes their lives possible would be not achievable. The female child migrants' ability to build friendship with their male counterparts and some customers show their ability to construct their own world to survive.

6.5.6 Eating

The difficult nature of work that children involve themselves requires much energy. Some of my informant said that the number of meals that one have depends on the amount of money she earns daily. On a very good day they could eat three times, but on bad days they eat two times usually avoiding their breakfast. They usually buy their foods individually according to ones

income and her appetite at the very moment one feels hungry. This does not mean that they don't share foods; they do share their food with friends who could not sometimes buy due to lack of money (Kwankye et al. 2007: Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010). According to Kwankye et al (2007), the children usually buy food from vendors on the streets and the market which they considered to be relatively cheaper by considering the cost they have to bear or incur in terms of cooking, water and ingredients and the lack of cooking utensils. Like other potters elsewhere in Ghana, those in Techiman also do cook together in groups on more frequent basis. This is because of the relatively cheaper prices of raw food stuffs on the market. They are also sometimes given uncooked foods like plantain, yams, cassava and vegetables by some benevolent customers which they cook and eat together so that they could save money on such occasions. It is also important to note that these children are more concern about the quantity but not the quality of their food due to their meagre incomes. There exists some sort of interdependence among these children as they have to rely on one another to live and this independence undermines their independence in their Techiman, especially the newcomers and poorest ones (ibid). *The issue of the vulnerability of the children arises from the fact that they tend to buy most of their food and the likelihood of getting infections like typhoid, cholera, diarrhoea and other gastro-intestinal diseases are high* (ibid pp. 22). Many children in this research complained about abdominal pains, cholera and diarrhea as the result of unhygienic food that they thought was cheaper. Another way by which the children use to cut down the cost of food is that they make little contributions to buy raw food from the market and prepare it themselves.

This research found out that those children who could not make any contribution have work by setting the fire, go for water, do the cooking, wash the dishes and do all the errands. In the end everyone contribute directly or indirectly and this help sustain their system. The ability of my informants to cooperate with one another to cut down their expenditure by contributing money to prepare food together where those without money prepare the food as a means of contribution is amazing and portrays children as social actors who construct their lives in their own to suit their circumstances.

6.5.7 Health-seeking behaviours of female child migrants in Techiman

Migrant children who carry loads for living in Techiman have many health needs due to the hazardous nature of their work and their physical immaturity bodies. But the reality is that they are unable to access proper healthcare because of poverty. None of my informants has able to access healthcare through clinics or hospitals. What they do is that they rely on self-medication. They usually purchase drugs mainly pain killers from chemical shops to relieve their bodily pains after the hard days' work (Kwankye et al. 2007). Sometimes these drugs are shared with poor ones who might fall sick. Some of these migrants know the .consequences of self prescriptions or medication but they could not afford to go to hospital. This was made known in my interview with *Sadia,* 'Hospital? Where is the money to give to the doctor? I go to the chemical shop over there and describe what is happening to me to the attendant for some few paracetamol to relieve my pains'. Those with babies are no exceptions. However, in extreme or critical conditions like motor accidents they go to hospital which rarely happens. For instance, *Aish*a, a thirteen year old girl from *Kpaligu* in the Upper East region confirmed that she was hospitalised for two months when they had a motor accident in which two *kayayei* died at the spot. Resilience is an attribute of my informants as they were able to adjust to the various hardships by devising new means of survival.

6.5.8 Susu Collection or Savings

It is also important to note that savings is part of the daily lives of informants in Techiman. Although they earn meager wages they strive to save money for emergency situations like illness, to start their dream businesses and also to remit their relatives back home (Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf 2008). This is a clear indication that children are competent and capable of thinking about their future and also have responsibilities like adults by trying to remit their relatives back home. Because they do not earn much what they usually do is that on market days that is Wednesday to Friday when they usually earn quite substantial amount of money they save parts of their earnings ranging from GhC 1 to GhC 2 with local savings and loans companies and other *susu* businesses that come around to collect their contributions. The girls are able to withdraw money from their accounts anything they are in need especially when the market is bad. From this account, they are also able lend money to others in need such as in times of sicknesses or travelling back home. Another advantage from savings is that it protects them from losing the money any time they attack by thieves as they lack proper accommodation (Abdul

Moumin et al. 2005: Awumbila & Ardayfoi-Schandorf 2008). Children's ability to make money and save part for bad times and to help others out of their poverty shows how creative and intelligent they are as competent social actors.

6.6 Consequences of Migration on Female Migrant Children

6.6.1 Work-related risks

In interviews with my informants the female migrant children I realized that the girls subject themselves to dangerous weather conditions. They all said that work rain or shine, day and sometimes at night in dark places where some of them sometimes fall into trenches and hurting themselves. These young girls with no options have carry heavy loads of passengers, shoppers and many unknown people to short and distant places that affect their health. They resorted to load carrying because they lack employable skills and are also under age to be employed legally by individuals and businesses. Most of my informants complained of health problems such as injuries, body pains in their chests and backs and regular headaches due to heavy nature of the loads they carry. Usually, few customers empathise with these young girls about the heavy load they carry. Accidents are also part of their work. Although they are always cautious but they said accidents are inevitable few of them sometimes get involved in fatal vehicular accidents, colliding or clashing with cyclists, truck and wheelbarrow pushers which lead to fatal injuries and in very few cases death. For instance, *Aish*a, a thirteen year old girl from *Nareligu* in the Upper East region confirmed that she was hospitalised for two months when they had a motor accident in which two *kayayei* died at the spot. They are also verbally abuse sometimes by some people who see them as nuisance.

Another occupational risk that confronts these poor innocent children is that they are sometime implicated in criminal acts where they are taken by the municipal authority or the police. My findings from some of my informants demonstrate that sometimes they assaulted by people in the streets and the market and they also exploited by their customers but they have nobody to complain to because they despised by both the police and the municipal authority. This is because they are sometimes falsely accused of criminalities and also evading market tolls. They are also sometimes harassed by tax collectors. This attitude of tax collectors I think should be reconsidered as children are exempted from all taxes in Ghana. Therefore, collecting market tolls (as user fee) from these children under 18 years who have to roam the whole township for their

daily survival is controversial. Although children are aware that their work on the streets, bus terminals and the in the markets are risky but that was the only means they could survive. These experiences have been found among migrant children in other parts of Ghana by Kwankye et al. (2007).

6.6.2 Shelter-related risks

The migrant children in Techiman like counterparts elsewhere in Ghana see accommodation as one of their major needs. Fourteen out of the fifteen girls I interviewed in the field work did not have proper accommodation. Only one was lucky enough to have been living a decent house. The rest sleep in kiosks, lorry parks, on market tables, stalls and in front of shops. Others who sleep in enclose areas are overcrowded. A few of them also sleep in open incomplete buildings where they do not pay anything. These girls sleep in those places because they are unable to afford the rent in the decent houses. The lack of decent and secured accommodation for migrant children poses both health and security threat to them. Sometimes they are beaten by rains and bitten by mosquitoes that give them the malaria parasite as they sleep outside and in insanitary conditions. Some of them also suffer from airborne diseases like cough and skin infections. Malaria deteriorates their health and this hinders them from going to work and they become poorer in such conditions.

The female migrant children sometimes feel insecure as thieves sometimes break into their weak structures and make away with all their valuable possessions. They are also threatened by armed robbers and thieves who sometimes steal their monies away. In my interview with one of my informants, *Zaalia* confirmed that, sometimes they suffer robbery attacks which they could not be reported to the police for the fear of being arrested. She added that the police are not their friends and this clearly demonstrates how these poor migrants could sometimes be desperate and vulnerable in their sleeping places. The acute accommodation problems that confront my informants in Techiman also confront other migrant children in Accra and Kumasi (Kwankye et al. 2007).

6.6.3 Reproductive health-related risks

Some of my informants confessed to have had unprotected sex and some even added that they sometimes experience some unusual feeling that they suspected it might be symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases like gonorrhea and syphilis. Some of these children are also vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infections. Often times some of the children capitalise on the poor conditions and the freedom they enjoy to engage in unprotected sex with the intention of making money to survive that affect their reproductive health. Another reproductive problem that emanates from unprotected sex is unwanted pregnancies which worsen the conditions of these poor children who could not afford to go for medications. Since they also have no husbands to assist them during the pregnancy period, they have to subject themselves and unborn babies to the risk of carrying heavy loads with them. Those who become victims could no longer work when the pregnancy grows and some have to return to hometowns and villages. Others who manage to stay also become teenage parents with numerous reproductive problems. Others also resort to illegal and traditional medicines for self medications to abort the unwanted pregnancies which lead to serious complications where these children have to undergo through some ordeals which might damage their wombs. Those who give birth also become malnourished as they found it uneasy to feed themselves and the babies and also access health care. Kwankye et al. (2007) have noted similar health challenges among migrant children in Accra and Kumasi. The consequence of these health problems is that; the children become poorer as they could not work as hard as they previous worked.

In an ill health condition, the children have to spend some of their little wages on drugs and those with babies have to spend more and become poorer than before. Children cannot be wholly condemned and be considered as incompetent for engaging in dangerous jobs and sometimes sexual acts for money which expose them to sexually transmitted diseases because they also have sexual desires in their adolescent state. Moreover, some children who migrated to Techiman although had the intention of getting money to start their own ventures but none of them had reached that aim. Beside this, they had neither been able to continue their education nor learn any trade due to the full time nature and little wages they get from their work.

6.7 Advantages of Migration to Children

Although the migrant children are confronted with many challenges in Techiman ranging from accommodation to health but they are also able to make some gains to themselves and sometimes

to the relatives back home despite these challenges. First, through their savings some of my informants explained that they sometimes send money to their siblings and parents in the North. They explained that though the remittance is not much but it helps their relatives to ease their some of their financial burdens. Their migration also reduces the pressure on their families left behind and also reduces the burdens of their parents.

Secondly, they are also able to acquire some of their needs after overcoming the initial challenges with the help of their friends. Examples include food, clothing, make-ups, beads and cooking utensils which some of said needed very much towards their preparations for marriage. The challenge that most of them faced was how to secure their possessions as they said thieves sometimes raid them and make away with their possession due to deplorable state of accommodation.

Thirdly, from my research I found out that the migrants and as well as their parents back home attached prestige to the migration of children. Children who migrated were accorded much respect in their various communities. Friends and parents hold such children in high esteem and they are seen as bread winners of their families. They are also seen as hardworking young girls and this prestige increases their chances of getting responsible husbands.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the entire work. It also presents the main findings of the thesis and how they answer the research question and objectives set out. The conclusion of this work is also found in this chapter. It finally presents some the limitations of this work and makes recommendations for policy makers about some of the ways of curbing north-south child migration in Ghana.

7.2 Summary of objectives, theory and methods

This study aims at exploring the everyday life experiences of female children who migrates and engages in carrying loads on her head for a fee at Techiman market in Ghana. The study examined the following objectives:

- To explore the motives of female child migration to Techiman.
- To explore the decision making process, mode of movement and experiences of female child migrants
- To explore direct and indirect consequences of migration on children

The main theoretical perspective guiding the study is social studies of children and childhood or the Sociology of Childhood. The new social studies of childhood places emphasis on children's agency and competence as well as studying children's present conditions rather than their future conditions. The paradigm seeks to understand children's agency through their interpretation and responses to their environment. Studies on children should therefore be child centered on the lived experiences of the children in their own uniqueness. The Sociology of childhood also recognizes children as competent social actors and therefore must not be considered as passive subjects.

Furthermore, a central argument in this theoretical approach is that in order to understand children and childhood, researchers have to give them a voice in matters that affect them. This study considered children as active participants who have experience about their lives and the work they do, hence, in order to get a credible data for this study; I conducted the research with children as my participants.

The study analyzed the situation of the migrants children as both beings and becoming. This departs from the dominant framework of viewing children either as human beings or as human becoming. The dominant framework sees the child as becoming while the new paradigm sees the child as beings. From the analysis of this study, the children were considered as both being and becoming. The study shows that children migrate to engage in load carrying activity in order to raise money to buy their future requirements for marriage (hence human becoming). The 'being' concept is shown by children take personal decision to migrate and work in order to raise money to improve upon their lives and to change their poverty status in the here-and-now.

The study has been conducted qualitatively. Multiple participatory research methods were employed to collect data from my participants. In order to understand the experiences of female child migrant to Techiman, I employed methods such as participant observation, focus group discussion, interview technique which was semi-structured and migration stories. The following section summarises the key findings of the study in relation to the cause for, experience and consequences of independent child migration for female children.

7.3 Motives of Migrant Children

In this research, a sample of fifteen female migrant children was chosen from the three northern regions of Ghana. Only two out of these have had formal education up to the Junior High School level with rest having no formal education of any sort. Their names suggest that they migrated mainly from Muslim families where usually polygamy exists with large family sizes. Poverty is a common characteristic of the families of these migrant children in Techiman. These children strongly emphasised on poverty as the main cause of their migration as their parents could not provide all their basic needs.

7.3.1 Climate change

Another factor that accounts for the recent migration of children in northern Ghana is climate change. Human activities like over cultivation due to rapid population growth and bush fires play a major role in land degradation. Overgrazing is also another cause of land degradation in northern Ghana. These have affected the temperature and rainfall patterns which have also affected the output of farmers and increasing poverty which also forces children to migrate. Beside the environmental effects on agriculture, some of my informants talked about the weather conditions in the northern regions as harsh and unfriendly.

7.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors

Some of my informants also made mention of socio-cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, early and force marriages as another factor that compelled some of them to migrate in order to avoid these cultural practices that they considered to be inimical. Gender inequality was also another issue that cropped out from some of informants during the focus group discussion. They explained that girls are disadvantaged and are discriminated against in terms of the meagre family resources. Priority is given to boys when it comes to who should be sent to school and who should not. They confirmed that this inequality exists between their parents and the same is extended to the female child. Gender inequality between boys and girls also manifest itself in the responsibilities of children in the households. Girls are over burden with numerous tasks such as washing dishes, cooking, caring for younger siblings etc which hinder their education at the expense of boys. Those girls who saw this as unfair treatment always migrate with the intention of escaping poverty where they could make and also have their personal independence.

7.4 Decision making among migrant children

The study revealed that children's decision to migrate is influenced by several factors. Firstly, the present personal conditions and experiences of children within their immediate environment influence their decision to migrate or not to migrate. The poor economic, social and cultural conditions of my informants dictated for most of them to migrate independently to engage in jobs in Techiman where they thought they could make money.

7.4.1 Parents and Relatives influence children's decisions

My research showed that parents and close relatives usually have hands in children's decision to migrate. That is, children do not usually migrate entirely independent of their parent and relatives. But parents and relatives encourage them and in some instance provide them with financial support so as to migrate for better opportunities in the south. This finding is in agreement with previous work by Reale 2008, Kwankye 2009 &2011 and Mitchell 2011.

7.4.2 Peers influence

My research revealed that friends also influence the decision making process of their counterparts. Children sometimes listen to the advice of their friends. Poor children are more likely to listen to their rich friends who can sometimes offer them some help than their parents who always burden them with many onuses. The influence is usually greatest especially when friends who had earlier migrated return home with many things like cell phones, beautiful clothing and make-ups from the cities. With these things, they are able to convince their peers about the conditions in the city by sometimes exaggerating the conditions. They also offer their friends with some presents that entice them to migrate to the city. Some friends also sponsor the migration of their close friends and also promise them of other material and accommodation support. On the other hand once they are convinced by their friends about the opportunities in the Techiman, some of them who would like to travel independently begin to work for money in their poor conditions towards the transportation fares.

7.5 Experiences of Migrant Children

It is very unfortunate and disappointing that almost all the female child migrants whom I studied have not reached their expectations and some even find it very difficult sometimes to make ends meet. Some of them even became poorer at the initial state as they found it difficult to get decent accommodation, food and medical care. The uneasy conditions in Techiman compelled migrant children to become porters as they lack any employable skills and education that could secure them better jobs. They also forfeit their education as they find it impossible to combine their work with education because they have to always be on the street before they could meet their daily needs.

7.6 Risks of migrants

The findings revealed that female migrant children in Techiman engage in load carrying activities to make living and because their bodies have not fully developed they are confronted with many challenges. Their work is too physical and requires enough strength. Physical body injuries are also associated with their work as they sometimes work in dark places. Some of them fall down due the rugged nature of terrain in certain areas of the town and the market. Accidents are also part of their work environment as they have to move through several people in the market and on the streets where they have to swivel through human beings, vehicles, cyclists and even sometimes animals like cattle. Heavy downpours and extreme temperatures in the dry season also make their work difficult and deteriorate their health. The biggest problem of most of the female child migrants in Techiman according to my findings is associated with their accommodation. Some of them sleep in wooden structures incomplete buildings, stalls, transport terminals, and in the market. The few ones have accommodation in houses also sleep in an overcrowded manner which subjects them to airborne diseases cough and regular skin rashes. Their deplorable accommodation conditions sometimes subject them to criminals

7.6.1 Health-related risks

Health-related risks are also inevitable because of the nature of the load they carry, the places they sleep and the food they eat. The heavy loads affect their weak bodies as children, they suffer severe body pains and regular headaches. The insanitary environments in which they live also subject them to deadly diseases like malaria, cholera and typhoid. They are also vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS as some are sometimes forced by circumstances to engage in unprotected sexual acts to survive. Their health conditions are not the best but it gets worse when they have to work under harsh weathers when they are even sick, malnutrition and their inability to access medical care always deteriorate their conditions.

7.7 Survival strategies

It was evident from the study that, in the presence of the many challenges, female migrant children in Techiman resort to many strategies to cope with their conditions to be resilient. First, the children develop a network of friendship among themselves, their male counterparts and sometimes with some friendly customers. This friendship helps them to cope with some of their accommodation needs, food and care in times of sickness.

Their ability to ask and receive, to share, to trust one another and to have affection for others enables them to be resilient (ibid) which prevent them from feeling too lonely and neglected. Second, in times of illness, the girls care for their sick friends and also share drugs with them. In emergencies like fatal accidents which are rare they attend hospital. Third, the migrants also share their accommodation with their friends. Fourthly, they usually buy food from vendors in market places and on the streets especially during the day to save time for work and money as well taking the cost of cooking into consideration. They also share food among themselves, cook together especially on weekends where all contribute in one way or the other to reduce cost and also to cater for those without money (ibid).

7.8 Conclusion Remarks

The conclusion of this work summarises the main findings of this research. First, through meticulous studies of female child migrants in Techiman, I found out that recent climatic changes play a crucial role in the migration of children as these changes affect the incomes of their parents through persistent crop failures which make their parents less responsible. Children also try to avoid the harsh weather conditions of the northern regions by migrating southwards.

Secondly, globalisation is another factor that triggers the migration of girls from the northern regions of Ghana to the south. This occurs through the dissemination of information through the electronic media. Children now can witness or experience the lives of other children in the cities by watching television programmes. They also have information through the several radio stations that have sprung up and report daily news from the cities. Children are made curious and are finally attracted by things they hear and see from the media. Another effect of globalisation on child migration is that the access to information through media has made children more ambitious and desirous of things that most children never thought of about a decade or two ago such as make-ups and cell phones.

Another major finding of this research is the methods that female migrant children use in charging the loads of their customers. I found out that migrant children in Techiman either charge the loads of their customers before the carry the loads or charge the loads after carrying them to the destinations of their customers.

These are what I called the pre-paid and the post-paid methods of load charging. Each of these methods has its own advantages and disadvantages. However, the usage of either of these methods depends on certain factors such as the time at which the load is carried and the time spent on carrying that load, distance at which the load is conveyed to, the number of kayayei present at a given moment, and the condition of customers.

Beside these main findings, there are also other socio-cultural factors such force and early marriages, FGM, overburdening of the girl child with many house chores that compel children to migrate coupled with motivations from parents, relatives and peers push most girls to migrate to Techiman. Female migrant children as human beings and becomings use migration with the intention of bettering their circumstances. Migration of children therefore cannot be wholly condemned because most of my informant admitted that their lives were better in Techiman than before in the northern regions despites the numerous challenges.

7.9 Recommendations

- Because of time and resource constraints this research included a small sample size. I, therefore, recommend that future researchers interested in this research or similar one should endeavour to expand the sample size and also include male migrant children so that the conditions of both could be compared for a broader understanding of their conditions could arrived at.
- Support for education: My interactions with my informants showed that children are not content with the current conditions in the north. Children of school going age sometimes find it difficult to get their daily meals to keep them going in school despite the recent school feeding programme. I therefore recommend that strenuous efforts should be made by policy makers, non-governmental organisations, philanthropists and parents to improve the conditions of children by providing the basic needs of children including their educational needs such as books, pencils, pens, uniforms, furniture and all the needed logistics.
- Awareness creation: creating awareness for parents and children on the short term benefits and the long term dangers of children's migration through public education would help minimise this problem in Ghana. This could be done through the electronic media and also by the various District Assemblies through the Information Services

Department in the three. When this awareness is created for both parents and children on the consequences of children's migration. I recommend that in this, parents must be made to know the benefits of investing in their wards' education and the dangers involve in pushing their children to migrate and children should be made aware of the benefits that await them after school. Parents should also be encouraged to refrain from practices such as FGM, giving girls into force and early marriages and giving priority to boy-child education at the expense of girls. Reiteration of family planning measures should be included in the public campaign which might help to reduce family sizes and their financial burdens as well.

- Poverty reduction strategies: I recommend that strategies for poverty alleviation such as the National Health Insurance Scheme should be strengthened. Income generating activities such as soap making should be broadened and starting capital should be made readily available for especially women who receive such trainings. This is because poverty was identified as the root cause of children's migration from the north.
- Health education for children: I also recommend that sex education should be organised by the Techiman Municipal Assembly and the Ghana Health Service for migrant children to help reduce the possible transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and also to avoid teenage pregnancies. Migrant children and children in general should be taught the dangers of self medication or drug or drug abuse as most of the migrant children could not access proper health care. A good knowledge of health would help improve the condition of children for now and the future.

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NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
NORWEGIAN CENTRE FOR CHILD RESEARCH

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE MIGRANTS.

Personal information

- Age
- Where do you come from?
- How long have you been in Techiman?

Motives of female child migration

- Why did you migrate to Techiman to engage in load carrying activity?
- What attracted you to Techiman market?
- To what extent did your migration to Techiman have to do with peer influence or interaction?
- How many where you in the family?

Female migrant decision making process, mode of movement and experiences

- Who told you to migrate?
- What informs the decision to migrate?
- Who paid for your transportation to Techiman?
- Who was aware about your travelling?
- Who paid your transport cost from home to Techiman?
- How did you get to know of this activity as being in Techiman?
- How did you get here?
- Do you send money to your family?

- How do you charge the load you carry?
- Do you feel cheated by your customers? If yes what do you do?
- What is the relationship between you and your customers?
- What is the perception of your people about this work?
- Do you intend to quit this activity any time soon? Why?
- Do you plan to stop this activity any time soon? Why?
- How much do you earn in day?
- Is it enough to sustain you?
- How much do you spend in a day
- Are you able to save money?
- How do you do that?
- Do you do any other job besides being in this activity? If yes what do you do?

Consequences of migration on children

- How was your journey to Techiman?
- How often do you fall sick?
- Which kind of sickness do you experience?
- Do you go to hospital?
- have you ever suffered robbery attacks in Techiman market?
- when and how did it happen?
- How do you eat?
- Where do you sleep
- What do you do when the load is too heavy to carry?