



Triggering events leading to the migration and social problems of returnee Kayayei in Zebilla, Ghana

¹Prince Awini Apambilla, ²Gabriel Amponsah Adu, ³Reagan Adjei Sarpong and ⁴Matthew Kojo Namale

^{1,4}Department of Counselling Psychology, University of Education Winneba, Ghana

^{2,3}Department of Education, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Gujarat, India

Corresponding Author: Gabriel Amponsah Adu

Abstract

This study aims to discover the triggering events leading to the migration and social problems of returnee 'Kayayei' in Zebilla, Ghana. The study used a qualitative research methodology and a constructivist research paradigm. All of the female returnees "Kayayei" in Zebilla, make up the research population. Eleven young women, known as "Kayayei," who had returned from places like Kumasi and Accra comprised the study's sample. Snowball and purposeful methods of sampling were employed to choose study participants. The instrument used for the study was a semi-structured interview. The qualitative data collected from the interview were recorded, translated, and transcribed verbatim, and names that were not their real names were assigned. Data was analysed thematically. The study revealed that triggering events leading to the migration of Kayayei from Zebilla were a lack of job opportunities, outmoded cultural practices, peer group pressure, family pressure, and conflict. The study further revealed that the social challenges faced by returnee Kayayei were outmoded cultural practices, poverty, and black magic/juju. The study recommended that Bawku West District Assembly should enact bye-laws to modify some aspects of their outmoded cultural practices, such as early/forced marriages within the district. This will go a long way in helping the returnee "Kayayei" to reintegrate successfully. Additionally, as part of its programme to reduce poverty, the government should designate a specific area for the creation of jobs in the northern region of the nation, where these young women migrate from. This programme should concentrate on improving the viability and sustainability of the shea nut factory, giving these young women the opportunity to find employment there.

Keywords: Triggering events, Returnee Kayayei, Migration, Social problems, Ghana

Introduction

There has long been a long history of people migrating from the northern to the southern part of Ghana most especially Accra and Kumasi which is been influence by the following reason; economic, environmental issues, ethnic conflicts, and pervasive poverty. British colonial policy employed unskilled workers by using the Northern part of the country as a labour reserve (Abdul-Korah. 2004) ^[1]. Northerners and Southerners now harbour some ethnic hostility as a result of this. The term "North" still bears the negative connotation that the people in the South felt superior to those in the North. These elements have caused an imbalance in the development of social services like hospitals, schools, roads and industries between the Northern and the Southern parts of the country. Because of this, the most of Northerners employ migration to the South as a business tactic.

The migration process has been dominated by men moving from the North to the South to work in industries, cocoa

farms, and mining centres. The few women who have historically immigrated have typically done so to follow their husbands. However, Awumbila and Ardayfio, (2008) ^[14] posited that the tendency has shifted since the 1980s, though, with an increasing number of women moving on their own to Southern Ghanaian urban centres to work as Kayayei or Kayayei and in various occupations including housemaids and small traders.

Men with one or more wives and children are the heads of homes in the patriarchal societies found in the five Northern Regions. According to traditional gender roles, the husband is the head of the family and is in charge of the family's assets (land, for example). Based on age, sex, and the roles that men, women, and children play in running the home, there is a gendered division of work in the household. For instance, in farming villages, women tend to seed, harvest, and take care of the children, while males clear the field, pull weeds, and plant crops. It is the responsibility of

children to keep animals and birds away from the cultivated crops. Tasks pertaining to politics and religion are typically assigned to men in the society. How men and women divide up resources, status, duties, and chores depends on a variety of circumstances, such as economic capacity, ancestry, succession and inheritance, and fatherhood.

Locally, the term "head portage" is called "Kayayei," and it is often used by the Gas, a Ghanaian ethnic group. It is derived from two words: the Ga word "yoo," which means women or females, and the Hausa word "kaya," which means goods. The plural of Kayayoo is Kayayei. Based on verified data, the majority of Kayayei employed in Accra are from the five regions from the north with women accounting for 47% of the workforce compared to 37% of men (GSS 2008, GLSS5).

In Ghana's three northern regions, the Kayayei occupation has contributed to a decrease in early marriages and helps people make a living (Van den Berg, 2007) ^[73]. This is due to the fact that these young girls, who otherwise would have been abandoned for marriage, relocate to the southern part of the nation where they work as Kayayei and take care of themselves and their families. When a family in Ghana's Upper East gives their daughter away for marriage, they receive four cows (Shamsu-Deen, 2013) ^[64]. But instead of giving them up for marriage, families are more worried these days about the meagre amount of money the child brings home to support them. Migration is a worldwide occurrence these days. According to Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) ^[14], Ghana is not an exception, migration has become a common household survival strategy and the "basic survival" technique for individuals and families to deal with difficult economic conditions.

Studies by Anarfi (1992) ^[11] indicate that women have been moving to Ghana for a considerable amount of time because the majority of South African women migrated there to trade and do other commercial services on an international scale. Under the practical system, women could only relocate to join their spouses in the Northern Regions. Only men were allowed to migrate. But in recent years, women have begun travelling abroad on their own to improve their economic circumstances and quality of life, sometimes from the age of eight to twenty-two (Awumbila & Ardayfio, 2008) ^[14].

In the early 20th century, most migration in Ghana took the form of seasonal or semi-permanent moves from northern part to southern part of the country to work on cocoa farms and gold mines (Brydon, 1992) ^[29]. While the significance of permanent migration has grown over the past forty years, the amount of data on the amounts and patterns of seasonal and transient movement has been significantly reduced due to data limitations. According to GSS (2010), internal migrants make up 52% of Ghana's adult population; the corresponding numbers for men and women are nearly identical (51.4 and 52.2 percent, respectively).

Over the past few decades, migratory processes have become more widespread and profound, impacting every region of the planet. This is a reaction to the dynamics of globalisation and the interconnectivity of locations, which enable people to travel around more easily. The forces of globalisation have created needs for labour services, which have greatly facilitated cross-border travel. Nonetheless, the connectivity of locations has created a variety of work

opportunities throughout space, enabling migrants to evaluate labour services both within and outside of their own homes (UNFPA, 2006) ^[71]. However, people are compelled to relocate in order to meet their unfulfilled wants because we live in an imperfect world with unequal distribution of natural and human resources. The patterns, causes, and effects of north-south migration on areas of origin and destination have been the subject of several research (Tanle, 2003; Kwankye et al., 2007; Awumbila, 2005; Shamsu-Deen, 2013; Abdul-Korah, 2004; Quaicoe, 2005; Kyei, 2013) ^[66, 50, 15, 64, 1, 60, 53].

Unfortunately, the majority of the few studies that have looked into the subject of migrants reintegration in Ghana focus on international migrants but not internal migrants (IOM, 2015; Awumbila, 2008; Black & Gent, 2004) ^[44, 14, 26]. Given the significance of their social issues, the situation of returnees, or "Kayayei," in Ghana is shown in partial and imperfect detail. In order to provide a thorough grasp of the social issues faced by returnees, this crucial knowledge gap was investigated. In order to determine the trigger events causing the migratory and social issues facing returnee Kayayei in Zebilla, Ghana, this study is necessary.

Objectives of the Study

The research's goals were to:

1. Identify triggering events leading to the migration of Kayayei from Zebilla.
2. Explore the social problems of returnee Kayayei in Zebilla.

Literature review

Impacts of migration

According to Darkwah, Mariama, and Teye (2016) ^[33], there are a number of benefits associated with migration, including the learning of new skills, remittances, changes in preferences, exposure to diverse cultures, the decline of indigenous social norms and values and the acceptance of alien practices. However, WMR, (2015) indicates that remittances from developing nation migrants were estimated to have totalled US \$436 billion in 2014S. Once more, Akabzaa et al. (2010) ^[7] noted that remittances, or money sent home by migrants, have a big impact on a lot of people's lives, particularly the economy and the purchasing power of receivers. Remittances from internal migration have an impact on reducing poverty (Teye, Awumbila & Darkwah, 2017) ^[67]. Remittances are used by recipients and family members to pay for consumption, which includes housing, food, medical care, and other essentials of life (Teye, Awumbila, & Darkwah, 2017) ^[67]. Remittances, on the other hand, improve households, and migrants in particular support their families financially (Rao, 2012) ^[12].

Additionally, migrants may send money home for "self-interested," "enlightened selfishness," or "impure altruism" reasons, such as loan repayment or the maintenance and growth of existing investments, such as businesses, real estate, and construction projects (Kabbaa, Asiedu, Quartey & Akuoni, 2010) ^[7]. As previously mentioned, however, migration is occasionally viewed as "an informal, familiar arrangement, with benefits in the realms of risk diversification, consumption smoothing, and intergenerational financing of investments," according to Rapoport and Docquier (2005) ^[63]. It should be mentioned

that there is a wealth of research on the idea that remittances have the potential to lessen poverty (Quartey, 2006) ^[61], however this is outside the purview of this study.

Notwithstanding the above, it is important to emphasise that remittances are indicative of both internal and foreign mobility, whether it be rural-urban or both. However, the latter has minimal effect on the development of the migrant workers' home towns (Akabzaa, Asiedu, Quartey & Akuoni, 2010) ^[7]. According to Gubertsu (2002) ^[42], remittances lessen the effects of illness or agricultural failures by acting as a kind of informal insurance. Most importantly, Akabzaa et al. (2010) ^[7] contend that remittances are a vital source for the continued growth of the financial sector, especially for improving financial depth, due to their reasons, volume, consistency, and constant increase. Additionally, remittances enable persons outside the banking system to access financial services, according to Gupta, Pattillo, and Waugh (2007) ^[43]. Remittances, however, may have unfavourable consequences; one such instance is the Dutch illness theory (Akabzaa, Asiedu, Quartey & Akuoni, 2010) ^[7].

According to Akabzaa, Asiedu, Quartey and Akuoni, (2010) ^[7] remittances are thought to be received from East Asia more than any other region in the world, which has fueled the growth of the financial industry. Also, remittances have aided in the growth of the banking industry in developing nations (Aggarwal, Demirguc-Kunt, and Martinez-Peria, 2006) ^[6]. Remittances have distributive and productive impacts in Ghana; they also encourage the development of home town associations, improve financial depth, and expand access to formal financial services.

Dei (2012) ^[34] investigated the economic and social circumstances facing Kayayei in Accra Metropolitan. The study found that in addition to their difficult housing situations, the "Kayayei" are subjected to serious health risks and unhygienic environments. The research additionally illustrated the financial hardships faced by the 'Kayayei' concerning their daily income and their management of funds to cover their basic needs and even save aside money for investments and future consumption. Creating small-scale industries to process shea butter and other agricultural products, expanding access to microfinancial services, building adequate infrastructure in rural areas, and implementing long-term policies for rural development that will support livelihood activities and slow the flow of "Kayayei" migrants are a few recommendations. Another study by Bessey (2014) ^[22] is titled "*The Woes of the Returnee Female Migrant:*" Case of Kayayei from Northern Ghana. In an effort to ascertain the degree to which these women's socioeconomic status has improved, the paper employs a case study methodology to examine their after-city lives. The study also evaluates the difficulties that these women, their families, and communities face in reintegrating these women into society. The research indicated that while the most of these women eventually return home after fulfilling the reasons they left for the south, they face numerous difficulties in their new communities and families. Some of these difficulties are brought on by behavioural changes brought on by city life and culture.

Additionally, some people return home with additional health problems include terrible headaches that last a long

time, backaches, and waist pains-possibly from all the loads of Accra. The resources of the community and family members may be severely strained by them. This study's recommendations included making soft and accessible loans available to these women in order to help those who lack formal education and are unable to find employment in the public or private sectors launch their own enterprises rather than moving south. Awumbila, Owusu, and Teye's study (2014a) ^[19] shows that remittances are sent and received by households in Nima and Old Fadama via both transfer-in and transfer-out processes. Remittances, for instance, were received by 22% of the population, and 78% of those remittances were transferred during the preceding year. In addition, remittances were sent in cash and in kind.

Remarkably, 81.6% of men and 78.1% of women sent remittances, making them equally inclined to do so as women. Nevertheless, a variety of routes, primarily unofficial ones, were used to provide these remittances to houses and families. Among them is using the transportation services of friends and family, who are primarily drivers who travel between the origin and destination locations of migrants. Once more, Kwankye and Anarfi (2011) ^[51] argue that because migrant workers send money home, remittances lessen the negative effects of economic shocks on household wellbeing.

Historically, people have seen immigrants and refugees as valuable providers of newly acquired knowledge, expertise, and assets (Coe, 2008) ^[32]. The departure of these migrants, however, has detrimental effects on the economies from which they left, both nationally and regionally, as well as internationally.

Triggering events and returnee Kayayei

Anzagra and Yeboah (2012) ^[12] state that there is widespread consensus in the literature on migration, both internal and foreign, regarding the role of economic forces as the main drivers of global movement. Migration is also influenced by social and political variables in addition to financial ones. These social incentives include moving to be with spouses, being freed from family obligations, and using social amenities-which are plentiful in cities-for religious purposes as well as to enjoy social services like health and education. Freedom from conflict and refuge are further political concerns. In quest of work, more than half of the child migrants Anzagra and Yeboah (2012) ^[12] investigated relocated to Kumasi.

According to Kwankye (2012) ^[49], 46.7% of children abandoned their parents and went it alone, saying their poverty prevented them from taking care of them. The findings corroborated Kwankye's theories, which maintains that children migrate mostly due to "independence and money". Likewise, young women migrating to southern Ghanaian cities to work as head porters is a little-known but significant factor (Kese, 2004) ^[46]. However, the architectural layout of markets in Ghanaian cities encourages people to carry products by foot because it prohibits the use of modern, intermediate, or other means of transportation in crowded areas Kese (2004) ^[46]. It is also acknowledged that young women's migration to urban places is influenced by the social environments in which Ghanaian female porters live. Many Ghanaian migrant girls originate from underdeveloped rural areas where children

start working from an early age and supporting their family financially. Chambers (1989) ^[30] identified impoverished households do not see the importance of investing in education because they may rely on their children's employment. Northern parents must be made aware of the importance of providing equitable educational opportunities for their children, regardless of gender.

According to Whitehead and Hashim, (2005) ^[76] identified that in addition to the need for money, there are other reasons why single women are migrating to Accra and Kumasi, including escaping the status that has been assigned to them historically, such as having to obey male relatives, working excessive hours, or participating in traditional practices like Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) or arranged marriages. It is exceedingly difficult and complex to stop young females from migrating to the cities to work as *Kayayei* due to these sociocultural influences. Adu-Okoree (2012) ^[4] states that every woman is expected to have a quantity of kitchen and eating utensils to beautify her place of residence. Some young females migrate to the city in order to work and earn money for food and other family basic needs.

The study points out that a wide range of social, political, economic, and cultural issues influence people's decisions to migrate. Some migrants relocate willingly in order to better their living circumstances, while others relocate in order to escape cruel and archaic cultural customs. Significant research on migration from the north to the south acknowledged that the main factors influencing internal movement were the wide economic differences between southern and northern Ghana (Songsore, 2003; Opare, 2003; Awumbila, 2007) ^[65, 56, 16]. The Ghanaian Living Standard Survey (GLSS5) and World Bank research (2006a) ^[79] both noted that there was economic disparity and poverty in the north of the country, and that the northern areas had lower per capita incomes than the southern regions. These findings depicted a dismal picture of northern Ghana.

Appiah-Yeboah and Yeboah (2009) ^[13] found that 15% of male migrant porters and 13% of *Kayayei* interviewed claimed their breadwinners, their husbands, parents, had experienced layoffs from the public sector. The respondent stated that their lack of education was a major factor in their layoffs. 83% of the female respondents working in Accra, according to Appiah-Yeboah & Yeboah (2009) ^[13], had no formal schooling. Due to the mass decline, these women were compelled to move to the metropolis and take up pottery, an industry that required little to no training in order to assist their families back home. Opare, 2003 ^[56] posits that the government was compelled to eliminate subsidies on agricultural inputs like seeds, pesticides, and tools in order to implement the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The elimination of agricultural subsidies resulted in higher costs and worse profitability for farming. As a result, both those who were already farmers and those who had lost their employment due to widespread layoffs found farming less appealing. Moving to the cities of Accra and Kumasi to work at menial employment was the only choice available.

However, Black et al., (2006) ^[27] found that migration from the north has been linked to violent ethnic disputes and antiquated traditional practices such as female genital mutilation, forced marriage, and witch camping. For instance, Black, King, and Tiemoko (2003) ^[28] demonstrated

that lengthy ethnic hostilities resulted in the forcible relocation of nearly 100,000 people from their homes in Northern Ghana between 1994 and 1995. Awumbila, 2008 ^[14] revealed that Ghana's five northern regions had poverty rates significantly below the global average, and the most of the country's severely poor people lived there, according to an analysis of patterns and changes in poverty in Ghana between 1991 and 2006. When all these elements came together, northerners were forced to migrate in order to diversify their sources of income. In conclusion, elements related to the environment, economy, and society have all encouraged young women to look for better chances in large cities in an effort to improve their situation.

According to Awumbila & Teye (2014) ^[19], the main reasons people migrate from North to South specially Accra and Kumasi are for work opportunities, education, and family-related reasons, such as taking spouses or parents with them. Additional significant factors influencing migration, particularly from Northern to Southern Ghana, are overcrowding, land scarcity, taxes, resource scarcity, and the "bright light syndrome". World Bank, (2006a) ^[79] reported that climate variability has also been linked to other causes of north-south migration, such as increased acidity, brief rainfall intervals, and resulting low productivity.

According to Meze-Hausken (2004) ^[55], migration is not always caused by vulnerability to climate variability aspects like drought. This is consistent with the debate above. This result was reached by Meze-Hausken (2004) ^[55] based on research done in Northern Ethiopia, where it has been demonstrated that villagers did not migrate in order to adapt. According to Akpalu (2005) ^[8], several community members left the Limpopo Province of South Africa due to their vulnerability to drought and the resulting food crisis. According to Kabzaa, Asiedu, Quartey, and Akuoni (2010) ^[7], this point suggests that people's decision to migrate as a coping method may vary depending on their socioeconomic status. Furthermore, limited incomes are becoming a more common reason for migration (Akuoni, Asiedu, Quartey, & Kabzaa, 2010) ^[7].

Social problems and returnee *Kayayei*

The majority of immigrants in the UK, according to a Joseph Rowntree Foundation report from 2007, spent most of their time talking with other immigrants as well as recent or settled immigrants from their home country. Half did not spend any free time with British people during their first six months in the country; by the end of that period, only a third did. A few of the migrants voiced unfavourable opinions on other migrants. Diverse factors gave rise to animosity, such as perceived unfair competition for jobs in the UK and historical or class conflicts towards migrants from their own country. Some immigrants harboured animosity against members of minority ethnic groups and were ignorant that Britain is a cosmopolitan nation.

How popular these ideas were in comparison to British people is unknown, though. Experience in the UK helped some develop more optimistic attitudes. It was more common for those who spoke English well to socialise with British during their free time. One possible reason for this lack of communication could be a deficiency in English. For a large number of migrants, employment and housing offered chances to interact with individuals from diverse

nations.

Some migrants have the ability to prosper in life and strengthen the economics of the nations where they settle. They are not thought to be essential to the health of the economy, nevertheless. There are many who contend that the majority of jobs held by migrants are only available because they are low-paying and unappealing to natives. If there were no migrant labourers, company owners would either complete those tasks themselves or pay expensive wages to have natives complete them. According to a UK example, nurses are brought in from Asia just because their willingness to accept living wages makes them more desirable to native workers. Additionally, the poor pay and long working hours that migrants experienced at work had a big influence on how much free time they had and how they used it.

Ziblim (2013) ^[82] asserts that migration is a reciprocal process that presents both opportunities and risks. Depending on an individual's preparedness and fortitude as well as the circumstances in the place of destination, migration may have a positive or negative impact on both the lives of migrants and those left behind at the origin. Bessey (2014) ^[22] conducted an interview with 250 respondents and discovered that only 66 of them had been in the kaya business for less than a year. Many of these girls return to Zebilla on a regular basis, especially during the brief rainy season, to assist their families on the farm. Some of them plan to remain in their hometowns permanently, according to Agarwal et al. (1994) ^[5]. A portion of the Kayayei have been in this occupation continually, while others have taken a break and then come back occasionally. Revealed that most Kayayei from the northern regions eventually go back home. Some have returned with the money they needed to start their businesses, some with items they had purchased for marriage, and still others have followed apprenticeships, which makes their small town proud and happy. These individuals have achieved the main reason they left in the first place. Conversely, some people go back to Accra after dropping off their new-borns with relatives in the south. Others return to the city with STDs, partially as a result of male rape, prostitution, and other forms of sexual exploitation and harassment. Lack of a suitable location to sleep is the main issue facing the majority of Kayayei in the city (Quaicoe, 2005; Bessey, 2014) ^[60, 22]. Some of these female porters deal with this difficulty by trading a spot to sleep for sex (Ziblim, 2013) ^[82]. Due to these practices, they run the risk of becoming pregnant unintentionally or contracting STDs, which some of them abandon in their villages before travelling back to Accra. The elder individuals left behind are typically burdened with caring for the ailing returnees and their children, which adds to the already limited resources. Some often carry additional health problems when they come home, such as severe and persistent migraines, backaches, and waist pain from all the loads that they carried. Family members and community resources may be severely strained by these.

Returnees are changing local life in Zebilla communities. The majority of the girls-especially the younger ones who are single have bleached their skin to become fair-skinned white women. In order to attract men who might be prepared to pay a sizable dowry for their hand in marriage,

this is done both in the city and in their country of origin. The more attractive a person is, the more likely they are to engage in multiple sexual relations, which could lead to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases back home (Ziblim, 2013) ^[82]. According to Ziblim (2013) ^[82], some of these women are also afraid of working in the scorching heat when they go to the farm to assist their relatives during harvest season, which has resulted in a high number of divorce and family breakup cases. When young people migrate, their perceptions shift because of the social groupings they become a part of (Bemah, 2010) ^[21]. In addition to psychological issues, sociocentrism might thwart attempts at external assimilation and cultural adaptation (Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. 1997) ^[23].

In a similar vein, some return with all their designer apparel and trinkets, tempting more of their siblings to move to the cities. Peer pressure or influence is important because girls who return to their villages often approach their peers to accompany them to urban areas and engage in kaya business. They typically talk about the things they can buy and the money they make, ignoring the difficulties they face in the city (Van den Berg, 2007) ^[73]. Because some of these girls flee without telling their guardians, this causes a family breakup or misunderstanding. It also leads to low productivity on farms as most economically active leave to bear Accra's load.

Nevertheless, Vercueil (2004) ^[74] argues that because the most skilled people usually migrate away, migration actually makes rural communities poorer. Agriculture occupies most of the rural areas, just like it does in northern Ghana. In these regions, subsistence farming is the predominant agricultural practice. Instead of utilising large, labor-intensive machinery like tractors, cutlasses and hoes are used by hand. Because fewer people are available to work in agriculture, which lowers agricultural yields and income, most of these young women migrate to urban areas, which exacerbates poverty. Adaku (2013) ^[2] found that households with temporarily displaced members produced far less agricultural products; if the immigrants are unable to send money home on a regular basis, this could result in a disastrous cycle of generational poverty.

Again, the values, customs, and practices of their communities are impacted by the returnees. Some of the returnees find themselves in two different worlds; having left their rural communities at an early age, most of them are not well-socialized to the city's customs and traditions; those who did learn even in their village were forced to unlearn practices that the city might view as antiquated (UNICEF, 1999) ^[72]. According to Bemah (2010) ^[21], the social groups that young people join when they migrate affect their perceptions. Peers usually have an influence on them. Due to their interactions with the groups they joined, they are more prone to imitate all of their undesirable behaviours. They may also alter in terms of how they dress, engage with others, and perceive their tribe. It was discovered by Dzokoto & Wen Lo (2005) ^[35] that repatriated migrants could pick up cultural values that are distinct from their norms.

The majority of returnees behave, dress, and act differently, so many of them no longer respected their elders or adhered to norms and traditions. They are therefore viewed as abnormal, which makes it challenging for their communities

and families to accept them. Who gets to keep the money these returnees made in the city is another problem they have when they get home, especially the very young ones. The majority are required to donate the money to their family members; those who refuse risk having juju or black magic used against them. Many have stayed in the city core as a result of these anxieties (Adaku, 2013) [2]. According to Bessey (2014) [22], some people have chosen to stay in urban areas because of the behaviours they have adopted, or because they have children in the south without getting married and are worried about the reactions of their parents and other locals. A few Kayayei stated "Only the dead bodies of some of us would be allowed back into our villages for burial,"

Despite these issues, when migrants send money back home to ease the financial strain on their homes, migration may also have a positive effect on the place of origin. According to Bessey (2014) [22], the majority of Kayayei send money home to support their family, therefore the extra work that the surviving household members do tends to offset the migration-induced drop in household labour supply (Tutu, 1995) [70]. Returnees also benefit their communities when they raise funds to start businesses, return to school, or enrol in apprenticeships to acquire skills they would not have been able to acquire had they stayed in the village (Tutu, 1995) [70].

In Ghana, Kayayei has both opportunities and threats. This "leap in the dark" may present a migrant with a great chance to improve not only their own life but also the lives of their dependents back home, depending on their level of preparedness, courage, and local conditions. However, there are also significant hazards and potential expenses. The risks that migrants face in their quest for a living will become more apparent as we take a closer look at their daily lives at their destination. The majority of issues that migrants encounter at their new homes are socioeconomic in nature and mostly concern their living circumstances. The demanding nature of their work, the expanding population of Kayayei, which has reduced the number of jobs available, the insufficient pay for their services, the harassment they receive from city guards and security personnel (night watchmen), and the rudeness and insults they receive from clients are just a few of these.

When migrants move to the cities, most of them wind up in the Kayayoo business since they have little to no education and skills. As noted by Quaicoe (2005) [60] in her piece "Woes of the Kayayoo," teenage ladies deal with a variety of issues, such as inadequate sanitary facilities, poor housing options, subpar medical care, and harassment from male coworkers. The Kayayei said that if they could scavenge an entire area without picking up any weight to carry, then there would be no food, no water to bathe in, and no money for other necessities of life that day. The Kayayei lead a primitive lifestyle that is defined by their constant helplessness and vulnerability to people looking for cheap labour (Kunath, 2010) [48].

As shown in the paragraphs above, Black et al. (2016) [27] have found horrible Kayayei conditions that can be linked to unemployment. Nevertheless, they neglect to add that a growing number of urban locals have entered the head porter industry, increasing competition. This is one of the main reasons why it is getting more and harder for more and

more Kayayei to have enough food for the entire day. In an additional effort to lower theft and merchandise loss, a number of stores have hired their own "in-house" girls to take their customers' loads rather than sending them to any Kayayoo. Consumers can request a refund from the store owners if they are unable to shop with these in-house girls. This is a much better choice than sifting through a crowded job market in search of a "freelance." Kayayoo.

Materials and Methods

The study used a qualitative research methodology and a constructivist research paradigm. Adu (2023) [3] used a similar research design to explore "Betting and Education Attainment: Case of Basic School Students in Sene East District, Ghana". The study's objective is to identify the precipitous factors that led to the returnee Kayayei migration and societal issues in Zebilla, Ghana. All of the female returnees, or "Kayayei" in Zebilla, make up the research population. Eleven young women, known as "Kayayei," who had returned from places like Kumasi and Accra comprised the study's sample. The study's participants were chosen using a combination of snowball and purposeful sampling techniques. An interview that was semi-structured was the study's instrument. The interview's qualitative data were verbatim recorded, translated, and transcribed, and fictitious names were given to the participants. The data underwent thematic analysis.

Results and Discussions

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Status	Frequencies	Percentages
Age of Participants		
15-25 Years	6	54.5
26-35 Years	3	27.3
36-45 Years	2	18.2
46+Years	0	0
Educational Levels		
None	5	45.5
Primary	3	27.3
JHS	2	18.1
SHS	1	9.1
Marital Status		
Single	5	45.5
Married	4	36.3
Divorce	1	9.1
Widow	1	9.1
Years Worked as Kayayei		
1-5 Years	3	27.3
6-10 Years	6	54.5
11-15 Years	2	18.2
16+Years	0	0
Total	11	100

Source: Field Data, 2023

Table 1 above presents the research findings, which indicated that 6 (54.5%) of the participants were in the 15–25 age range, 3 (27.3%) were in the 26–35 age range, 2 (18.2%) were in the 36–45 age range, and 0 (0%) were 46 years of age or older. According to these results, the majority of returnee Kayayei were young, between the ages of 15 and 25. The results of this study confirmed earlier research showing that most urban migrants in developing

countries in Asia and Africa are young people, usually in the 15–25 age range (Todaro, 1997) [68].

However, table 1 above the study shows that 3 (27.3%) of the participants had finished elementary school, 2 (18.1%) had finished junior high school, and 1 (9.1%) had finished senior high school. Of the participants, 5 (45.5%) had formal education. This suggests that the bulk of those taking part were not formally educated. The outcome was expected because Kayayei move away from home at a fairly young age, which has an impact on their level of schooling. These results support those of Appiah-Yeboah & Yeboah (2009) [13], who report that 83% of the female participants who were employed in Accra did not hold a formal education.

In addition, table 1 above reveals that 5 participants (45.5%) were single, 4 participants (36.3%) were married, 1 participant (9.1%) was divorced, and 1 person (9.1%) was a

widow. This suggests that single people made up the bulk of the participants. The current study supported earlier research in the literature showing that young girls in their teens or early adulthood, who are actively childbearing and working while living in appalling conditions in the city, make up the bulk of these female head-porters (Opare, 2003) [56].

Table 2 ultimately showed that 3 (27.3%) of the participants had one to five years of experience as a Kayayei, 6 (54.5%) had ten to fifteen years of experience, 2 (18.2%) had eleven to fifteen years of experience, and 0 (0%) of the participants had sixteen years or more. This suggests that the majority of participants had between six and ten years of Kayayei company experience.

Results and Discussions

Table 2: Thematic Framework of the Study

Themes	Sub-themes	Verbatim Quotation
Triggering events	Lack of job opportunities	"mmmm For financial support of my elderly parents, I relocated to Accra to work as a Kayayei." KK 1 "Living in the North is quite difficult, and there are no employment available." KK 5
	Outmoded cultural practices	Within the household, there are four boys and six girls. The boys all go to school, while the girls don't. KK 1 "My parents are against me getting married to a man who already has two wives. KK 8
	Family pressures	" I didn't want to do Kayayei, but my mother insisted that I go to Accra and do it." KK 6
	Peer group pressures Conflict	"It was my friend who influenced me to Kumasi and engage in Kayayei business" KK 11 "The conflict in my hometown caused me to move to Accra." KK 2
Social Problems	Outmoded cultural practices	"My father is forcing me to get married so that he can take his four cows as dowry" KK 5 "Mmmmm, I am really facing a lot of problems in my community because they said that I disregard the traditional customs" KK 6
	Poverty	"I have not eaten for the whole day because my parent can't afford to buy food for the family" KK 1 "Am now face with poverty because I lost everything that I returned home with to a man" KK 4
	Black magic/Juju	"This juju man Cause a spell on me and now am seriously sick" KK 3

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Research Objective 1: Identify triggering events leading to the migration of Kayayei from Zebilla: This question aimed to determine the events that trigger young females to relocate to Accra to engage in Kayayei activities. Items 5 under section B of the interview guide were used to solicit data to answer this question. Themes such as job opportunities, outmoded cultural practices, family pressures, peer group pressures and conflict were identified.

Theme 1: Lack of job opportunities

One participant shared that she moved to the city in order to work and support her ageing parents, who are unable to farm, financially. During the interview, Participant 3 disclosed that;

Given their age, my parents are unable to work in the North in a useful capacity. We didn't have any money in the house because I lost my spouse three years prior. To help with my elderly parents' care, I moved to Accra to pursue Kayayei and make some money. I can still send them some money even though the Kayayei isn't very great. In comparison to when I didn't migrate, they are now better off as they can eat. (KK 3).

Likewise, participant KK 4 comments that

"In order to assist my husband, who had crop failure that year as a result of late rains that decreased agricultural yield, I went to work as a Kayayei. We borrowed money to farm, and now that we can't pay it back, so I had to go get a modest job to support him." (KK 4).

Similarly, KK 5 lamented that: You are aware that, during this time of year in the north, there is no other work because we are planting on the farm. Your only options are to farm and occasionally trade. However, knowing that I am impoverished and will not be able to trade or even purchase agricultural supplies, I must look for another source of income to support my children's education now that my husband has passed away. I so made the decision to work in Accra and send a portion of my earnings home. I made the decision to go back home during that process. (KK 5).

Similarly, KK 9 revealed that

Accra is the real stuff, you know. In the village, you are regarded if you go to Accra. This is particularly valid if you continue to support your family back home by sending money. Occasionally, when you return home, you purchase a few items to give to your loved ones. Being able to accomplish that elevates you in the eyes of your community. Meeting new people and conversing with them about life is another benefit of travelling to Accra. It is quite significant to visit Accra. (KK 9).

Likewise, KK 10 added that

"To be honest, I travelled to Accra in search of money. Money is scarce in Zebilla, but in Accra, working as a Kayayei will at least earn you some cash for yourself. In order to take care of my children at home, I travelled to Accra to get money to send to my parents. In addition, I travelled to Accra to start a kaya business and earn some

cash for material purchases like clothes, jewellery, and kitchenware, as well as to learn a craft and prepare for marriage and starting a family. I began my career providing household help. A child had to stay with my uncle's sister. So dad brought me to her after telling her he had a niece. I went into the Kayayei business, though, since I didn't feel comfortable sticking with her. (KK 10).

Theme 2: Outmoded cultural practices

The interview disclosed that some young females were compelled to relocate to the Kumasi in order to engage in Kayayei commerce, only to return due to antiquated cultural norms such as "forced" marriages and witchcraft. Rose gave the following account of the cultural factors that "forced" her to move to Accra:

My family is large and from the Zebilla. We shared a home. shared a lot of activities and farmed together. However, some of my siblings began to pass away in ways that were regarded as fictitious and dubious for unknown reasons. I lost two of my siblings in the space of a year. As though it weren't sufficient enough. The following happened to another sibling. Enraged, my parents decided to seek advice from the ritual experts to find out what really was wrong. Even though they couldn't pinpoint the precise cause of death, the ritual experts insisted that the family was haunted by an evil ghost. I made the decision to leave the north and relocate to Kumasi, knowing that I might be the next to pass away. (KK 7).

Likewise, KK 8 commented that

You understand how important marriage is to us. Though marriage is crucial, there are instances when men choose women for us, and our parents also play a major role in selecting our male husbands. However, in my situation, my parents are against me being married to a man who already has two wives. He seemed to prefer to be a liability, in my opinion. However, my parents believed that one way they could show their appreciation for his assistance on the farm was for me to wed him. Despite my objections, my parents persisted. I fled to Kumasi and then Accra to escape any more issues, and after years I returned to my village. (KK 8).

Similarly, KK 1 commented that

In the village, my father would rather have my brothers attend school than my sisters. Six girls and four boys live in the house; all of the boys attend school, but none of the girls do. When I asked my father once why the girls and I weren't in school, he told me that we weren't part of the family and that the guys would always stay in the same compound. He also claimed that we would soon get married and our husbands would benefit from whatever perks we received. (KK 1)

Theme 3: Family pressure

In actuality, a lot of Kayayei in Zebilla were urged to relocate and take jobs as Kayayei in the cities by their families. Sixth participant said that:

"Despite my refusal, my mother insisted that I travel to Accra and take part in Kayayei. She advised me to launch a Kayayei business since the majority of my friends who

came back from Accra had better financial circumstances than I did. I travelled to Accra, but my expectations weren't met, therefore I left disappointed.". (KK 6).

Theme 4: Peer group pressure

According to the interview, friends' peer pressure caused some young girls to go to the city and start Kayayei businesses. KK 11 reiterated this point when she stated:

To be honest, I escaped to Kumasi without telling my family. My friend convinced me that I would make money for myself if I travelled to Kumasi and started a Kayayei business. My companion persisted in making me feel good, so even though I didn't want to go, I ran to follow her. She even paid me to come. (KK 11).

Theme 5: Conflict

Another participant laments that she migrated to the south due to conflict in the area. This was revealed during the face-to-face interview with participant 2.

Because of the conflict in my area, I moved to Accra. It is not secure for us to walk around freely. There is a gunshot in my village almost every week. The best course of action is to move to Accra in order to live in peace and earn enough money to support my family at home and purchase my necessities. 2019 saw my return to my hometown. (KK 2).

Research Objective 2: Explore the social problems of returnee Kayayei in Zebilla

The objective of this question was to determine the social problems facing returnee Kayayei in Zebilla. Items 3 under section B of the interview guide were used to solicit data to answer this question. Themes such as outmoded cultural practices, poverty and black magic/juju respectively were identified.

Theme 1: Outmoded cultural practices

The participants reported that their parents are forcing them to get married. This fact was echoed by KK 5 when she said:

Since I returned home, I face a lot of challenges because many men are harassing me for sexual exploration because am now looking beautiful and attractive due to skin bleaching. A lot men from different communities are coming to my parents to ask for my hand in marriage but am not ready for marriage because I want to start a business with the money I got from Kayayei. My father is forcing me to get married so that he can take his four cows as dowry. Am totally confused and depressed because every day, there is fighting in the house between my mother and father because my father thought that my mother is supporting me not to marry the man he introduced to me. They think am useless (KK 5).

For instance, KK 6 reported that

Mmmmm, I am really facing a lot of problems in my community because they said that I disregard the traditional customs. I left my village when I was 6 years to Kumasi. Since I returned, everyone in the community is seeing a girls who doesn't respect elders in the community. I don't even want to stay here again but my mother wouldn't allow me to go back to Kumasi and have my peace of mind. It made me

feel bad because everybody is talking about me in this village. I lose my self-confidence (KK 6).

Similarly, KK 7 revealed said that

In the Kusasi society, a young woman who reaches the age of sixteen without getting married is treated with disdain. The person is impeding the development of society and, in turn, preventing the manifestation of the ancestor by refusing to get married. Given that Kusasi traditional religion is centred around ancestral worship, it would be deemed disrespectful to the ancestors to abstain from marriage altogether. I declined to marry the man my parents recommended, and as a result, I started having issues with them. My labelled me derogatory and worthless, and I often feel depressed from this. (KK 7).

Likewise, KK 8 commended that

“.....Mmmm, my brother, I had two children for a guy who didn't even know my parents. We were dating back at Accra and I got the first pregnancy. He deceived me that if I give birth, he will come home and pay my bride price After I gave birth, he wasn't ready to pay my bride price, before I realised, I got pregnant for him the second time and gave birth to my second child before returning to my village. As I speak now, my parent are not happy with me for giving birth with a man who is not ready to marry me. I always feel bad at any time my parents talk about it. I thought I have disappointed my parents and the community as large. I feel sad (KK 8)

Similarly, KK 9 indicated

It is not a good custom to eat with others. Because of the changes in our circumstances and our awareness of the health hazards, we Kusaasi, and Muslims in particular, need to rethink our traditional view of it as a gesture of love. It's easier for someone to spread illness when dining in a group. We won't dine together if I feel compelled to offer food. That is not how the Ga and Ashanti people live. We ought to follow suit as well. For this reason, ever since I came back from Accra, I have avoided dining in groups and am currently lonely since my sisters feel that I am bragging about myself. I feel hopeless and depressed. (KK 9).

Again, KK 10 revealed that

"In Kumasi or Accra, everyone lives like a white man as family members aren't frequently seen and acknowledged. It is a fact that all labourers receive compensation. However, before you go for the farm, you are expected to meet everyone in this village in the morning. We are poorer than the people in the South because of this terrible and time-wasting behaviour. Regarding myself, I've ceased doing that, and others are accusing me of being impolite. I feel horrible about it and become less confident. I've been genuinely depressed since coming back" (KK 10).

Likewise, KK 11 lamented that

Before moving to Accra for "Kayayei" business, I was always forced to dress in old woman's clothes. I used to wear long dresses to all the places I went. Nevertheless, after visiting "Kayayei," I discovered that women can wear jeans and purchase foreign apparel as those items enhance your beauty and make you appear more sophisticated and

light-hearted. I would even go so far as to say that you are living in the past tense if you are dressed traditionally. I'm worn out and depressed about how people in society see the way I dress. I'd like to go back to Kumasi. I feel powerless right now. (KK 11)

Theme 2: Poverty

The study indicates that some of the returnees' Kayayei are faced with poverty since they spent all the money that they made in the cities with their family members and friends. This fact was echoed by KK 1 when she said:

This year, the rains let us down, and we didn't collect a sufficient crop from our farm. In order to help my family on the farm, I travelled back during the brief rainy season. As I speak now, I have not eaten for the whole day because my parent can't afford to buy food for the family. I am currently starving due to hunger because there is poverty at home here. I'm emotional depressed. I think am a loser (KK 1)

Similarly, participant 2 had this to say

I used the money I made from the Kayayei business to buy certain items for my marriage and to start an apprenticeship when I went back home. However, as of right now, all of the money has run out because the man who had promised to marry me had cheated on me and spent all of the Accra money that I had received. The man made the decision to wed someone else. I lost everything I brought back to my house with me, and as a result, I am now facing poverty. I've become useless, without confidence, and increasingly frustrated every day. (KK 2).

Likewise, KK 4 revealed that

“.....Mmmmmmmmmmm, when I was at Kumasi, I was looking so beautiful and attractive to men. Because of beautiful appearances, In an attempt to increase my income, I had multiple sexual partners and eventually turned to prostitution. Owing in part to the city's prostitute business as well as other instances of male sexual exploitation and harassment, I ended up returning home with HIV. Now my life is finished because I don't even get food to eat or money to buy cloth for myself and my little boy. Everybody in the community is neglecting me. I'm feeling lonely and rejected by friends and family members in the community because of my present situation. Am feel helpless (Azumpoka, Participant 4).

Theme 3: Black magic/juju

According to the survey, the majority of returnees are compelled to give their family the money they earned in the Kayayei business; those who refuse risk having juju or black magic used against them. KK 3 disclosed this information when she said:

My brother, I returned from Kumasi with a lot of goodies, looking more beautiful and fair after bleaching my skin. A lot of men were after me for a marriage even some chiefs and government works but I refused all of them. One of the men who I spent all his money, became angry and sent me to juju man. This juju man cause a spell on me and now am seriously sick. No man want to marry me again, all my closer friends have neglected me. I have no one to talk to, am totally frustrated. (KK 3).

Discussions of Findings

Triggering Events and Returnee Kayayei

The current study discovered that conflict, outdated cultural customs, peer and family pressure, and high unemployment rate are the main causes of young female migration to the city to participate in Kayayei activities. The studies' conclusions allude to the general agreement that young women's migration to cities to pursue Kayayei businesses in Zebilla areas is mostly driven by economic factors. In addition to economic factors, conflict, peer pressure, family pressure, and antiquated cultural customs all contribute to migration. The current study supported Teye et al.'s (2014)^[19] findings that, despite an abundance of food in Ghana's five northern regions, there is a dearth of money because of insufficient employment. As a result, the female migrants were forced to migrate south in order to participate in profitable commercial endeavours. Due to this, the majority of research on migrants from the north highlight the economic factors that influence migration.

As KK 5 explains in her narration, many of the mothers who took part in this study wanted to provide a brighter future for their kids. According to the study, in addition to the need for financial gain and income, other reasons why young girls moved to the city to work as Kayayei were related to women fleeing the status that was traditionally assigned to them. These reasons include following male kinsmen, working excessively hard, or abstaining from customs like Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) or forced marriages. It is extremely difficult and complex to stop young girls from migrating to the cities to work as Kayayei in Zebilla because of these sociocultural influences. The following sources bolster this assertion (Awumbila, 2007; Whitehead & Hashim, 2005)^[16, 76].

Furthermore, the current study reveals that some parents believe that because of antiquated cultural norms, it is unnecessary to send their girl kid to school in the Zebilla District. Due to this mentality and their lack of formal education, young ladies have been moving to the cities to work in the Kayayei industry. The current research supports Yeboah's (2009)^[13] claim that education influences one's position in the economic system but that sending girls to school is not treated seriously. Unfortunately, because sending their daughters to school requires time and money, many parents do not think it is necessary. According to Amu, Fajobi, and Oke (2005)^[5], there is a widespread cultural idea in Ghana that women are expected to be homemakers. As a result, women are socialised quite differently than men. Girls are socialised as homemakers, whilst guys are socialised to fit into the manufacturing system. Girls who receive this kind of socialisation grow up to feel inferior to men and to have low self-esteem.

However, the study found that because there is a lot of suffering in the north, sociocultural, economic, and environmental factors have all encouraged young ladies to go for better prospects in big cities in order to improve their life. The area has been experiencing a protracted drought, making it difficult for people to provide for their family. Because poverty rates are so high in many regions, many young girls may arrive at the whole without having eaten anything. Nevertheless, the confluence of all these factors compelled northerners to relocate in order to broaden how they earn money. The results of the study are in line with

relevant literature, which shows that from 1991 to 2006, an examination of Ghana's patterns and trends in poverty showed that the majority of the nation's extremely poor people resided in its five northern regions, where poverty rates were much lower than the average for the entire world. (GSS, 2003; 2007; Awumbila, 2008)^[14].

The current study also showed that environmental pressures like dehydrated farmland, irregular rainfall patterns, extended farming seasons, and peer pressure to experience modernization have forced young people from the five northern areas to migrate voluntarily to the cities in order to work in lowly employment. People in Zebilla are now experiencing unemployment and hardship as a result of this. The current data are consistent with the Participatory Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment (2010)^[58], which discovered that environmental pressures like dry farmland, irregular rainfall patterns, long farming seasons, and peer pressure to experience modernization forced youth from the five northern regions to move willingly to the cities in order to work in low-paid occupations. Similarly, World Bank (2006a)^[79] contends that additional factors, such as increased acidity, brief rainfall intervals, and the ensuing low productivity, have been linked to climatic variability and are causes of north-south migration. Akabzaa et al., (2010)^[7] posits that changes in rainfall patterns have an impact on food security, particularly in Northern part of Ghana.

Furthermore, research revealed that young ladies who moved to the city to work as Kayayei carried money from home to support their family. Most of these women provide financial assistance for their families. They take care of their aged and sick parents and pay their siblings' school tuition using the money from the Kayayei company. Some respondents even went so far as to claim that pressure from their families to help the family financially led them to move to the city. Some shared their experiences of relocating to the city in quest of employment in order to earn enough cash to maintain themselves and their families. The findings support Kwankye & Anarfi (2011)^[51] assertion that migrant workers' remittances home lessen the detrimental effects of economic shocks on household welfare. Nonetheless, Rao (2012)^[12] argued that remittances improve household conditions and that migrants, in particular, provide for their families by working. Awumbila & Teye (2014)^[19] provided support for the claim, stating that employment opportunities, educational attainment, and family-related factors-like travelling with spouses or parents are the main causes of migration from Northern Ghana to Accra and Kumasi. Awumbila (2014)^[19] asserts that there is a correlation between migration and wellbeing, noting that most households in northern Ghana see a rise in welfare as a consequence of a household member moving to the southern part of the nation.

Furthermore, the study demonstrates that young women relocate to urban areas to work in the Kayayei business in order to save savings for the time when they "enter into large-scale trading or other sedentary work, purchase material items such as clothing, jewellery, and kitchenware, for marriage." It is evident from their possession of these items that they are prepared for marriage. A woman attracts more potential suitors and is more desirable the more of these things she possesses. Most of Kayayei, as stated by

Opare (2010) ^[57], are saving money in order to "enter into large-scale trading" an assessment that the current argument supports. On the other hand, Opare (2010) ^[57] shows that women join the kaya industry primarily to purchase material items for marriage, like clothing, jewellery, and kitchenware. However, it is noted by Kwankye et al. (2011) ^[51] and Adu-Okoree (2012) ^[4] that some young girls relocate to the city to work and make money for other essentials for their families, including clothing. "It is expected of every lady to have a large number of kitchen and dining room sets for decorating her place of residence.

According to Ziblim (2013) ^[82], returnees have an impact on the communities in which they return. The majority of the girls, particularly the young single ones, have bleached their skin to become white and fair ladies in order to attract men from both the city and their place of origin who may be willing to pay a large dowry for their hand in marriage. A woman is more likely to engage in several sexual relationships the more attractive she is, which could be a sign that STDs are spreading throughout her family.

Lastly, the current study confirmed that peer pressure or influence plays a significant role. Girls who return to their villages directly recruit their peers to accompany them to urban centres and participate in the kaya business, frequently omitting the difficulties they encounter and focusing solely on the money they make and the possessions they can acquire. Because some of these girls flee without telling their guardians, this causes a family breakup or misunderstanding. Additionally, because the majority of the economically active depart to support Accra, farm output suffers. The current research supported Van den Berg's (2007) ^[73] claim that some siblings return with all of their expensive clothing and accessories, luring other siblings to move to the metropolis.

Social problems and returnee Kayayei

The current study's findings showed that poverty, juju, and antiquated cultural customs were the main social issues facing female head porters who were returning to Zebilla villages. The customs and ideals that "Kayayei" migrants bring with them from the North to the South are different from those of the North. Consequently, this creates challenges for communities and migrants when they return to reintegrate into the local cultures or northern society. It is troubling that there has been a persistent practice of ignoring the difficulties these returned "Kayayei" migrants face reintegrating into Ghana's northern societies. The present findings support Bemah's (2010) ^[21] assertion that the social groups that young people join during their migration alter their perceptions. Peers have a tendency to influence them, and they are more likely to imitate all of their negative behaviours. The results of this study support Bemah's (2010) ^[21] claim that returned "Kayayei" reported that their interactions with the groups they joined affected their perception of their tribe, how they dressed, and their sexual connections.

Kayayei, who are returnees, struggle to adjust to both their new surroundings and the customs of their hometown. Due to their altered behaviour, attire, and demeanour, most returnees either completely disregarded or no longer respected their elders or conventions. Since their families and communities view them as outcasts, it is difficult for

them to be accepted by them. For the "Kayayei" returnees, the long-standing extended family structure is meaningless since they all aspire to live independently. As a gesture of respect, they no longer feel that meeting an elderly person ought to involve bowing down. The nuclear family system that is used in cities is replacing the external family system. The current study supported the claim made by Wessells & Monteiro (2000) ^[75] that repatriated migrants in Angola downplay their countries' customs and traditions because of the influence of Western culture and knowledge and a desire to seem respectable and shame-free. It is possible for Western and urban psychology in both theory and practice to overlook the aspects of experience that are customary, social, and spiritual. This implies that returned migrants may adopt new cultural norms that are at odds with their traditional ways (Ziblim, 2013) ^[82].

Additionally, the results confirm Ziblim's (2013) ^[82] assertion that the social groups that young people join throughout their journey alter their perceptions. They are more inclined to imitate all of their peers' negative behaviours since they are impacted by them. The results of this study support the claim made by Ziblim (2013) ^[82] that the returning "Kayayei" said that their interactions with the groups they joined affected their perception of their tribe, how they dressed, and their sexual connections. Furthermore, the UNICEF Report from 1999 ^[72] shows that returnees are having an impact on the communities of residences. Having left their rural communities at an early age to live in cities, most returnees are not fully acclimated to the customs and traditions of the rural areas; those who were educated even in the village had to unlearn those customs that might be considered archaic in the city. As a result, some of the returnees are caught between two worlds. The present study's findings corroborate Bemah's (2010) ^[21] assertion that returned "Kayayei" stated that their experiences with the organisations they joined influenced their understanding of their tribe, their attire, and their relationships with others.

However, some of the returnee Kayayei narrated that their parents were forcing them to get married to men they had wanted ever since they returned to their communities. Their parents insisted that those men were helping them with their farming activities and financial need. This has brought conflict between returnees Kayayei and their family. The attitude of parents forcing returnee Kayayei to get married to men they do not love is contributing to their reintegration difficulties in Zebilla. The present study supports the arguments put forth by (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Black et al., 2006) ^[69, 27] regarding the causes of northern out-migration, which include violent ethnic clashes and antiquated cultural practices like as forced marriage, female genital mutilation, and witch camps. Around 100,000 people were forcibly relocated from Northern Ghana between 1994 and 1995 as a result of protracted ethnic violence, as shown by Black, King, and Tiemoko (2003) ^[28].

Additionally, Ziblim's (2013) ^[82] results that returnees are making a difference in their communities are corroborated by the current research. Most of the girls have bleached their skin to become white and fair women, especially the young single ones who return, hoping to attract men from the city and their home country who could be prepared to give a hefty dowry for their hand in marriage. A woman's

likelihood of engaging in several sexual relationships increases with her level of attractiveness, which may be a sign of the spread of STDs in her own country.

However, the current research refutes the claim made by (Van den Berg, 2007) ^[73] that the kayayoo occupation has decreased the number of early marriages in Ghana's five northern regions, in addition to helping people earn a living. This is due to the fact that these young girls, who otherwise would have been abandoned for marriage, relocate to the southern part of the nation where they work as Kayayei and take care of themselves and their families. But the study refutes Shamsu-Deen's (2013) ^[64] claim that, in Ghana's Upper East, a family take four cattle's, goats, and sheep as a dowry when their daughter get marriage and that, instead of giving their daughter up for marriage, families are more worried about the meagre amount of money the child brings home to support them.

Furthermore, the majority of the returnee Kayayei described how their current dire financial circumstances left them with nothing to offer their communities upon their return, forcing them to deal with a great deal of debt, unemployment, and an unwelcoming attitude from friends and family. Many of them struggle to get employment so they can make money. Many of them have been compelled by this to borrow money from friends and family. Returnee Kayayei finds it difficult to fully reintegrate into Zebilla as a result of these obstacles. The current study supports McGrath's (1991) ^[54] findings that the majority of returnees had many difficulties transition such as a difficult economic position and a lack of job possibilities, negative perceptions of the community, and ineffective and sluggish business operations. McGrath (1991) ^[54] also noted that because of the difficulties they were facing, over 25% of returnees planned to re-emigrate. Additionally, the current findings are consistent with research from the (World Bank, 2006a, GLSS5 2005/2006) ^[79] which found that the north had the highest rates of economic inequality and poverty and the lowest per capita income when compared to the south. According to Ziblim (2013) ^[82], the majority of migrants' migration projects are not financially successful when comparing their pre-first emigration and post-last emigration financial situations. Therefore, what many migrants believe to be the secret to a better life frequently ends up being a nightmare or a letdown.

Last but not least, Chirum (2011) ^[31] and Gmelch (1980) ^[41] contend that the main obstacles to the reintegration process were high levels of debt, unfavourable financial status, lack of jobs, negative perception, difficulties with readjustment. Preston (1994) ^[59] argues that it is unrealistic to expect that after leaving their communities, migrants will return to a socially and economically stable setting. Upon their return, migrants must instead be reintegrated into the original society.

Key Findings

The study's primary conclusions were as follows:

Triggering events and returnee Kayayei

1. The study revealed that triggering events leading to the migration of Kayayei from Zebilla were a lack of job opportunities, outmoded cultural practices such as early marriages, peer group pressure and family pressure.

2. The study shows that a lack of work opportunities was one of the primary causes of females migrating to the cities to engage in Kayayei activities.
3. The study found that females migrate to the cities to engage in Kayayei activities because of antiquated cultural customs including witches, fleeing from forced marriages, and early marriages.
4. The study demonstrates that some young girls come to the metropolis for Kayayei activities as a result of the turmoil in the countryside.

Social problems and returnee Kayayei

1. The study revealed that the social challenges faced by returnee Kayayei were outmoded cultural practices, poverty, and black magic/juju.
2. The current study found that traditional cultural practices including forced marriage, witchcraft, and outdated clothing accounted for the bulk of the social obstacles faced by returnees, or "Kayayei."
3. The present study revealed that Kayayei returned with certain behaviours that went against the customs of the area with regard to marriage, adherence to traditional values, attire, and opinion leaders who were not happy with the kinds of social vices the returned migrants were bringing back.
4. The study found that some returnees were forced to give their family the money they earned from the Kayayei business; those who disobeyed might have juju or black magic used against them.

Conclusion

Returnees Kayayei have not had an easy life because they constantly deal with social difficulties in their society. According to the study's findings, young women's migration to the city to work in the Kayayei industry was mostly spurred by job prospects. Even though they had trouble finding housing, several participants said that moving to a city had given them the chance to make money, which they use to better their lives and support their families. The results of this study also demonstrated that poverty, juju, and antiquated cultural customs presented societal problems for returnees Kayayei.

Recommendations

1. The study recommended that Bawku West District Assembly enact bye-laws to modify some aspects of their outmoded cultural practices, such as early marriages within the district.
2. The study recommended that as part of its programme to reduce poverty, the government designate a specific area for the creation of job opportunities in the northern region of the nation, where these young women migrate from. The programme would centre on improving the viability and sustainability of the sheanut factory, thereby catering to the employment needs of these young girls.

References

1. Abdul-Korah G. Migration, Ethnicity and Uneven Development in Ghana: The Case of the Upper West Region in the Twentieth Century. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota; c2004.

2. Adaku E. Urban Sprawl: A View from Developing and Developed Countries. *African Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*. 2013;1(6):193-207.
3. Adu GA. Betting and Education Attainment: Case of Basic School Students in Sene East District, Ghana. *International Journal of Advance Research in Multidisciplinary*. 2023;1(2):77-83.
4. Adu-Okoree, B. I. Let us Pause before Sending Them: An Appraisal of the Socio-Economic Condition of Return Migrants in Tamale, Ghana. *Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development*. 2012;2(6):149-155.
5. Agarwal S, Grieco MA, Kwanky EA, Turner J. Bearing the Weights: The Kayayoo, Ghana's Working Girl Child. *Crow Thorne Berkshire*; c1994.
6. Aggarwal R, Demircuc-Kunt A, Martinez-Peria M. Do Workers' Remittance Promote Financial Development? *World Bank Policy Research Chapter 3957*; c2006.
7. Akabzaa T, Asiedu A, Quartey P, Akuoni S. Migration and Economic Development in Ghana. *Centre for Migration Studies: Migration Studies Technical Paper Series, Technical Paper No. 1*; c2010.
8. Akpalu DA. Response Scenarios of Rural Households to Drought Driven Food Shortage in a Semi-Arid Area in South Africa. An Unpublished Dissertation Submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; c2005.
9. Amu OO, Fajobi AB, Oke BO. The Status of Women in Ghanaian Society. *The Role of Women in Ghana's Economy*; c2005.
10. Anarfi JK, Awusabo-Asare K. Push and Pull Factors of International Migration. *Country Report: Ghana. Eurostat Working Papers*; c2000.
11. Anarfi K. Sexual Networking in Selected Communities in Ghana and the Sexual Behaviour of Ghanaian Female Migrants in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. In: Dyson T, Ed. *Sexual Behaviour and Networking: Anthropological and Socio-Cultural Studies on the Transmission of HIV*. Liege: Derouaux-Ordina Editions; c1992.
12. Anzagra S, Yeboah T. Child Migration in Ghana: Unveiling the Realities of Vulnerability and Social Exclusion, a Paper to be Presented at the KNUST Alumni Conference 29-31 AUGUST 2012 at Elmina, Ghana; c2012.
13. Appiah KY, Yeboah MA. An Examination of the Cultural and Socio-Economic Profiles of Porters in Accra, Ghana. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. 2009;18(1):1-21.
14. Awumbila M, Ardayfio-Schandorf E. Gendered Poverty, Migration and Livelihood Strategies of Female Porters in Accra, Ghana. *Norwegian Journ. Geography*. 2008;62:171-179.
15. Awumbila M. Gender, Rural Livelihoods and Health in Ghana: A Study of Mangrove Exploitation in the Lower Volta. Paper Presented at the 48th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association. Washington, DC; c2005.
16. Awumbila M. Internal Migration, Vulnerability and Female Porters in Accra, Ghana. In *Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America*, New York City; 2007.
17. Awumbila M. Gendered Poverty, Migration and Livelihood Strategies of Female Porters in Accra, Ghana. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*. 2008;62(3):171-179.
18. Awumbila M, Teye JK. Diaspora and Migration Policy and Institutional Frameworks: Ghana Country Report. *INTERACT Research Report 2014/31*. Retrieved from <Http://Cadmus.Eui.Eu/Bitstream/Handle/1814/33403/INTERACT-RR-2014%20-%2031.Pdf;Sequence=1>; 2014.
19. Awumbila M, Owusu G, Teye JK. Can Rural-Urban Migration into Slum Reduce Poverty?: Evidence from Ghana; *Migrating out of Poverty Working Paper 13*, University Of Sussex; c2014.
20. Beauchemin C. Rural-Urban Migration in West Africa: Toward a Reversal Migration Trends and Economic Conjunction in Burkina Faso and Côte D'ivoire. Paper Presented At 2004 Population Association of America (PAA) Meetings, Boston; c1999.
21. Bemah A. Social Protection for Informal Migrant Worker: The Case of Kayayei in Kumasi Ghana. A Dissertation Submitted to the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, Netherlands; c2010.
22. Bessey FO. Migration and Female Migrant Workers in Ghana: A Case Study of Kayayei in the Accra Central Business District.' *Department of Sociology: Hohai University*; c2014.
23. Bhatia S, Ram A. Rethinking 'Acculturation' in Relation to Diasporic Cultures and Postcolonial Identities. *Human Development*. 1997;44:1-17.
24. Black R. *Environmental Refugees: Myth or Reality?* Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; c2001.
25. Black R, Gent S. Sustainable Return in Post-Conflict Contexts. *International Migration*. 2016;44(3):15-38.
26. Black R, Gent S. Defining, Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return: The Case of the Balkans, Working Paper T7, DRC, Brighton; c2004.
27. Black R, Crush J, Peberdy S, Ammassari S, Mclean-Hilker L, Mouillesseaux S, *et al.* Migration and Development In Africa: An Overview. *African Migration and Development Series No. 1*. Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) and Development, Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty; c2006.
28. Black R, King R, Tiemoko R. Migration, Return and Small Enterprise Development in Ghana: A Route out of Poverty? *International Workshop on Migration and Poverty in West Africa*, University of Sussex; c2003.
29. Brydon L. Ghanaian Women in the Migration Process. In: Chant S, Ed. *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. Belhaven Press. London and New York. *Bulletin*. 1992;17(3):44-50.
30. Chambers R. Editorial Introduction: Vulnerability, Coping and Policy. *International Development Studies Bulletin*. 1989;20(2):1-7.
31. Chirum BK. Return Migration to Asmara, Eritrea: Readjustment Challenges. *Journal of African Migration*. 2011;(4):P1. Retrieved from <http://connection.ebscohost.com> 21st February 2016.
32. Coe C. The Structuring Of Feeling in Ghanaian Transnational Families. *City & Society*. 2008;20(2):222-250.

33. Darkwah A, Mariama A, Teye JK. Of Local Places and Local People: Understanding Migration in Peripheral Capitalist Outposts. Brighton: University Of Sussex, Migrating out of Poverty Working Paper No. 43; 2016.
34. Dei G. Hardships and Survival in Rural West Africa: A Case Study of a Ghanaian Community. Dakar: CODESRIA; 2012.
35. Dzokoto V, Wen Lo H. Talking to the Master: Intersections of Religion, Culture, and Counseling in Taiwan and Ghana. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*. 2005 Apr;27(2):117+. Retrieved from Gale Academic Onefile, link.gale.com/apps/doc/A132162675/AONE?u=Anon~Bb26ada6&sid=Googlescholar&xid=97e919d4. Accessed 20 Sept 2022.
36. Ghana Statistical Service. Ghana Demographic and Health Survey. Accra; 2003.
37. Ghana Statistical Service. Ghana Living Standards Survey V 2005-2006. Accra; 2005/06.
38. Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). Ghana Living Standards Survey: Report of the Fifth Round (GLSS5). Accra: Ghana Statistical Service; 2008.
39. Ghana Statistical Service. Ghana Living Standards Survey: Report of the Fourth Round (GLSS4). Accra: Ghana Statistical Service; 1998.
40. Ghana Statistical Service. Trends and Patterns of Poverty in Ghana, 1990–2005. Report of the Ghana Living Standards Survey. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service (GSS); 2007. Available at: http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/glss5_report.pdf.
41. Gmelch G. Return Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 1980;9:135-159.
42. Gubertsu F. Do Migrants Insure Those Who Stay Behind? Evidence from the Kayes Area. *Oxford Development Review*. 2002;30(3):267-287.
43. Gupta S, Pattillo C, Waugh S. Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Financial Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. IMF Working Chapter WP/07/38. 2007 Dec.
44. IOM. Reintegration: Effective approaches. Geneva: IOM; 2015. Retrieved on 29 May 2015 from www.iom.int.
45. ISSER. State of the Ghanaian Economy. Accra: Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Resea; 2002.
46. Kese OG. A Study of Programmes for Rehabilitation of Kayayei in the Kumasi Metropolis. Unpublished Bsc. (Planning) Special Study Submitted to The Department Of Planning, KNUST, Kumasi; 2004.
47. Konadu-Agyeman K. The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programmes and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana. *Professional Geographer*. 2000;52:233-6.
48. Kunateh MA. Is there any Future for the Ghanaian Porter (Kayayei)? Retrieved April 2010 from <http://www.ghananewslink.com>; 2010.
49. Kwankye S. Transition into Adulthood: Experiences of Return Independent Young Migrants in Northern Ghana. *OMNES: The Journal of Multicultural Society*. 2012;3(1):1–24.
50. Kwankye SO, Cofie E. Coping Strategies of Independent Child Migrants from Northern Ghana to Southern Cities, Sussex Center for Migration Research, University Of Sussex; c2007.
51. Kwankye S, Anarfi J. Migration Impacts Within the West African Sub-Region. Unpublished Paper Prepared for the Research Programme Consortium (Rpc) on Migrating out of Poverty. Brighton: University of Sussex; c2011.
52. Kwankye SO, Tagoe AC, Castaldo A. Coping Strategies of Independent Child Migrants from Northern Ghana to Southern Cities. Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty, Working Paper T-23. Retrieved April 11, 2009. <http://www.migrationdrc.org>.
53. Kyei OBM. Where to Live and How to Survive: Return and Reintegration of Ghanaian Migrants. Unpublished Thesis, Centre for Migration Studies, University Of Ghana, Legon; 2013.
54. McGrath F. The Economic, Social and Cultural Impacts of Return Migration to Achill Island in Contemporary Irish Migration, Edited By R. King. Dublin: Geographical Society of Ireland; 1991.
55. Meze-Hausken E. Migration Caused By Climate Change: How Vulnerable are People in the Dryland Areas? *Mitigation & Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*. 2004;5(4):379-406.
56. Opare JA. Kayayei: The Women Head Porters of Southern Ghana. *The Journal of Social Development in Africa*. 2003;18(2):12 – 18.
57. Opare JA. Kayayei: The Women Head Porters of Southern Ghana. Google, Accessed April 13 2011. Online; 2010.
58. Participatory Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment (PPVA), Understanding the Regional Dynamics of Poverty with Particular Focus on Ghana's Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions; c2010. p. 33-43.
59. Preston R. Returning Exiles in Namibia. In: T Allen and H. Morsink, when Refugees Go Home. London: James Currey; 1994.
60. Quaicoe R. Woes of the Kayayoo. *The Daily Graphic*. 2005:17.
61. Quartey P. Migration and Development: Challenges And Opportunities for Sending Countries, Ghana Country Case Study, and Report Prepared for the German Marshal Fund of the USA, Washington, 22-26 July; 2006.
62. Rao N. Breadwinners and Homemakers: Migration and Changing Conjugal Expectations in Rural Bangladesh. *Journal of Development Studies*. 2012;48(1):26–40.
63. Rapoport H, Docquier F. The Economics of Migrants' Remittances. Institute for Labour Studies, Discussion Chapter No. 1531. Return Migration, Journey of Hope or Despair? Geneva: IOM/UN; c2005.
64. Shamsu-Deen Z. Migration and Health Nexus: A Case of Female Porters (Kayayei) in Accra, Ghana. *Research on Humanities and Social Science*. 2013;3. Available Online at: <http://www.iiste.org/journals/index.php/RHSS/article/view/4936>.
65. Songsore J. Regional Development in Ghana: The Theory and the Reality. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services; 2003.
66. Tanle A. Rural-Urban Migration of Females from the Wa District to Kumasi and Accra: A Case Study of the

- Kaya Yei Phenomenon. An Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis Presented to the Department of Geography and Tourism, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast; 2003.
67. Teye JK, Awumbila M, Darkwah A. Gendered Dynamics of Remitting and Remittance use in Ghana. Working. Paper No 48. Migrating out of Poverty Consortium, University of Sussex, Brighton. Retrieved from <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/output/196216/>. University of Ghana <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh> 228; 2017.
 68. Todaro MP. A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *American Economic Review*. 1997;59:138–148.
 69. Tsikata D, Seini K. Women Confronting Economic Reform in Africa. Ottawa and Accra: The North South Institute and Third World Network Africa; c2004. p. 47.
 70. Tutu KO. Determinants of Internal Migration. in K.A. Twum-Baah, J.S. Nabila, and A.F. Aryee, Editors, Migration Research Study in Ghana. Ghana Statistical Service. Accra; c1995. p. 97-113.
 71. UNFPA. Kayayee/Female Porters: Improving Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) Knowledge and Legal Literacy: Evidence and Action, Special Issues. Good Practices, Ghana Country Office 5th Country Program (CP5). Retrieved From: www.ghana.unfpa.org/.../KAYAYEE.pdf; c2006.
 72. UNICEF. Human Rights for Children and Women: How UNICEF Helps Make Them a Reality, UNICEF Programme Policy Document. New York; c1999.
 73. Van Den Berg C. The Kayayei: Survival in the City of Accra Social Capital and Vulnerability in the Lives of Female Head Porters in Accra, Ghana, MA Thesis, International School for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Amsterdam; c2007.
 74. Vercueil J. Agriculture and Rural-Urban Migrations in Developing Countries. in Nehme, N. (Ed.), Proceedings No 15 of the Agricultural Policy Forum. National Agricultural Policy Center. Damascus; 2004.
 75. Wessells M, Monteiro C. Healing Wounds of War in Angola: A Community-Based Approach. In: Dawes A, editor. Addressing Childhood Adversity. Cape Town: David Philip; c2000.
 76. Whitehead A, Hashim I. Children and Migration. Paper Presented as Background for the DIFD Migration Team; c2005.
 77. WMR. Fatal Journeys Volume 3 Part 1: Improving Data on Missing Migrants. Retrieved on November, 17, 2017 from https://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR_2010_ENGLISH.pdf; 2015a.
 78. WMR. Migrants and Cities: New Partnerships to Manage Mobility. Retrieved on November, 17, 2017 from https://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR_2010_ENGLISH.pdf; 2015b.
 79. World Bank. Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration. Washington, DC: Global Economic Prospect; 2006a.
 80. World Bank. Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration. Washington, DC: Global Economic Prospect; 2006b.
 81. Yeboah MA. Gender and Livelihoods: Mapping the Economic Strategies of Porters in Accra, Ghana. Phd Thesis, West Virginia University; 2009.
 82. Ziblim SD. Travelling Without Goodbye: Coping Strategies Nexus of Female Independent Migrants in Ghana: University for Development Studies, Faculty of Integrated Development Studies Department of Environment and Resource Studies, Wa, West Africa, Ghana Research on Humanities and Social Sciences ISSN 2222-1719 (Paper) ISSN 2222 Vol.3, No.5, 2013 Research on Humanities and Social Sciences 9 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2863 (Online); 2013.

Creative Commons (CC) License

This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0) license. This license permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.