



*The Cradle of Knowledge: African Journal of
Educational and Social Science Research*
AJESSR - ISSN 2304-2885-p, 2617-7315-e
Volume 12, Issue 2, 2024
P.O. Box 555 (00202) Nairobi, Kenya
editor@serek.or.ke

**SOCIETY OF
EDUCATIONAL
RESEARCH
AND
EVALUATION
IN KENYA**

Balancing Childcare with Work: Experiences of Head-Porters who are Nursing Mothers in Ghana

Cecilia Tutu-Danquah
Department of Teacher Education
University of Ghana
Legon-Accra
ctutu-danquah@ug.edu.gh

Abstract

The concerns of working mothers as they attempt to perform the dual roles of mothering and working are being increasingly noticed and addressed in the formal corporate world in Ghana. Yet, little is known about the situation and strategies of those in the informal and the self-employed sector, specifically, among nursing mothers who are head porters (kayayie nursing mothers). This qualitative study, guided by an interpretivist research paradigm explored the strategies used by head porter nursing mothers to balance child care with work, the challenges they faced and the perceived solutions to ease the predicament that kayayie nursing mothers encounter while dividing their energy and capabilities between parenting, work and self. The role strain theory was used to support the study. Drawing on purposive sampling, semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis, the study identified carrying children at the back, peer support as well as employer support as the main strategies head porter nursing mothers used to balance work with childcare. Also, the study identified low patronage of services, low productivity and frequent ill health among their children as challenges encountered by head porter nursing mothers. The study recommends the establishment of affordable childcare centres and health posts around the work environment of the kayayie, usually the market area. Furthermore, it is recommended that the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protections should form alliance with Kayayie and build their capacities in work knowledge, skills and proper care of themselves and their children.

Keywords: Childcare; Work; Head porter; Nursing mothers; Kayayie

1.0 Introduction

Globally, majority of nations offer formal employees a designated duration of compensated maternity leave. This provision enables mothers to dedicate quality time to their infants, yielding significant advantages for the mother's overall well-being, encompassing the mitigation of postpartum depression, a reduction in the number of infant deaths, a decline in the need for hospitalization of both mothers and infants and an improvement in the initiation and length of breastfeeding (Heymann et al., 2017; Mandal, 2018; Steurer, 2017). However, these advantages are almost non-existent in the informal employment sector like the head pottering venture. Women engaged in head pottering, thus, do not have equal opportunities as those employed in the formal sector with respect to raising their children.

Head pottering primarily involves carrying the goods of customers in the market for a fee that can be negotiated (Owusu & Yeboah, 2018). This practice was brought to Ghana from Mali and Niger (Agyei, Kumi & Yeboah, 2016). Head pottering is important for the economy because many markets in Ghana are connected by narrow and muddy pathways that cannot be easily accessed by vehicles, so people rely on footpaths to transport goods (Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe & Castaldo, 2009). Women and children have been actively involved in head pottering since the implementation of the Aliens Compliance Law in 1969. This law led to the expulsion of illegal foreigners, many of whom were engaged in head pottering (Agyei et al., 2016). While individuals involved in head pottering are typically between the



ages of 15 and 35, there is a significant number of young girls who have migrated from the northern regions due to factors such as poverty, pressure to marry, and lack of employment (Azumah & Onzaberigu, 2018).

Upon arrival, female head porters often face the challenge of finding suitable accommodation due to the absence of familial relationships. In effect, the female head porters are compelled to resort to sleeping on the streets, rendering them susceptible to various forms of abuse, particularly sexual assault, perpetrated by unscrupulous individuals (Alatinga, Allou & Kanmiki, 2021). In certain circumstances, female head porters become pregnant and give birth to children without the knowledge of the fathers involved (Awortwe, Bentum, Cudjoe & Abdullah, 2020). Regardless of the prevailing environmental conditions, these mothers work tirelessly throughout the day to provide for their survival and that of their children (Luthuli, Haskins, Mapumulo, Rollins & Horwood, 2020).

Head porter mothers play a critical role in supporting local economic development. Particularly, head porter mothers facilitate the transportation of goods from stores to lorry stations, serving customers (Otoo, 2021). Thus, they play a pivotal function in the day-to-day activities of Ghanaian markets by offering a flexible solution to the congested market environment, contributing significantly to the economy. Additionally, Agyei et al. (2016) stated that head porter mothers contribute to the generation of revenue for the municipalities by paying a daily market toll of GH¢ 0.50 (US \$0.16), which is used to fund development projects. While the amount may appear insignificant, the cumulative effect becomes substantial due to the increasing number of head porters in the major cities of Ghana (Agyei et al., 2016). According to Tade (2022), head porting has a significant impact on the quality of life of the head porter mothers since they can secure jobs, earn income, and avail healthcare services while some head porter mothers use their earnings to financially assist their families and relatives residing back home in the northern region of Ghana. This is important, especially given the current global trends of globalization and political changes in the economy (Agyei et al., 2016). These changes, driven by the implementation of neoliberal policies, have reduced the government's ability to directly create job opportunities for individuals in the economy (Agyei et al., 2016).

Due to their vulnerability and economic status, many head porter mothers and their children often sleep outside and live in unhygienic and substandard conditions (Azumah & Onzaberigu, 2018). As opined by Owusu Marfo (2018), the health of a child is influenced by the environment in which the child grows and plays. Existing studies on female head porters have mainly focused on challenges, coping, contraceptive use, health needs, lifestyle, working and living conditions (Azumah & Onzaberigu, 2018; Dassah, Domapielle, & Sumankuuro, 2022; Kanwetuu, Worae & Acheampong, 2023; Nyarko & Tahiru, 2018; Opuni, Adei, Mensah, Adamtey, & Agyemang-Duah, 2023). Limited information exists regarding the strategies employed by head porters who are nursing mothers in managing the demands of their jobs and childcare. This study, therefore sought to explore the challenges faced by these women and find out the strategies employed in managing the demands of their jobs and childcare in the quest to proposing suggestions to help curb the situation. The following objects focused the study:

1. To explore the challenges faced by kayayie nursing mothers as they strive to balance childcare and work.
2. To investigate the strategies employed by kayayie nursing mothers in balancing childcare responsibilities with their work demands.
3. To ascertain the perceived solutions that can help kayayie nursing mothers overcome the challenges of balancing childcare with work

The study adopted the role strain theory. The theory of role strain, as articulated by sociologist William J. Goode, posits that individuals experience strain when they encounter challenges in fulfilling the expectations associated with their diverse social responsibilities (Goode, 1960). Role conflict, role excess, and role ambiguity are potential manifestations of this strain (Goode, 1960). Role conflict arises when the expectations of various roles are incompatible, role excess occurs when the demands of numerous roles exceed an individual's resources, and role ambiguity arises when there is uncertainty regarding the expectations of a specific role (Goode, 1960). To comprehend the experiences of nursing mother head porters in Ghana, it is particularly important to consider these dimensions of role strain.

In Ghana, head porters are predominantly young women from impoverished backgrounds who migrate to urban centres in quest of employment opportunities (Azumah & Onzaberigu, 2018). Their economic survival is contingent upon their employment, which is distinguished by physically taxing duties and extended hours. At the same time, a significant number of these women are lactating mothers, a responsibility that necessitates a substantial amount of



emotional investment, time, and energy. These women are perpetually strained by their dual responsibilities of motherhood and career.

The tension between the duties of being a head porter and a nursing mother is intense. As head porters, these women must labour long hours in harsh circumstances to support themselves and their children. However, the position of a nursing mother requires continual care, attention, and physical presence, especially during breastfeeding and assuring the child's well-being. This intrinsic contradiction causes serious role conflict. For instance, a nursing mother may be expected to work while her child needs to be fed or soothed, resulting in a direct conflict between her professional and maternal duties.

Role overload is a prominent feature of the experiences of nursing mother head porters. The physical demands of carrying heavy loads, often in harsh weather conditions, coupled with the exhaustive nature of childcare, create an unsustainable burden. The energy expended in fulfilling the role of a head porter leaves little reserve for the equally demanding role of a mother. This overload not only affects the physical health of these women but also has psychological repercussions, including stress, anxiety, and a sense of inadequacy in fulfilling their dual roles effectively.

Ambiguity about roles makes these women's stress much worse. Many times, expectations from family or society about how to manage work and childcare are unclear. Furthermore, the lack of institutional support—such as having access to reasonably priced nurseries, maternity leave, or flexible working hours—leaves these women without direction or tools to handle their responsibilities. This uncertainty often makes them feel guilty and powerless as they have to choose between making a living and giving their kids the best care possible.

The role strain experienced by nursing mother head porters in Ghana has far-reaching implications. The physical and emotional toll on these women can affect their long-term health and well-being. Moreover, the strain on their ability to provide adequate childcare can have developmental consequences for their children. Addressing this issue requires a multi-faceted approach that includes policy interventions, community support systems, and workplace reforms.

2.0 Research Methods

The study, guided by an interpretivist research philosophy, employed a qualitative design to explore the personal experiences of Kayayie nursing mothers balancing childcare and work responsibilities. The phenomenological approach was chosen to deeply understand the participants' stories, which were gathered through in-depth interviews. The research took place in Madina, a diverse and bustling suburb of Accra, Ghana, known for its significant migrant population. Madina's cosmopolitan nature made it an ideal location for this study. The sample included 12 head porter nursing mothers. Data saturation was used to determine the sample size. The participants were selected through purposive sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique, ensuring that participants had relevant experience and met specific criteria such as having worked at the market for at least a year and having children under three years. Initial rapport-building with potential participants lasted three weeks, during which the study's inclusion criteria were communicated.

The demographic profile of the participants showed they were all females aged between 23 and 29, predominantly single (83%), and mainly Muslim (83%), with a majority lacking formal education (58%). Data collection involved conducting semi-structured interviews in Twi, (a local Ghanaian language). These interviews, held between October and November 2023, were recorded with the kayayie nursing mothers' consent and later translated into English with the help of a language expert to ensure accuracy. Data analysis followed Creswell and Creswell's thematic framework, which involved organizing, coding, and identifying themes within the data. The findings were interpreted in relation to existing literature, providing a nuanced understanding of the participants' experiences. Ethical considerations were paramount, with participants fully informed about the study's objectives, their rights, and the confidentiality of their data. Participants were assured of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, ensuring their voluntary and informed consent.

3.0 Analysis Result

The study explored the strategies employed by head porter nursing mothers allowing them to fulfil their maternal and work duties simultaneously. Themes from the interviews revealed carrying children at the back and peer support as the strategies adopted by kayayie nursing mothers to balance childcare with work. Also, the study identified low



patronage of services as a challenge faced by kayayie nursing mothers, low productivity and frequent ill health among their children.

3.1. How kayayie nursing mothers balance the care of their children with work

3.1.1. Carrying child at the back

The participants reported that they used a piece of fabric to fasten their babies to their backs. According to the participants, they did not have anyone to take care of their wards for them while they worked. Hence, they had to carry them at their backs amidst the scorching sun and work.

"Sometimes, I carry her at my back and go about my duties because I don't have anyone that I can leave the child with and go and work. All my relatives are in the North so I do not have any option than her being at my back while I walk through this sun". (01, kayayie nursing mother)

In support of this, another participant intimated that due to the nature of the head pottering venture, putting the child at her back is the only way she can properly attend to the breastfeeding needs of the child.

"I always carry the child at my back and while I go up and down looking for goods to carry so that I can get money to take care of her. When she is at my back, I can take care of her (baby) needs. She is just one year old so if leave her with my friends like what some people do and she cries, who will give her breast milk? And in today's world, I'm the best person to take care of the child and not someone else". (09, kayayie nursing mother)

Demonstrating her cognizance of alternatives such as daycare centres and leaving the child with her colleagues, a participant narrated her inability to resort to these options due to poverty and mistrust respectively. As a result, she had to put the child at her back while she worked.

"None of my family members is closer to me and I do not have money to take her to daycare centres like the rich people do so the child is always at my back while I carry the heavy goods of people so that I can earn something small (money) to care of her and myself. Even though I have friends here, I cannot leave the child with them because I do not think they can take good care of him (child) like I will do". (05, kayayie nursing mother)

3.1.2. Peer and employer's support

The head porter nursing mothers underscored the supportive network of friends that assisted them in caring for their children. They believe that having this support is extremely valuable, especially when compared to their colleagues who lack such support. One of them had this to say:

"I'm fortunate to have supportive friends who can look after my child while I work. Personally, relying on my friends is crucial for my survival because it helps a lot. You just imagine carrying heavy goods of customers with a baby at your back in this sun like what some of my people do". (06, kayayie nursing mother)

Similarly, another participant shared that she entrusts her child to the care of her long-time friends who, like them, migrated to Madina in search of employment and economic prospects but ended up as head porters.

"I have friends here as you can see, so I leave the child with them and go about my duties as a head porter. I have known them for some time now since we all came from the north to look for jobs and money so we help each other". (04, kayayie nursing mother)

Adding to this, participants highlighted that aside from leaving children with colleague head porters, they sometimes entrust the care of children to their employers since there is a close bond between the employer and the child.

"Sometimes, I leave her with my free colleagues because it is not easy to carry her at my back and work. Sometimes too, I work for a woman who sells rice, oil and other provisions, so I leave the child with her since both my daughter and the woman have developed a fondness for each other". (10, kayayie nursing mother)

"My madam assists me by looking after my child while I carry the loads for our customers who patronize us. People think we are on our own but some of us work for people who have big shops here. So, when customers come and buy things in bulk, we are the ones who carry it to their cars so before I carry the loads, leave the child with my madam This arrangement allows me to work and provide for my child." (01, kayayie nursing mother)



3.2 Challenges

3.2.1. Low patronage

The head porter nursing mothers shared that only a few people patronized their services since the majority of the customers refuse to let them transport their goods assuming that they are incapable of carrying them while they have a child at their backs.

"Because of the child, I usually have a bad market because when people call me to come and carry their goods and they realize that I'm carrying a child at my back, they tell me to go. After all, they think I cannot carry the goods because of the child at my back. So, they usually prefer my colleagues who do not have children. It's only a few of them that allow us to carry their goods while we carry our children at our backs". (06, kayayie nursing mother)

Another participant expressed her frustration about being asked to leave because of the child at her back. She felt that this situation prevents her from making money. Although customers are being helpful by not burdening the head porters with heavy items while they have children at their backs, she sees it as a missed opportunity to gain more customers. She said;

"Someone will call me and later ask me to go because of the child I'm carrying. When that happens, it pains me because I lose the opportunity to make money and fend for myself. For the customers, they think they are doing you a favor because you cannot carry heavy goods with a child at your back but for me, it is a loss of customers". (07, kayayie nursing mother)

Finally, a participant had this to say on the issue of low patronage;

"Hmmm, for some people, the moment they call you and realize that you have a child at your back, they will not let you carry things because they feel it is not good. A woman once told me to stop the kaya business the sun is too scorchy for my child". (04, kayayie nursing mother)

3.2.2 Low productivity

The participants alluded that their outputs at work were below their desired expectations. This, triggered by the inability to move freely and work continuously due to obligations associated with parenting, as well as the possibility of interruptions like weeping and having to take breaks for feedings while working.

"I cannot work optimally like my colleagues who do not have children. For them, they can move anywhere and work as much as they can because they are not carrying any child who will cry to distract them. They do have to pause and feed any child in the course of their work". (11, kayayie nursing mother)

In support of this, another participant recounted that;

"I only work for some few hours. I cannot work like how other head porters work because of my child. It is not easy at all to carry goods of customers with this child at my back, especially in the afternoon every day. Most at times, I usually get tired and weak. When that happens, I find some place to rest or I go home". (07, kayayie nursing mother)

Adding to this, a participant lamented that the constant attention required for caring for the child makes it difficult to fully concentrate on work and be effective.

"Caring for this child requires constant attention making it very difficult to fully focus at work and be effective. As a result, I only work for some few hours and use the remaining hours to rest and take care of my baby" (02, kayayie nursing mother)

Similarly, a participant emphasized how tough it is to strike a balance between her child's needs and her work obligations. She finds herself stark between whether to give the child's needs priority or go on with work, especially while handling a customer's goods.

"When the child cries, I would have to stop whatever I am doing and attend to the child. This really affects my output at work. Sometimes, the child cries while I'm carrying a customer's goods. When that happens, I would have to choose between putting the goods down and attend to the child or completely ignoring the cry. If I choose the former and the customer is not empathetic, I will lose money because the customer will get annoyed. If I opt for the latter, people passing will think I am heartless". (08, kayayie nursing mother)



3.2.3 Frequent ill health among their children

The kayayie nursing mothers reported that their children became frequently ill due to consistent exposure to the sun. For instance, one of the participants indicated how her son became ill by showing signs such as excessive sweating, weakness, and dizziness.

“My child usually displays symptoms like excessive sweating, weakness, dizziness. When it sometimes becomes serious, I manage and take her to the hospital and the doctor said the child was more susceptible to heat-related illnesses such as heat exhaustion and heatstroke”. (12, kayayie nursing mother)

Additionally, participants explained that their children often became sick by experiencing high body temperature, especially in the afternoon. The extracts below capture their views;

“Most of the time, my child gets sick. His body usually gets hot especially in the afternoon because she is always with me anytime I walk through the market to either look for loads to carry or carry someone’s loads. I know it’s because of the sun but sometimes too, that’s when I get my market”. (01, kayayie nursing mother)

“The last time I managed to take him to the community clinic when he was sick, the doctor told me that I had been exposing the child to too much sun so asked me not to carry him along to work but if I stop, how will I eat? I do not get any support from anyone” (06, kayayie nursing mother)

3.3 Proposed Intervention

3.3.1 Affordable daycare centres

The participants suggested that the government should support them by providing them with childcare facilities such as daycare centres. With this support, Kayayie nursing mothers would be able to focus on their work without having to worry about parenting duties while at work.

“As some of the working mothers who have money do by sending their children to daycare, the government should help us by providing us with a place where we can go and leave our children who have not yet reached school-going age because we do not have money. That will help us to focus on our works as head porters” (09, kayayie nursing mother)

Likewise, a participant highlighted the availability of daycare centres around but her inability to send her child there due to the cost involved hence the need for the government to assist.

“Here, there is no government daycare around. However, I have heard that there is a school here, but I lack the funds to send her there. So, if the government can build some daycare for us so that we can leave our children there and come to work when we close, then we go and pick them up”. (10, kayayie nursing mother)

A participant concurred by saying that due to the cost involved in financing the educational expenses of her other children with her restricted income, she is unable to send her last child to daycare while she works.

“Although there are schools nearby, I find it unsettling and difficult to take the child to school here. The reason is that I have to pay for all of his educational expenses out of the little money I get from my work”. (08, kayayie nursing mother)

4.0. Discussion

Studies such as (Moussié, 2017; Waterhouse, Hill, & Hinde, 2017) have demonstrated that a significant number of women engaged in informal economic activities choose to have their children accompany them while working. Consistent with the findings of this study, the head porter nursing mothers brought their children to work. Specifically, they used a piece of cloth to tie the children at their backs while they went about their duties as head porters. The rationale behind this choice could be due to various reasons including limited access to affordable childcare services, financial needs, or a desire to monitor their children's well-being. This has detrimental effects on their well-being as well as the health of their children. For the mothers, the physical demands of carrying heavy loads on their heads for extended periods cause significant strain and harm to their bodies. Also, the children are exposed to hazardous and unhealthy conditions in the market, including the intense heat and the risk of accidents from traffic. Thus, these children may not be raised in a secure and conducive environment.



In Ghana, the act of mothering used to be a shared responsibility, with societal norms encouraging the involvement of extended family members in the upbringing of children (Waterhouse et al., 2017). However, this has greatly been influenced by factors such as urbanization and industrialization (Joksic & Rajakovic, 2020). When family members are physically separated, it is challenging to provide daily childcare support. Nevertheless, it does not imply that there is a complete lack of support (Waterhouse et al., 2017). This study has shown that the head porter mothers entrusted the care of their children to their colleagues and employers as a way of managing the dual responsibility of childcare and work. Unlike women employed in office settings who usually utilized formal daycare to juggle work and childcare commitments (Soyseçkin, 2016), the head porter mothers resorted to their peers and employers since they had no familial relations around their place of residence.

The study revealed that only a few people employed the services of the head porter mothers particularly those who were not employed by shop owners in the market. According to the participants, potential clients believed job performance may be compromised due to the children at their backs. Consequently, they often lose their clients to their colleagues who do not have children at their back. However, there were a few understanding customers who allowed them to work while carrying their child on their back.

5.0 Conclusion

The study has highlighted ‘carrying children at the back’ and ‘peer and employee support’ as the strategies employed by head porter mothers to manage the dual responsibility of childcare and work. Also, the study revealed low patronage of services, low productivity and frequent ill health among their children as the challenges confronted by the head porter mothers.

6.0. Recommendations

The study recommends Non-profit Organisations, religious groups and government agencies to establish childcare centres near the market place for these mothers to keep their children for proper care as they go to work. Furthermore, the government through the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protections and Ministry of Health should provide periodic health care services to these vulnerable children. Finally, the Ministry of Employment and Labour relations should organise periodic training for these women to empower them in work ethics and productivity.

References

- Agyei, Y. A., Kumi, E., & Yeboah, T. (2016). Is better to be a kayaye than to be unemployed: Reflecting on the role of head portering in Ghana’s informal economy. *GeoJournal*, 81(2), 293–318.
- Alatinga, K. A., Allou, L. A., & Kanmiki, E. W. (2021). Contraceptive use among migrant adolescent girl head porters in Southern Ghana: Policy implications for sexual and reproductive health education and promotion. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 120, 105651.
- Awortwe, V., Bentum, H., Cudjoe, E., & Abdullah, A. (2020). A reason for the unmet needs of children in contact with social services? Non-resident fathers’ perspectives on delinquent child maintenance claims. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 117, 105298.
- Azumah, F. D., & Onzaberigu, N. J. (2018). The Lifestyle of female head porters: The single mother and her coping strategies at Aboabo, Kumasi. *International Journal of Innovation Education and Research*, 6(2).
- Dassah, C., Domapielle, M. K., & Sumankuuro, J. (2022). Contraceptive use among female head porters: Implications for health policy and programming in Ghana. *Heliyon*, 8(12).
- de Paul Kanwetuu, V., Worae, J., & Acheampong, G. B. (2023). Coping with the challenges of head portage in Ghana: The case of female head porters (kayaye) in Kumasi. *Journal for Social Thought*, 7(1).
- Goode, W. J. (1960). A theory of role strain. *American Sociological Review*, 483–496.
- Heymann, J., Sprague, A. R., Nandi, A., Earle, A., Batra, P., Schickedanz, A., Chung, P. J., & Raub, A. (2017). Paid parental leave and family wellbeing in the sustainable development era. *Public Health Reviews*, 38(1), 1–16.
- Joksic, I., & Rajakovic, V. (2020). Family as a factor of socialization and resocialization. *Law Theory & Prac.*, 37, 42.
- Kwankye, S. O., Anarfi, J. K., Tagoe, C. A., & Castaldo, A. (2007). Coping strategies of independent child migrants from northern Ghana to southern cities. *Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty Working Paper Series*, University of Sussex.
- Luthuli, S., Haskins, L., Mapumulo, S., Rollins, N., & Horwood, C. (2020). ‘I decided to go back to work so I can afford to buy her formula’: A longitudinal mixed-methods study to explore how women in informal work



- balance the competing demands of infant feeding and working to provide for their family. *BMC Public Health*, 20, 1–15.
- Mandal, B. (2018). The Effect of Paid Leave on Maternal Mental Health. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 22(10), 1470–1476. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10995-018-2542-x>
- Moussié, R. (2017). Women informal workers mobilizing for child care. *WIEGO Research Paper, Cambridge, MA: WIEGO*. <https://www.wiego.org/sites/default/files/publications/files/Moussié%CC%81-Mobilizing-for-Child-Care.pdf>
- Nyarko, S. H., & Tahiru, A. M. (2018). Harsh working conditions and poor eating habits: Health-related concerns of female head porters (Kayaye) in the Mallam Atta Market, Accra, Ghana. *BioMed Research International*, 2018.
- Opuni, R. K., Adei, D., Mensah, A. A., Adamtey, R., & Agyemang-Duah, W. (2023). Health needs of migrant female head porters in Ghana: Evidence from the Greater Accra and Greater Kumasi Metropolitan areas. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 22(1), 1–14.
- Otoo, J. M. (2021). *Exploring the Strategies of Head Porters (Kayaye) in Coping with their Low Socio-Economic Background in the Greater Accra Region, Ghana: A Case Study of Kayaye at the Makola Market Accra* [PhD Thesis, Ghana Institute of Journalism]. <https://repository.gij.edu.gh/handle/gijdr/205>
- Owusu, L., & Yeboah, T. (2018). Living conditions and social determinants of healthcare inequities affecting female migrants in Ghana. *GeoJournal*, 83, 1005–1017.
- Owusu Marfo, A. (2018). *A Study on the Health Status of Children (0-36 Months Old) of Head Porters in Markola Market, Accra* [PhD Thesis, Ensign Global College]. <https://repository.ensign.edu.gh/handle/123456789/121>
- Soyseçkin, İ. S. (2016). Balance between work and family life: Middle class working mothers in Turkey. *Fe Dergi*, 8(1), 130–143.
- Steurer, L. M. (2017). Maternity Leave Length and Workplace Policies' Impact on the Sustainment of Breastfeeding: Global Perspectives. *Public Health Nursing*, 34(3), 286–294. <https://doi.org/10.1111/phn.12321>
- Tade, O. (2022). 'My husband is living like a dead person': Explaining women portage labour in Ibadan urban market. *African Identities*, 20(3), 225–236.
- Waterhouse, P., Hill, A. G., & Hinde, A. (2017). Combining work and child care: The experiences of mothers in Accra, Ghana. *Development Southern Africa*, 34(6), 771–786. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2017.1323627>

