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Employment Prospects of the Youth in the Region of Kumasi

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Research Report “Modes of Mobility in Africa”
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I. Introduction: Employment Situation of Youth in Ghana – A brief Outline

From July until September 2009 I spent two and a half months in Ghana conducting research, which was an obligatory part of my Sociology curriculum. The curriculum schedule included a preparation as well as an evaluation period. The preparation part served me to obtain the essential contextual and methodological knowledge for the field work. In the evaluation period I learned with what kind of analytical methods I can examine the data which I collected. All three phases (preparation, field work and evaluation) of the ‘Lehrforschung’ seminar have been taught and supervised by Dr. Nadine Sieveking. The overall topic of the seminar dealt with ‘Modes of Mobility in West Africa’ as mobility is considered as the fundament for understanding African life (cp. Gough 2008: 243). In the seminar we mainly focused on the relation between spatial and social mobility as the central question of the seminar referred to how they are interrelated to each other.

Being in Ghana I carried out my research project in the second biggest city Kumasi. Kumasi’s proximity facilitated my access to Bonwire – one of the principal sites for Kente fabrics. I had the possibility to talk to young auto mechanic apprentices and to young weavers. All the young people opened me valuable insights into their lives, including their educational background, their current employment situation and their employment prospects, which were my research focus. Assessing whether their employment prospects are realistic and achievable depend not only on the individual resources, but also on the employment situation of the youth in Ghana.

The current employment situation of the youth who constitute about 26 percent of Ghana’s population is characterised by unemployment and underemployment which remain the greatest challenges for the National Youth Policy. In the ‘Draft National Employment Policy’ it is stated that about 350,000 young people with various educational backgrounds join the labour market annually. Solely, 40 percent of them enter into the labour market and are mainly employed in the informal sector. The remaining 60 percent of the young people remain largely unemployed. Several reasons for the large unemployment rate among the youth have been identified as for instance inadequate skills, lack of knowledge, work experience and access to labour market information, constraint of capacity to generate self-employment opportunities and preponderance for formal employment. Consequently, since 1996 the government has strategically focused on initiatives targeting youth’s development needs. Such initiatives are represented by the ‘Distance Learning Programme’ in year 1996, the ‘Youth in Agricultural Programme’ in year 1997, the ‘Presidential Special Initiative on Distant

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1 Adequate English translation ‘research training’.
2 All my interview partners from both areas were male. It was not my intention to conduct the research project on men’s employment prospects, but the occupational spheres, where I carried out my project, were dominated by men.
The ‘National Youth Employment Programme’ (NYEP) was conceptualised by the former ruling party - the NPP (National Patriotic Party) as a strategy within a broader national policy to deal with unemployment, especially with youth unemployment. The NYEP was launched by the government on 3rd of October 2006 to provide to all young men and women in Ghana a combination of self-employment opportunities, wage earning jobs and voluntary service activities. In addition, the programme strived to prepare young people for integration into the mainstream labour market. The aim was to create jobs for half a million young people across the country until 2009. The programme was designed to cover a wide range of economic and social activities in all communities across the country. The NYEP contains 10 employment modules: Agri-Business, Trades and Vocations, Information and Communication Technology, Community Protection System, Waste and Sanitation Management Corps, Rural Education, Auxiliary Nursing, Internship and Industrial Attachments, Vacation Jobs, and Volunteer Services. With the introduction of the programme eight modules have been implemented. The Trades and Vacations and Information Communication Technology modules have not been launched still. By 2007, statistics indicate that over 100,000 jobs have been created under the eight employment modules (cp. Baah 2008: 6f.). Thus, the NYEP represents an important intervention by providing employment opportunities to young men and women around the whole country. Nevertheless, the programme is facing many challenges since its implementation. The NYEP is one of the few country-owned programmes, which is fully financed by the government of Ghana. The greatest challenge is the lack of further funds which hampers the objective to provide jobs for half a million youth by the year 2009. Due to the lack of financial means the workers under the NYEP receive wages under the National Minimum Wage\(^3\). Besides the low payment, some of the employees are not paid regularly. Additionally, the programme does not provide access to social security, medical care, paid annual leave and paid sick leave. By law it is mandatory to cover social security and paid annual leave for every employee (ibid. 44f.).

Overall, it can be said that the programme represents a real progress in job creation for young people in Ghana. It is still not known if the goal to provide occupation opportunities for half a million youth by the year 2009 is realized already. Up-to-date and accurate data on employment and other labour market indicators are difficult to obtain in Ghana. Despite that, this representation shows that the employment situation of young people remains also nowadays a major challenge for the national policy.

At the beginning of my empirical research report I will outline my research focus by representing the elaboration of my survey question and in relation to that I will give a definition of spatial and social mobility as they are of great importance for my focus. The next part of the report will deal with background information concerning my research fields. The information is crucial for understanding the following chapters. Furthermore, I will provide information on my methods and methodology, which contain following topics: field access, methods of collecting data and analytical method. This part will additionally comprise a chapter on the role of my research assistant, who was of great support in my entire research process. The next chapter’s objective is to illustrate my outcomes from the analysis of the empirical data. One of the most important findings is related to education which turns out to be a prerequisite for social mobility. Additionally the current employment situation has great influence on the employment prospects of young men. The report will end with a conclusion, in which the most crucial aspects regarding my topic will be summarised.

2. Research Focus

2.1 Formulation of the Research Question

Before I went to Ghana, I planned to conduct my research on the topic “Child trafficking and labour”. I was mainly interested in the preventive activities of governmental and non-governmental organisations. In that field internet served me as a main source of information about children rights. I read different conventions, protocols and laws. Additionally, I dealt with empirical studies and all kind of literature I could find related to my focus. Thus, my approach to the project got clearer and I did not think about difficulties that might arise until I had a meeting with my supervising lecturer. She assured me that she will not be able to provide me contacts of persons in Ghana who deal in this sphere. Furthermore, she considered that my focus was too sensitive, which would obstruct my access to the field. After due consideration, I decided to change my research focus to some other one, which would not be of great difficulty for the field access. My inspiration for a new topic was a Migration DCR Working Paper³ which dealt with the coping strategies of independent child migration from Northern to Southern Ghana. The children adapt coping strategies in their everyday life in order to survive. In this report, the risks of everyday life in terms of employment, housing, health care etc. and the reasons for migration are depicted. My idea for a new topic was to carry out my research on livelihood strategies of young people from urban, as well as from rural areas. I decided to concentrate on young

people as my analytical group, because I assumed that in case I want to conduct interviews it might be easier to handle it with young people rather than with children.

My subject to analyse the livelihood strategies of young people from urban as well as from rural areas was too extended to be carried out in a period shorter than three months. I was aware that livelihood strategies can cover a wide range of a person’s activity, therefore I decided to concentrate on one area of young people’s lives. I assumed that the young people might be either in school or carry out an apprenticeship. In this regard, I decided to set my focus on the future vocational perspectives of the youth in the region of Kumasi. I chose Kumasi because I was interested in the Ashanti Region, for where I knew that I may have the possibility to conduct research in rural areas. Due to this reason I decided to establish a comparison between the employment perspectives of young people from urban and from rural areas. Thus, I named my research topic ‘Employment Prospects of the Youth in the Region of Kumasi’.

In addition, my new topic showed good indications for linkage with the overall theme ‘Modes of Mobility in West Africa’ of the ‘Lehrforschung’ seminar. I expected that the search for employment or apprenticeship requires in many cases mobility which leads, like it is often stated in the literature, to rural-urban migration. The young apprentices or employees could have been already mobile for finding a better work in some city other than their hometown or they could plan for their employment prospects to move somewhere else. From these assumptions I concluded that my research project concerning the overall topic will mainly focus on two types of mobility – spatial and social mobility.

Being in the field I conducted interviews with young people from Kumasi as well as with young people living in a village called Bonwire. At that time I was sure that I can develop the above mentioned comparison until I came back to Germany, where I had the time to reflect on the qualitative approach at my entire research process. First, I noticed that I can not proceed from my qualitative empirical data concerning my research question that it is valid for the whole youth of Kumasi and Bonwire. This conclusion I made from the fact that I carried out my research in two specific locations - in Suame Magazine, where young people specialize on auto mechanics and in Bonwire, where young people work as weavers. Thus, I was able to analyse the employment prospects of the young men dealing solely in these work spheres. Secondly, I can not develop the comparison between employment prospects of young people from urban and rural areas because I did not research on rural areas – neither empirically nor theoretically. The question ‘What is exactly a rural area in Ghana?’ aroused constantly and I was not able to answer it with complete certainty. This particular issue confirmed my resolution to abandon the comparison and set my focus on issues which arise in my empirical data. Hence, I elaborated on the employment prospects of young people working in the area of auto mechanics respectively in the area of weaving. In this respect, I had the opportunity to compare the employment prospects of young people who work as auto mechanics with each other. The same is
valid for the young people who work as weavers. Additionally, I compared the employment prospects of the mechanics and weavers themselves to see if there are any similarities respectively differences.

2.2 Mobility
As assumed before the realisation of my research project, which was corroborated during the empirical research work, aspects of spatial and social mobility play a crucial role regarding my research focus. In order to be able to follow my analysis results in terms of spatial and social mobility, I want to give a general definition of the two concepts, which guided me through the evaluation of my empirical data.

Spatial mobility is defined by me as the physical relocation of individuals or groups from one region to another. Thus, it is the movement in a spatial-geographical space. Social mobility, on the contrary, describes the movement of individuals or groups between social positions or as a change in position of individuals or groups in social space (cp. Geißler 2008: 255).

With respect to their interrelation, a distinction between horizontal and vertical social mobility has to be made. Horizontal mobility refers to the horizontal movement between positions which are by their rank on the same level. Vertical mobility is characterised through vertical movement between higher and lower located positions which comprehend either a social advancement or a social descent. Thereby, the determination of a social position can take place solely in interaction with other social positions (ibid.). At this point it is important to note that it is not possible to differentiate between horizontal and vertical mobility in every case. Because of this reason it is advisable to adopt this concept with caution.

In Ghana some forms of spatial mobility are closely linked with assumptions of social mobility which are embodied in wealth and prestige. In this sense, education and vocational skills are viewed as important factors for mobility. Especially education operates as a mobility factor in two respects: on the one hand education extends the capabilities of qualified vocational activities and on the other it creates perspectives in relation to employment in the formal sector and thus, it provides means for social advancement (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 60f.)³.

³ Unpublished survey
3. Background Information

3.1 National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI)

The NBSSI is a governmental agency, which tries to improve the competitiveness of micro\(^6\) and small\(^7\) trade enterprises by facilitating the provision of business development programmes and integrated support services. Since 1990, NBSSI and the German Development Service (DED) undertook to cooperate in the promotion of economic and social development of the micro and small enterprises sector in Ghana. Currently, DED collaborates with NBSSI for the development of appropriate structures and capacities to provide business development services to small and medium-sized\(^8\) enterprises through support by Regional Offices. In pursuance of this objective, German Development Service Advisors are attached to the Regional Secretariats and the Project Coordinating Office located within the Entrepreneurship Development Department (EDD). Within NBSSI there they work directly with NBSSI staff on enhancing the activities of the Business Advisory Centres (BACs) (cp. NBSSI News 2008: 4-6). The BAC promotes activities directed at enterprise development. Their functions include firstly, facilitating improvement of the environment for small-scale business creation and growth. Secondly, they enable micro and small enterprises access to business development services and thirdly, they provide advisory and counselling services to promote group formation and to strengthen associations (cp. NBSSI Brochure).

3.2 Suame Magazine Industrial Development Organization (SMIDO)

Suame Magazine is an artisanal engineering cluster spanning 20 square miles located in Kumasi, Ghana. It has a working population of over 200,000 of which approximately 12,000 are shop owning proprietors. It is the largest informal sector estate in Ghana. The companies and enterprises in this industrial area specialize in five major activities: vehicular repair, spare parts dealership, fuel Injection Pump mechanics, automotive engineering service and fabrication. It is the largest concentration of small-scale engineering clusters in sub-Saharan Africa, which attracts not only customers from other parts of Ghana, but also from Niger, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo etc. In addition, the industrial cluster is actively involved in capacity building in technical and vocational skills to young people (cp. Nyaaba-Aweeba Azongo 2007: 9-15 and Narajan 2008: 3).

Since 1982 the government has tried to undertake interventions to unify the furcate economic groups in order to address the institutional needs of Suame Magazine for the development of a more formalised industrial estate. These major interventions could not succeed. They merely achieved a

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\(^6\) A micro enterprise exists with a capital base of 500 Ghana Cedi (approximately 250 Euro) and employees are from the family or one hired person to assist.

\(^7\) A small enterprise has about 2 to 10 employees.

\(^8\) A medium-sized enterprise has about 10 to 28 employees.
bitter rivalry among the groups. After the failure of the government further interventions were carried out by the Business Sector Advocacy Challenge (BUSAC) Fund Project, which was supported by the Ghana’s major development partners Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Department for International Development (DFID). The facilitative interference of the BUSAC Fund Project led to the formation and establishment of Suame Magazine Industrial Development Organization (SMIDO) in 2006 as an umbrella non-governmental organization and development institution for Suame Magazine. The objective was the same: to overcome historical problems of divisiveness and to chart a common development cause for the advancement of the industrial operations of Suame Magazine (cp. Nyaaba-Aweeba Azongo 2007: 7-10).

The technological advances in the global automobile industry largely driven by ICT (Information Communication Technology) led to the demand to use ICT Auto Diagnostics (Automatics Engineering) system for vehicular repairs. Due to the technological backlog and the urgent necessity to incorporate ICT into the industrial operations of Suame Magazine, SMIDO has entered into a partnership with the Kofi Annan ICT Centre. This partnership led to the establishment of Suame Tech Automatics Engineering Institute (SMATI). The aim of SMATI was “to harness the industrial capacity, potential of members and trainees and also contribute positively to country’s intent of creating youth employment and viable business” (Suame Tech Automatics Engineering Project 2008: 5). With the support of the Kofi Annan ICT Centre SMATI was granted with sector-specific accreditation as part of the artisanal development and apprenticeship orientation of the estate. A website to document and market the industrial activities was established. Additionally, the business management software for training was provided (cp. Nyaaba-Aweeba Azongo 2007: 31-33). In this way a SMATI Project Framework was developed which applies also in practice (as I could experience during my research at SMIDO). The SMATI Project Framework looks like followed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Expected Outputs/Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project 1: Basic Artisanal ICT Level</td>
<td>Basic knowledge in the use of softwares.</td>
<td>Artisans become equipped in the use of Basic ICT tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project 2: Secondary Artisanal ICT Level</td>
<td>Development of and use of business software’s for industrial operations.</td>
<td>Artisans have a trained capacity to use ICT in Business operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project 3: Tertiary Artisanal ICT Level (Automatics Engineering)</td>
<td>Advanced ICT driven Auto Diagnostic Studies and applications</td>
<td>Artisans have trained capacity in the application of ICT in automobile diagnosis and repairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project 4: Artisanal Engineering Consultancy Centre</td>
<td>Centre of consultancy for artisanal ICT development in Ghana and West Africa.</td>
<td>The Resource centre serves as a service centre for artisans in Ghana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ibid. 35).
Phase 1: Basic Artisanal ICT Level: The aim of this phase was to develop courses that will provide basic knowledge of computers and the use of software to artisans (cp. Natarajan 2008: 5).

Phase 2: Secondary Artisanal ICT Level: The focus of this phase was to take the basic competencies acquired during Phase 1 and to extend them by additional teaching about basics of accounting, book keeping and financial management. The teaching in these areas is complemented by Software based exercises. Phase 1 is a prerequisite for entering this class (ibid. 5).

Phase 3: Advanced Automotive Diagnostics: The main aim of this phase was to teach the participants the use of Electronic Diagnostic tools. Phase 1 is again a prerequisite here. Phase 2 is optional and can be taken before or after the students complete Phase 3 (ibid. 5).

Phase 4: Artisanal Engineering Consultancy Centre: “The objective of this phase is to establish an Engineering Consultancy Centre where artisans can help others in the region and the Western Africa by providing consultancy on various engineering topics” (Natarajan 2008: 5).

In order SMIDO to provide entrepreneurial skills and further training opportunities for artisans they need funds, training material and consultancy. At this point NBSSI comes into play, because NBSSI supports SMIDO with training material and consultancy (cp. Nyaaba- Aweeba Azongo 2007: 56-59).

3.3 The Village of Bonwire – Home of Kente

The village of Bonwire is located twenty kilometres northeast of Kumasi. It can be reached by bus, minibus or taxi. Bonwire is the principle Kente weaving centre in the Ashanti region. The Kente cloth is a hand-woven traditional dress that has become a symbol of Ashanti culture all over the world. Behind the Kente fabrics there is a legend hidden, which dates back several centuries ago. The legend tells about a man named Ota Karaban and his friend Kwaku Ameyaw who learned the art of weaving by observing a spider weaving its web. They took a cue from the spider, wove a strip of raffia fabric and later improved upon their skills. Then they reported their discovery to their Chief Nana Bobie, who in return told it to the Asantehene at that time. The Asantehene adopted it as a royal cloth and encouraged its development as a cloth of prestige reserved for special occasions. In the past the Kente was woven just in white, later in black and white and since there are coloured yarns available, one can find varicoloured Kente cloths. To be able to weave a Kente cloth a set of weaving apparatus is needed. This apparatus include the loom, which is constructed of wood, a set of two, four or six heddles attached to the treadles with pulleys and with spools inserted in them. Furthermore, shuttles with bobbin are launched in them. A beater and a sword stick are also needed. Other supporting

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9 Most of the information is based on informal talks with the dwellers from Bonwire.
10 The Ashanti King.
equipments are skein winder and bobbin winder\textsuperscript{12}. This apparatus makes it possible to manufacture the Kente in narrow strips approximately four inches wide which incorporate weft designs arranged so that when the strips are sewn together, the complete cloth has a patchwork appearance. Each weft design has its own name, so when ordering a Kente cloth from the weaver, one must specify both the design and cloth to be incorporated.

The Ashanti Kente is unlike any other West African weaves because of the intricacy of the designs, the fineness of the used tread, the variety of colours, and the perfection with which the weave is manufactured. Traditionally the Kente is woven mainly by men and its meaning has remained unchanged. It is regarded as a symbol of social prestige, mobility and a sense of cultural sophistication.

In year 1995 the ‘Bonwire Kente Cloth Weaving Centre’ was build by the government to support the work of the inhabitants of Bonwire. In order to be a member of the centre and use the weaving instruments one has to pay a registration fee of about 100 Ghana Cedis\textsuperscript{13}. There is an additional membership tax of 1 Ghana Cedi\textsuperscript{14} per month. The advantages of being a member of the centre are firstly that their products are exported and secondly it provides space to every member to present their Kente cloths for sale. Thus, the members, compared to the home weavers, have a greater chance to sell their products because the centre is the first stop for tourists. Despite the advantages, the situation of the centre and its members is in need of improvement. The needed help for improvement is provided by NBSSI. NBSSI organises management workshops, enables their access to funding and other credit facilities and arranges trade fair for their products.

4. Methods and Methodology

4.1 Field Access

In the first 2 weeks, after arriving in Accra, we had meetings with associates from different Ghanaian and German organizations like FES (Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation), GTZ (Society for Technical Cooperation) and the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon, who tried to provide us all\textsuperscript{15} with contacts for our research projects. Unfortunately, none of them could help me and I was quite disappointed. I was afraid that I would not be able to conduct my research project on the planned topic. These negative feelings disappeared after we met with an associate from the DED (German Development Service), who gave me the contact data of the Regional Manager of NBSSI in Accra.

\textsuperscript{13} Approximately 50 Euros.
\textsuperscript{14} Approximately 50 Euro Cent.
\textsuperscript{15} We were 6 students conducting research projects on different topics in Ghana.
Immediately after the meeting I contacted the Regional Manager, who agreed on an appointment with me. This turned out to be of a great benefit as he provided me with the contact data of the Regional Manager in Kumasi, which was the main city where I wanted to carry out my research project. After I arrived in Kumasi I did not hesitate to contact him. At that time he was on a vacation, but nevertheless he agreed to meet me. On our encounter in his office he surprised me extremely, because he had organized a research assistant especially for me, who was supposed to accompany me through my research project. This was a great surprise, because I never mentioned something related to a research assistant, let alone that he did before.

My research assistant, named Bob\textsuperscript{16}, worked as business advisor at the Business Advisory Centre of NBSSI. Bob was my ‘gatekeeper’ (cp. Sökefeld 2006: 7) to SMIDO, which was my first research field in Kumasi. The first time I went with Bob to SMIDO, he introduced me to the employees, who were going to be my contact persons during the time of my research. The atmosphere at SMIDO was from the beginning on very pleasant and I felt welcome during the whole time I spent there. The reasons for my positive feelings arose from the behaviour of the employees towards me. They showed great interest in my research topic by asking me almost every day about the progress in my work. Furthermore, they provided me an own room at the SMIDO building, which was mostly used to keep and repair old computers, for the execution of my interviews. Additionally, they gave me brochures and PDF-texts concerning background information about SMIDO and Suame Magazine. This information was crucial for the production of my research report due to the reason that they complemented my notes, which I have written down in my research diary after every informal talk with the staff.

The working relation between the employees and me developed with the time to a relation which I perceive as friendship. This was noticeable firstly on the conversations we led, which were not only related to SMIDO and the work, but also to a lot of personal matters. Secondly, they offered me to take me to church, to cafés, to restaurants and bars. This showed that they wanted to spend time with me beyond the work at SMIDO. In Kumasi I knew only my research assistant and therefore I was glad to see that the employees from SMIDO were interested in me as a friend. In my opinion this was an advantage because in this way I got to know more about the culture, the mentality and the way of life. All these aspects show that I started conducting systematically ‘participant observation’ (cp. Spradley 1980a) which was based on a trustful relation and a vivid participation (cp. Lüders 2006: 392) from the first day at SMIDO. By accepting my role as a researcher, the employees enabled me a lengthy and informative stay in the field (ibid. 391f.) which was crucial for collecting data.

Being at SMIDO, I had the further possibility to continue participative observations in the ICT-classes. In this way I tried to get in touch with the participants, who were living in Kumasi and doing an

\textsuperscript{16} With his permission I am allowed to use his real nick name.
apprenticeship as auto mechanics in Suame Magazine. Thus, I got to know them better, which was beneficial for the interviews, as they talked to me about their life stories like to a friend, which also implies that they were talking openly about personal affairs. Such personal relations are not solely an ancillary tool but the fundament of ethnography (cp. Thon 2006: 160). Their attitude towards me as a researcher and as a private individual was accepting and respectable, which was a prerequisite to carry out my research. Furthermore, the friendly and trusting relationship which was vice versa showed me that they did not expect monetary compensation or some other kind of gifts for taking the time for the interviews (ibid. 160f.). Additionally, they seemed to be happy to be a chosen interview partner, who had the possibility to talk about their life story to a white foreigner from Europe. By actively choosing my interviewees, I gave them the feeling of being someone special as I did not ask every one.

After finishing at SMIDO I continued my research project in the village of Bonwire. In Bonwire I visited the Kente cloth weaving centre with the aim to conduct interviews with young people from a rural area. Choosing to continue my research project in Bonwire was a short-term decision due to changes in my plans. While I conducted my research project at SMIDO I tried to get in touch with a Chief from a village called Nobewam. Nobewam is about 40 kilometres south of Kumasi and lies directly on the main road between Accra and Kumasi. In Nobewam there is a Youth Trainee Centre called ‘Nobewam Integrated Community Centre for Employable Skills: NICCES’, which offers different apprenticeship programmes for carpentry, masonry, tailoring, coiffeur and agriculture for the young people living there (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 68). The aim of these programmes is to give the young people the possibility to learn a trade in their hometown with the consequence to stay in the village and not move somewhere else. Unfortunately, at the time when I wanted to conduct my research there, the Youth Trainee Centre was in vacation and would open only towards the end of my stay. The time of a research project is always restricted and in my case I explained the Chief my time limitation. With regard to that he offered me to conduct interviews with young people, who have already finished an apprenticeship. I liked his idea, because I thought it would be interesting to see if the graduated apprentices have found a work in their sphere or if their employment prospects have changed. The planned appointment did not take place and a new one could not be agreed. As I think now about it, I should have been more insisting, but I did not feel comfortable to bother the Chief with my research project, especially as I know the Chief was a busy person and had a lot more important affairs to arrange.

I was disappointed that most surely I will not be able to continue my research project in a rural area due to the reason that I had no contact data of people living in a village. At that time it was very important for me to develop the comparison between employment prospects of young people from urban as well as from rural areas. I explained Bob my situation and he offered me to continue my
research project in the village of Bonwire. I was happy to have had that possibility and decided to take Bob’s offer.

As in my first research field Bob operated also here as my gatekeeper. Additionally, he offered me to be my translator during the interviews, if needed, but as it turned out the young people, with whom I conducted the interviews, could all talk fluent English. Compared to the young people from Kumasi I had the feeling that almost all my interview partners in Bonwire expected from me to mobilize means to help them financially. This I concluded from the talks besides the interviews. Because I am a foreign student from a western country, they asked me, if I could talk to associates of my university to provide them financial help. In this case I explained them that the university, which I am visiting, will not have the financial resources to provide help for anybody. Despite that they tried during my whole stay in Bonwire to sell me their Kente products. The first days I bought couple of fabrics to a higher price than normal. I decided to pay them more, because they interrupted their work for an interview with me. Of course, I explained them why I paid them more. I assumed that they understood my intention, but their deeds showed the opposite. Every day they came to me to offer me new products. In retrospect, I suggest that my behaviour was not appropriate, because I gave them the impression that I have enough money to buy their products even at a higher price. The consequence was that they tried every day to sell me their products. For them I was a white and rich European, from whom they could benefit. It was like a business relation (cp. Sökefeld 2006: 17) where I buy their products in exchange for interviews.

Overall, from the beginning till the end of my research in Bonwire the relationship between me and my interviewees remained of working character.

4.2 Research Assistant – A Broker?

In this chapter I will elaborate on the role of my research assistant, which was of great importance for the execution of my research project.

Bob worked together with the World Bank and GTZ. From the conversations with Bob I understood that at the GTZ he was the intermediary for its projects between the government and the local communities. According to Bierschenk et al. (2001) such an intermediary can be conceived as a development broker, who organizes the interface between the target groups of the project and the donors (cp. Bierschenk et al. 2001: 213). Norman Long defines the social interface as “the critical point, where between different social systems, fields or levels of social order due to different normative values and social interests occur with high probability structural discontinuities”17 (Long 1993: 218). Bob operated at the GTZ projects as a broker, who tried to bridge the structural

17 Citation translated by author Jasmina Bujupi.
discontinuities between the target groups and the stakeholders of national and local governmental institutions by leading conversations with both sides. According to Bob’s own account the conversations served him to achieve that both sides understand that the project, which should be implemented, will meet the interests of both parties. In most cases, as he confirmed, he reached that both parties agreed on the implementation of the project. Additionally, he told me that almost all GTZ projects were carried out successfully.

In order to be a broker like Bob one has to acquire certain competences like “minimal contact with development projects, experiences gained outside the village, for instance in the school and higher education sector, in the urban world of paid employment, in the political area or in associations” (Bierschenk et al. 2001: 220). I can corroborate that these competences applied to him, because as I saw he had more than minimal contact to development projects like the GTZ-Projects and the NBSSI-Projects, he lived and worked in an urban area and therefore I conclude that he has gained experiences outside the village. In addition he has graduated his Bachelor degree in the University and this means that he has passed over Junior High School and Senior High School. His Master degree he planned to absolve it in a foreign country after he has gained enough vocational experiences, on what he is currently working. He explained to me that after one finishes his Bachelor degree in Ghana, it is absolutely normal that he first will try to gain experiences in the professional world before he starts his Master degree. Furthermore, he worked together with business associations.

These are not the only competencies that a broker must meet, but he should be equipped with rhetorical skills, which mean that he should be able to speak the language of the target groups and of the donors which comprises the knowledge of specific terms of the different agents (ibid. 221). As I observed, Bob could talk different foreign languages as well as local languages, what means that he was endow with rhetorical skills. Furthermore, he should also possess organizational skills, which are designed to be able to handle simultaneously multiple tasks and coordinate activities (ibid. 221). During the entire time I spent with Bob, it was obvious for me that he possessed these skills due to the fact that he was able to handle multiple tasks and coordinate activities of different actors at the development interface (NBSSI, GTZ and World Bank) contemporaneously. Another important expertise of brokers is to build their own personal network, to which he can revert anytime (ibid. 222). Due to his many professional activities, Bob had a large network of personal contacts, of which I could ultimately benefit. It was his personal network, which he opened for me and by doing so he gave me the possibility to carry out my research project at SMIDO and in Bonwire (cp. Schrader 1997: 12). In addition, he should be able to decide and act autonomously in his position, which implies that he must possess the ability to get his own projects going and the ability to apply to the decision makers of the projects by passing over other middlemen (cp. Bierschenk et al. 2001: 222). As I could observe,
Bob had his freedom to decide and act autonomously in his position. This became clear to me due to the fact that he took himself the time, even when I knew that he was busy, to accompany me to SMIDO and to Bonwire every time it was needed.

If all these competencies are met, one can speak of a ‘professionalized broker’ (ibid. 222), who in my case is represented by Bob, who had all these necessary skills to be described as a professionalized broker. However, it has to be stressed that the term “broker” is neither a real social or an institutionalized position, nor an emic concept (ibid. 218). It is an analytical term developed by Bierschenk et al. (2001) to describe the position of persons like Bob who themselves are not aware that they are brokers. They would not describe their employment position with this term as it is nowhere institutionalized. Nevertheless, Bob’s position as a professionalized broker was of great benefit for the execution of my research project. As I mentioned already he was the gate opener and keeper to both of my research fields. Thus, he structured completely my research field, of what I was aware at that time. But consequently, I realized that he influenced my entire research project due to the reason that my results of the research are valid merely for SMIDO and Bonwire. I can not conclude that my outcomes from my collected data in SMIDO as well as in Bonwire are universal for whole Kumasi. Nevertheless, I must stress that Bob’s idea to carry out my research project at SMIDO and in Bonwire were just offers, which never have been a must from his side. He knew my topic and offered me the fields, to which he had access and which he considered as the most suitable for the accomplishment of my project. Finally, it was my decision if I will take his offers, but because I had no other choices and the time was restricted, I was very glad to have had these two possibilities.

To work together with Bob was of essential help to me, not only for my research project, but also for getting introduced to his account of Ghanaian culture and mentality (cp. Schrader 1997: 11). We had often had conversations about the theme that the most Ghanaian people think that when one is white he or she is automatically wealthy. Bob was an exception. He reacted offended, after I asked him how much money I should pay him for his help. He could not believe that I asked seriously and told me that he wants nothing with the explanation that he liked to help me, because he considered my research focus important and therefore tried to give me the support I needed.

In the literature it is often stated that brokers only provide help to someone, when they know that they can draw their own advantages from it (cp. Hans Merkens 2007: 288). In my case I ask myself what benefits Bob saw by helping me. He neither wanted monetary compensation nor anything else.

Altogether, I can say that I was glad to have had a research assistant who enabled me the access to the fields and helped me in this way carry out my research project.
4.3 Methods of collecting Data

Throughout my research I used different methods to collect data. Before I went to Ghana, I dealt with a variety of methods for collecting data, but I have not planned in advance on a method. For me it was very crucial to see first, what kind of fields I will have access to and then decide which methods would be the most appropriate.

My research question focused on the employment prospects of young people in the Region of Kumasi. In this context, I was interested in their school career, in their current employment situation and in the mobility issue. I decided that the best way to find out more about these biographical backgrounds and to develop a comparison between the different cases was to conduct ‘narrative interviews’ as explained by Thomas Brüsemeister (2008b). Thus, I assumed that I could avoid suggestive questions and learn about their lives and personal experiences.

Being in my first research field SMIDO I had the possibility to combine different methods like participant observation, narrative interviews and informal talks with each other. This is orientated on the paradigm of ‘triangulation’ of methods and perspectives (cp. Flick 2007: 309ff.) to increase the validity of my research and minimize my single limited view of the results, of course without claiming to have achieved an objective reality in my findings.

The participant observation took place mainly in the ICT-classes, in which I actively participated. Hence, I experienced, what Christian Lüders (2007) says, that the positioning of a researcher is not usually detached and neutral, but a vivid participation. My vivid participation was characterized by doing the same tasks like the other participants, by asking questions about the current topic and by helping the participants with some practical exercises. In this respect I took a double position - as a participant and as a teacher. In this sense, I followed two main purposes of participant observation as suggested by Spradley (1980a): first I engaged myself in the activities appropriate to the situation and secondly, I observed the activities, the people, and the physical aspects of the situation. Thus, I established a balance between being an insider, who is characterised by participation and an outsider, who conducts observation (ibid. 54-60).

Furthermore, I did not face the problem when to write down notes about my observations, because the advantage of observing in classes was that nobody paid attention when I wrote something down, since everyone took notes from time to time. For this reason I have previously created a research diary to write down my observations, impressions and feelings which accompanied me through my research period. In addition, I had also a personal diary for the entire stay in Ghana, where I commented on observations, impressions and feelings beside the research process. The participant observation in the classes was important for me, because it gave me the opportunity to see what exactly has been taught, to which I could refer in the interviews. Furthermore, it gave me the chance to establish a friendship
relation with the participants, as described in chapter 4.1. With five of these participants I tried to conduct narrative interviews. I interviewed the people who had interest and time for it. The only feature that was important was that they were aged 18 to 35 years. This age limitation is based on different definition on youth. As part of my research I participated in the workshop ‘Youth Leadership’ organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation in which a definition for youth was vigorously discussed. Many members from various political parties attended the workshop and they all presented a different age limit for youth. The age restriction circulated between 15 and 40 years. However, almost all of the participants agreed that youth ends with marriage or parenthood. The National Youth Employment Programme considers all persons between 15 and 35 years as youth. Internationally, youth is defined with the age of 18 till 24 (cp. Baah 2008: 12) but nevertheless the definition varies from country to country. According to the National Youth Policy of Ghana youth is defined within the age bracket 15 and 35 years (cp. Draft National Youth Policy 2008: 5). I decided to combine the international definition with the one of the National Youth Policy due to the reason that 18 years represents the legal age and 35 years is the age where most youth enter adulthood (ibid.) by marriage or parenthood.

The interviews were either agreed upon in advance or they occurred spontaneously. All of my interviews at SMIDO I conducted in the room, which was allocated to me during the time I spent there. In that room the noise from the outside was very loud, which influenced badly the record quality. Before I recorded an interview, I asked all my interviewees for permission (cp. Brüsemeister 2008b: 128) and all of them agreed. The interview situation with all of my interviewees was very comfortable and loose due to the reason that I was to them like a friend and not somebody unknown. I started the interviews, after I have explained them my research focus, with the introductory sentence “So now you can start telling me your life story”, how it is also advised by Brüsemeister (2008b: 128f.). After that most of them started talking about their lives very detailed and I did not have to intervene as it is the main principle of narrative interviews. The story should be independently designed by the respondent (cp. Hopf 2007: 356) and the interviewer should possess certain interpersonal skills like “listening instead of talking, taking a passive rather than a assertive role, expressing verbal interest in the other person, and showing interest by eye contact and other nonverbal means” (Spradley 1979b: 46). These interpersonal skills I adopted in the interview situation as long as the interviewee designed his story by himself. But there have been also interviewees, who talked 5 minutes about their biography and after that I had to ask them about everything what was important for me. Because I assumed that not all interviewees would talk in detail about their lives, I had prepared central questions19 for the interviewees which I normally planned to ask after they finished their narrative. But in such situations, where the narrative finished after 5 minutes, I followed the central questions and asked openly in order to motivate my interviewees to adopt the main narrative

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19 See Appendix: 1. Central Questions for Youth.
role. The interview ended with completing a demographical questionnaire\(^{20}\), which contained questions about some basic characteristics like age, name of birth place etc., with the objective to have the general information about my interviewees summed up (cp. Brüsemeister 2008b: 130f.).

After completing the interviews, I informed my interviewees that all personal data will be anonymous (ibid. 133f.). Most of them reacted very surprised to this fact, because they did not see the need why their personal data should be anonymous. They told me that they would be very glad, when I mention their names in my report. From this I infer that they would be proud to be named in my report (cp. Schrader 1997: 19). Not everybody in SMIDO had the chance to talk to a white foreigner as it was me who was choosing with whom to talk. The interview durations varied between 40 till 120 minutes. After I had taken leave of my interviewees, I sat down to comment in my research diary on the impressions, which I had through the entire interview process (cp. Brüsemeister 2008b: 131).

In Bonwire, my second research field, I followed the same approach to collect data. I conducted participant observation in the Kente cloth weaving centre with the aim not only to understand this particular way of weaving, but also to get in touch with some young people, who may be willing to a narrative interview with me. In this field I took the position of an outsider, who only observed and did not participate in the activities (the weaving) as the situation was not appropriate (cp. Spradley 1980a: 57). Also here I asked for permission to record the interview and all of the interviewees agreed. All of my interviews I had to conduct in the outside, next to the Kente cloth weaving centre. The consequences were first, that it was very loud in the outside and secondly, we were constantly disturbed by people walking around and wanted to have a conversation with us. This affected the interview situation in a negative way, because my interviewees could not concentrate fully on their narratives. Besides that some of the interviewees ended the narrative about their biography after 5 minutes, even when I adopted the interpersonal skills in the interview situation (cp. Spradley 1979b: 46), so the interview proceeded by asking them questions, to which the answers were quite short. Then I felt like I have to get the answers of them bit by bit, which was not comfortable for me due to the reason that I felt like I push them for the interview even when they had agreed on it in advance. In these awkward situations I asked my main questions and finished the interview with completing the demographical questionnaire. Such interviews represented the shortest duration type with about just 35 minutes. Others fluctuated between 35 and 120 minutes. Here I had no possibility to note down my impressions after completing an interview. I had to do it when I was back at my guest house in Kumasi. It was especially difficult to write down the information, which I got from informal talks with the inhabitants because of my limited memory (cp. Lüders 2007: 392). Besides my empirical data, I bought books and collected brochures, articles and PDF-texts concerning my research focus with the

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\(^{20}\) See Appendix: 2. Demographical Questionnaire.
objective to have further material from different sources, which can broaden my perspective on my research.

To sum it up, my empirical research was dominated by spontaneity and openness, which allowed me to combine different methods applicable to my fields. The two distinct interaction fields served me to collect data about different cases, which cases I can compare between each other (cp. Brüsemeister 2008b: 123f.).

4.4 Analytical Method

I mentioned in 4.3 that I collected interview materials as well as scripts from participant observation and informal talks. Back in Germany I faced the challenge how to start working with the material without prejudices and stereotypes on my mind. To overcome this challenge I tried during my entire data evaluation to exclude my previous knowledge as far as I could (cp. Brüsemeister 2008a: 157).

The scripts from the observation and from informal talks I mainly used for contextualisation of the places where I have conducted my research project. This data did not need a deep analysis as it served me just to outline the main facts of the places. On the contrary, the interview material with the young men from Suame Magazine and Bonwire has been the centre of my analysis due to the research focus. Before I opted for an analytical method with which I wanted to examine my material, I decided preliminary to transcribe the interviews. The aim of my research project was to have different cases on the phenomenon which I was analysing, therefore I was not interested in a biographical depth analysis, but I wanted to elaborate on a width of this phenomenon with the help of many cases. Due to this reason a transcription according to rules of medium accuracy is appropriate (ibid. 131). Thus, my transcripts comprehend pauses, strong word stresses, word and sentence terminations as well as unintelligible words or phrases marked by question marks in brackets. On the top of every transcript I included name, date, duration, educational background, current employment position, parents’ occupations, number of siblings and general information about the interview situation. While I was in the process of transcription I simultaneously read literature on qualitative methods and theories related to my research focus. In this respect, I wrote memos where I included ideas, questions and notes, which might be interesting for my report.

After I finished the transcription work, I was confronted with what Hans Mertens (2007) notes that two choices have to be made during any research: first choosing the material for interpretation and second deciding how one wants to illustrate the results (pp. 286). Looking at my interview transcriptions I had to choose an analytical method to examine my material. I considered different methods, but for the analysis of my material I decided to adopt the ‘Grounded Theory’ (cp. Strauss &
Corbin 1996) as it is adequate to compare action processes among different cases regarding the research question (cp. Brüsemeister 2008a: 131, 180).

The first step which should be applied is the paradigm of the ‘open coding’ (cp. Strauss & Corbin 1996: 45) where I tried to retain all kinds of ideas as theoretical concepts on the research phenomenon by brainstorming. This process of grouping concepts that seem to belong to the same phenomenon is called ‘categorization’ (ibid. 47). The categories which have been developed from the empirical data have the status of hypotheses (cp. Brüsemeister 2008a: 158). This paradigm is followed by the paradigm of ‘axial coding’ which accomplishes the concepts from the open coding in new ways by identifying links between a category and its subcategories (cp. Strauss & Corbin 1996: 76). The category generation is based on constant comparisons among the different categories. Thus, comparisons are a central technique of the Grounded Theory which allows to determine which categories are decisive and which can be dropped regarding the research focus (cp. Brüsemeister 2008a: 157). In the last step the paradigm of ‘selective coding’ has to be adopted where I dealt with the elaboration of core categories (ibid. 170) not only to generalise my findings, but also to reflect on them in a critical way.

The analysis of my empirical data ended with the ‘theoretical saturation’ (ibid.) which means that I could not find any other categories in my material that could better explain my research phenomenon.

The final outcomes from the analysis I structured as followed: first I will outline the educational background and the current employment situation of the apprentices in Suame Magazine. In the second step I will focus on the same for the weavers from Bonwire and in the last step I will conceptualise the employment prospects of the youth from both area, whereas similarities respectively differences will be apparent.

5. Analysis of two different Interaction Fields

5.1 Educational Background of apprentices\(^{21}\) in Suame Magazine

Education and skills training are priority areas of the policy in Ghana. They are the major contributory factors to young people’s ‘productive and responsible life’ (cp. Draft National Youth Policy 2008: 9). The education sector is considered as the main building block for the development of human resources for accelerated growth as expressed in the GPRS II (Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II 2005: Introduction). Evaluations show that Ghana has not been successful in providing quality education and skills training to the youth. Illiteracy continues to remain one of the greatest difficulties. Additionally, one out of eight pupils who enter Junior High School fail to complete it, whereas those who managed to complete Junior High School to Senior High School is alarming low (ibid.). This fact I can

\(^{21}\) Due to permission I use the real first names of the apprentices.
corroborate for the majority of the young men in Suame Magazine with whom I conducted interviews. The majority of them could complete Junior High School after Primary School, but only a few of them have been able to enrol in Senior High School. At this point it is important to inform how the current school system is structured in Ghana. The formal educational career starts with a two-year preschool (kindergarten) followed by a six-year stay in Primary School. After completing Primary School one can enter Junior High School which takes three years for graduation. The successful completion of Junior High School allows the entry to the three-year Senior High School which in turn represents admission qualification for the participation in higher education\(^{22}\).

The majority of my interview partners completed Junior High School in Kumasi. At SMIDO have been just a few persons who graduated their education in a ‘rural area’\(^{23}\). The comparison between the accessibility to school in urban and in rural areas shows that young people who lived in villages face a great problem to reach schools:

“I have to walk from that place to another place. So there is no school there. […] I have to walk about three hour’s journey before I reach where I go to school” (Daniel, 26).

This example states that schools in rural areas are not available in every village, but mostly in villages with large population. Daniel had to visit Primary School in his neighbour village which was three hours on foot away. There have been no school buses and his parents did not have a car to bring him to school. Thus, many people who live in rural areas face the problem of limited spatial mobility. They do not have possibilities like transport means to travel around, but even if they had the lack of money would not allow it. Such bad conditions show how hard it is for children or young people to visit school regularly or to finish it successfully. The young people living in Kumasi do not face such kind of problems:

“I am not going to school in a far place. There are always around Kumasi” (Elvis, 26).

From this statement it can be concluded that there are several schools available in Kumasi which makes a three hour walk to school unthinkable. Even if the schools were located far away there are school buses existing. Overall, young people in rural areas face major problems to reach school rather than young people from urban cities. Significant consequences are a low level of literacy and skills (cp. Draft National Youth Policy 2008: 7). Nevertheless, as stated above just the minority of my interviewees has completed Senior High School and the reasons for not enrolling in Senior High


\(^{23}\) I use the term ‘rural area’ as my interviewees described in this way their hometowns.
School remain the same among the apprentices. They could not register for Senior High School due to financial problems. Their former education was financed by their parents who have not been able to continue paying for Senior High School, as its fees are considerably higher than of the previous schools:

“So because I was the second born they decided to take the senior one to Senior High School because my daddy could not afford to take both of us”

(Elvis, 26).

This statement confirms that the young people depend on their parents to continue their education who cannot always guarantee them the access to educational institutions. The economic family situations as well as the number of children play a major role for educational opportunities. Most of my interviewees describe their family situation as poor. It is corroborated that children or young people from low income households are more likely to interrupt school while young people from economically better-off family backgrounds are more inclined to spend longer periods in educational establishments (cp. Garcia & Fares 2008: 32). In order to be able to attend Senior High School and continue education the majority of the youth decided to start some kind of work to save money:

“I always loved to continue my education. It is always in my mind that I continue some time. I will organize some money for myself” (Elvis, 26).

“My diploma was good that I could continue my education but I had no money so I said that I have to learn a job” (Daniel, 26).

It is obvious that the young people had the desire to continue education and they assumed, when they work, that they will be able to finance their own education. Unfortunately, even after years of work none of them enrolled himself in Senior High School. The reasons are found in their current employment situation, which will be illustrated in the next chapter.

To sum it up the majority of my interview partners did not enter Senior High School after completing Junior High School, no matter if they had attended school in Kumasi or in a village. The main reasons are financial problems of their parents who were paying the school fees until it was time to register for Senior High School. Most of them started work in order to save money for enrolling into Senior High School but no one followed his plan.
5.2 Being an Apprentice – Employment Situation

The apprentices could not follow their plan to register in Senior High School due to their work situation. Almost all of the young men who I interviewed in SMIDO are doing an apprenticeship as auto mechanics in Suame Magazine. As Suame Magazine is the largest informal sector estate in Ghana the apprenticeships are also of informal character. This means that they are lacking ‘basic job protections and benefits’ (cp. Garcia & Fares 2008: 131) like for instance social security, medical care, paid annual leave and paid sick leave. Nevertheless, the workshops are considered as micro- and small enterprises which are ‘important for youth employment’ (ibid. 215). Without micro- and small enterprises the unemployment rate of youth would increase. Furthermore, my empirical data reveals the fact that being an apprentice in Suame Magazine means no regular payment. The apprentices do not receive a monthly salary. Occasionally, they perceive financial rewards by their masters for good work:

“They don’t pay me unless I am able to do some repair. So if a car comes I repair it and then he pays as much as he wants. Sometimes in the end of the day he give you a little, just a little” (Daniel, 26).

With the little money, which they get, they must secure their own livelihood. Additionally, they try to save from this money for their future plans and they have to provide financial support to their families:

“I have to save most of all. [...] Then I send it back to my mother and siblings” (Daniel, 26).

Especially, the young people who have moved from villages to Kumasi are confronted to bigger extent with this issue. Their family members expect financial support because they presume that when one works in a city he automatically earns more. The expectation to earn more money is the main reason why young people leave their villages. They assume that in urban centres there are better job opportunities (ibid. 52), which would enable them to earn more. In the villages the only occupation possibility is in the area of agriculture which means farming:

“Most of the people here they are from villages and come to those place but some are from the place which is nicer than my place. It is very difficult. I wish you have been there and can see how things are there. I think you won’t be able to stay there. So it is very horrible. [...] It’s only farming. It’s really less. That’s really less.” (Daniel, 26).

Another interviewee reported the same regarding this issue:
“It’s more like you know there is only one thing that you can do about it – that is farming. […] If you want to do something different you have to come to the city. […] I might say that most of them are from villages”. (Evans, 27).

Both statements emphasise that most people who work in Suame Magazine originally come from villages and moved to Kumasi in order to perform any other occupation different from farming. The mobility from rural to urban areas is not a new phenomenon. Solely, the “patterns of mobility have changed over time with new forms emerging and old ones decreasing as population have moved in search of food, shelter and greater security, in relation to demand for labour, and towards cities for education and employment opportunities” (Gough 2008: 243). The employment opportunities, as my empirical data confirms, are the main reason for the spatial mobility of the young men. They leave their villages with the expectation to find a better occupation than farming which in turn will raise their ‘economic capital’ (ep. Bourdieu in Kreckel 1983: 186). The ‘economic capital’ (ibid.) is basically expressed through monetary wealth. Thus, it can be concluded that the reasons for spatial mobility are related to social change. By moving to Kumasi the young people expect to maintain a better work position than in their hometowns. The position as an apprentice for auto mechanics compared to the position of a farmer is seen as better and especially as higher. Hence, a higher position means automatically that the position holder earns more, therefore the remaining family members, who are farmers with a low income, expect financial support.

Another important characteristic of an apprenticeship for auto mechanics is the number of master in the workplace, which can vary from 1 to 3 depending on the size of the workplace. Bigger workshops are labelled as medium-sized enterprises, which employ about 10 to 28 employees. In this sense, medium-sized enterprises compared to micro and small enterprises, represent employment opportunities for more young men. Supplementary, a specialisation on car brands is identifiable which is different from workshop to workshop. Several workshops are specialized solely on Mercedes Benz cars:

“I started learning about Mercedes Benz cars” (Elvis, 26).

Other workshops deal with car brands like Nissan, Mitsubishi and Peugeot:

“I repair different cars. […] Nissan, Mitsubishi and Peugeot. I learn much of them and then doing more on that cars” (Daniel, 26).
The specialisation on certain car brands does not imply that the apprentices are not able to repair other car brands. Most of them learned by themselves to overhaul all kind of automobiles which leads to private work by repairing cars of acquaintances, friends and relatives:

“They know that I am a mechanic. So when we have to repair their cars they will give the car to me. […] I will just fix it myself and work on it fully” (Elvis, 26).

These private activities allow them to gain money additionally. The problem that arises in this regard is that they can not invest much time in their private activities, as they have to be all day long from Monday to Saturday at work. The opening and closing of the workshop depends mostly on the work situation. When there is a lot of work to be done, then the apprentices have to be at work around 7 in the morning and can leave around 7 in the evening. Breaks can be made when there is not much work to do. The apprentice can leave work for arranging other affairs just with the permission of their master(s). Overall, it can be stated that there is no regular work schedule which complicates the performance of other activities. Further, no time constraint for the completion of an apprenticeship exists. The young men reported me that they remain in this employment between 4 to 8 years which does not exclude the possibility that the apprenticeship can last longer:

“I saw people who are apprentice for ten years. I am now four years” (Daniel, 26).

“I have been in this work for about eight years” (Elvis, 26).

The majority of the young people remain in the apprenticeship not because they still have not acquired all necessary skills but because they face the difficulty to find a job with regular payment or they do not have the capital to establish their own businesses. The possession of own working tools is a further requirement for the apprenticeship:

“You have to buy your own tools. […] But it won’t be like when you enter the work then I will buy all the tools because at that moment you don’t know much of the work” (Elvis, 26).

The masters do not provide their own tools to the apprentices due to lack of trust. The mistrust is explained by the fact that many apprentices try to steal the tools and sell them to make money. Additionally, the apprentices who possess a driving license have an advantage in their workplace. Their masters have customers all around Ghana and when a customer from another city calls and the
masters are too busy, they send the apprentices to fix the problem. The apprentices with a driving license have been to a lot of places like Accra, Obuasi, Cape Coast, Takoradi etc. to repair cars. In most cases the business trip lasted about a week. Thus, it can be said that they are very mobile due to their work activities. This spatial mobility allows them to earn extra money because in most cases the customers pay them additionally beside the repair costs.

Another interesting aspect in this respect is how the young people found their workplace after completing school. The majority of the young men reported that they have obtained their job through family networks:

“I talked to my both – my dad and my mom and I asked them if I can work on cars. So I decided to talk to them for them to help me through to be able to find something to do” (Elvis, 26).

The `social capital` (cp. Bourdieu in Kreckel 1983: 191) which comprehends the expansion of the network of relationships, played a crucial role in finding a job. The network relationships of family members served the young people to obtain an apprenticeship training position and in this way avoid unemployment. At this point it must be added that the networks of their masters, which include customer relations across Ghana and their own private networks consisting of acquaintances, friends and relatives enable them to make further money in order to secure their livelihoods, to save money for future plans and to provide financial support to their family members.

To sum it up the intention of the majority to continue their education, after saving enough money for it, could not be realised due to the harsh working conditions. In addition, the family’s expectations exacerbate eminently the realisation of the educational objectives especially for the young men who have moved to Kumasi in search for better employment opportunities.

5.3 Educational Background of Weavers\textsuperscript{24} in Bonwire

The educational background of the young men from the weaving centre in Bonwire looks different compared to the apprentices in Suame Magazine. In Bonwire the majority of my interviewees have graduated Senior High School which enables them the access to higher education facilities. The successful completion of Senior High School is also here strongly related with the mobilisation of financial resources. Previous school fees of Primary and Junior High School were paid by their parents but when the time came to register for Senior High School the parents could not provide the money for the fees, so the young people found another way to get financial support. The majority of them reported me that they could enrol in Senior High School merely because of network relationships. As

\textsuperscript{24} With permission of the weavers I am allowed to use their real first name.
Bonwire is famous for the original production of Kente cloths around whole Ghana many tourists, also from abroad come to visit the town of Kente. In this way the young people had the chance to establish contacts to foreigners who mostly were black Americans. Most of them were originally from Ghana but due to international migration of their former generations in the past they did not know much about their home country. In order to learn more about their roots they visited Ghana and inter alia also Bonwire. The young people tried to help them to get to know more about Ghana and in this way, as they described it to me, they became friends. The contact to the Americans was kept also after they went back to America. This well established network was the main reason for the access to Senior High School. As their parents could not pay the school fees, the young people decided to ask their friends from abroad for financial support. The most avouched this support in return for the help the young people provided them. Here it is visible that reciprocity and solidarity in network relationships play a crucial role (cp. Faist 2006: 11). Unfortunately, most of their friends faced themselves financial problems and because of this they could not pay the entire stay in school. After, most of them could not receive anymore financial help they decided to start work to finish school. The advantage of the young people from Bonwire compared to the young people from Kumasi is that they learned their future work, the weaving, when they were young. It is the tradition in Bonwire that all men who are originally from Bonwire, have to learn the Kente weaving no matter when. The most get taught when they are young children. Thus, the young men were already endowed with a profession and could practice it in order to earn money. This type of work continues to imply that the youth is less depended on their parents than the young people from Kumasi as they can start work any time. Most of them started work to gather money for the school fees with the negative consequence that they could not concentrate fully on their education:

“Some time I don’t do anything. I just wake up. I don’t even brush my teeth or something like that. I just come to weave because I have to get money to go and pay my education” (Kwabena, 24).

This statement emphasises the importance of education. The young men worked hard in order to be able to complete Senior High School, even when this meant to risk the graduation due to lack of time for studying. Fortunately, the majority of the young people finished in this way Senior High School, but a minority remained who could not graduate Senior High School because they depended like the young men from Kumasi on their parents. In the past, the fathers of these young people have decided not to teach their sons to weave in the early childhood, so they to be able to concentrate fully on their education. Consequently, these young men started to learn the weaving after their parents could not pay the school fees:

“You know learn how to make the weaving that I make some money for the
Emmanuel’s case illustrates how important it was for his father to focus totally on his education. The reason why parents pay so much attention to education is firstly, that they want their children to be literate and secondly, to have the chance to perform another occupation than the weaving if they wish to do so in the future. These reasons indicate that education provides further perspectives in relation to employment possibilities and “the highest-paying employment goes to those with the most education” (cp. Peil 1981: 57). Thus, education is decisive for future occupations and the degree of payment.

Altogether it can be stated that the educational achievement of the majority of young people from Bonwire is higher than of those from Kumasi. This is due to two main reasons: first, the transnational expansion of the network of relationships that have provided the necessary capital for continuing education and secondly, the early learning of the weaving craft that can be performed any time in order to make money, in these cases, for completion the education.

5.4 Being a Weaver – Employment Situation

Kente weaving is a traditional and the main occupation of the male population in Bonwire what explains why all my interview partners are Kente weavers. In most cases, as my empirical material validates, the weaving has been taught to them in the early childhood. The acquisition of Kente weaving is a must for all male dwellers in Bonwire:

“Once you are a Bonwire guy you have to know without someone teaching how to do it. […] It’s like culture” (Kwame, 26).

The statement does not merely confirm the need for learning the Kente weaving but it goes beyond this by explicitly specifying that it has to be learned with or without help. With help means that they have been taught by relatives and without help denotes that they have observed other people how they weaved and after that tried it themselves. As Kente weaving is a manual labour, solely basic working tools are required. Most of my interviewees started seriously weaving after nobody could pay anymore their school fees. Due to the convenient employment condition, they were able to combine work and school with each other, what was impossible for the apprentices in Kumasi. In the Kente work it is not common to have masters. Almost all of them work for themselves. Advantages that accrued being one’s own boss are for instance individual decision when to start, make breaks and end work. Furthermore, they are not obliged to work on the weekends. The majority of the young people works
during the week and in the weekend they take themselves free time for having a rest. Almost all of them are members of the Kente Cloth Weaving Centre, which provides them with the main tools and space to sell their products. As the centre is a tourist attraction the probability to sell more fabrics than home weavers increases considerable. Not only tourists are important clients but also existing network of relationships throughout Ghana in cities like Kumasi, Accra, Takoradi etc. Most clients order a large quantity of products that are delivered personally by the weavers. The delivery aspect is an indicator for spatial mobility due to their occupation. The spatial mobility can be regarded as an important dimension for making money which enables them to secure their livelihood. Without the necessary capital, they would not be able to perform their work activities as they have to buy the material for manufacture of Kente products by themselves. However, this kind of mobility remains the only one for the weavers in Bonwire. According to the members of the weaving centre in Bonwire the original and quality production of Kente cloths can be found just in Bonwire, therefore the position of the weavers from Bonwire compared to other weavers in Ghana is considered as higher. The position of the weavers is not achieved through education or other skills but through birth. A man in Bonwire is born with this position due to the reason that all men have to learn the Kente weaving. This leads to the conclusion that spatial mobility because of work reasons “does not necessarily lead to social mobility” (Gough 2008: 253) as the weavers can not change their position. All weavers hold the same position. No hierarchy exists which labels some weaver’s position as higher and some as lower. In order to obtain a position in a hierarchical system the weavers have to change their occupation, but this is not possible in Bonwire because in Bonwire the only employment possibility is the weaving:

“Here you have Kente or farming. But farming you do for your own consumption” (Kwame, 26).

Farming is not a further employment opportunity as it is done solely for own consumption. So, in order to perform another occupation which may include ‘vertical social mobility’ (cp. Geißler 2008: 255) one has to leave Bonwire. Thus, the Kente weavers are an ideal example for spatial and social ‘immobility’ (cp. Faist 2006). They can not reach a higher respectively a lower position in their work sphere and they can not leave Bonwire to perform the weaving activity in another city due to the ‘cultural capital’ (cp. Bourdieu in Kreckel 1983: 186) which includes specific occupational qualifications, in this case the unique Kente weaving, which is sedentary (cp. Faist 2006: 9f.). The only spatial mobility they conduct is the delivery and this is merely because of securing their livelihood. Like the young people in Kumasi they also have to provide financial support to their families:

“My father is not strong enough to work. My mother is not doing any work. […] I am trying to help them” (Emmanuel, 26).
The majority reported that the Kente market is currently moving on very slow, so that all of them face financial problems which make it impossible to save money for future plans. They are satisfied when the money is enough to feed the whole family and to be able to buy further material so to continue work. Thus, it can be concluded that without the necessary capital the weavers have to interrupt their work until they get new capital. Most of them, when they lack financial means, borrow money from other dwellers. As the ‘social capital’ (cp. Bourdieu in Kreckel 1983: 191), which implies strong ties among a community with the characteristics of reciprocity and solidarity, (cp. Faist 2006: 9f.) is very well developed in Bonwire the dwellers help each other in every way.

Overall, it can be stated that the performance of the Kente occupation is bound to Bonwire and its male dweller with the main consequence of spatial and social immobility. A small degree of spatial mobility occurs solely as a strategy to earn money that in return secures the livelihood.

5.5 Employment Prospects

The educational background and the current employment situation, which have been discussed in the previous chapters, play a crucial role for the employment prospects of the youth in near future. Both, the educational background and the current occupation affect the occupational perspectives of the young men from both areas. Consequently, two identical patterns on the employment prospects of the youth in both areas can be observed. The first pattern deals with the prospect of continuing education and the second pattern concentrates on self-employment as a future vision for occupation. In many cases the young men combine the idea of education and self-employment. In this regard, the importance of education has to be outlined as education is the “most crucial key to the attainment of economic success” (cp. Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II 2005: Introduction) of a nation’s workforce in the development policy framework. Thus, education represents the prerequisite for employment prospects including self-employment and is a fundamental ‘channel of social mobility’ (cp. Hurd & Johnson 1967: 55). Specifically, this means that the educational system is a channel through which individuals achieve social mobility. The educational qualification which one person reaches, affects the social mobility. Due to this reason universities and other high educational institutions command access to high occupational positions (ibid. 56).

The majority of the young men in Bonwire who have the qualification to access higher educational institutions would like to make use of it:

“I want to continue my education. […] Yeah, I want to go to university. That’s my plan now” (Kwame, 26).
The intention to continue education at a higher level is connected, as stated before, with the expectation of a better occupational position in the future, which implies social mobility. The preferred city for attending higher educational institutions is Kumasi as Kumasi is close to Bonwire. They plan to continue living in Bonwire because they want to hold down on the Kente work. They all reported that they need to work in order to pay fees, to secure their livelihoods and to provide financial support to their families. This highlights how much they depend on their current occupation. In this regard, I asked them, when they would be accepted at the university, if they can imagine moving to Kumasi and performing another job. They all replied that in order to make this step the new work has to be a lot better than the Kente weaving. As my empirical data reveals, a better employment for them is defined by higher payment. This emic definition emphasises again that spatial mobility is mainly associated with an increase of the individual ‘economic capital’ (cp. Bourdieu in Kreckel 1983: 186). The increase can be related with social mobility because of changing the current employment position with another, which in turn will raise their payment and in this way the position can be considered better. Thus, it can be concluded that spatial mobility is linked with social mobility. Furthermore, the nature of work within the local social context is of great significance as it is directly linked with one’s social prestige. It is not irrelevant how one earns his money (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 59). Among weavers in Ghana the Kente weavers maintain a high social prestige which they could lose if they pursue another job that is not viewed as better than the Kente weaving.

The minority of the young men in Bonwire, who do not have the qualification for entering higher educational facilities, plan first to graduate Senior High School:

“I am seriously trying to get money to go back to school” (Emmanuel, 21).

After completion of Senior High School they also plan to continue their education at institutions in Kumasi. All of the young men know already what they would like to study in their near future. It varies between economy, agriculture and journalism:

“One thing is I was good in economics. Economics and math at Senior High School. One of my tutor told me to study, if I’ll get the chance in university, I have to study economics” (Kwame, 26).

The fields of study were mainly influenced by courses at the Senior High School and its authorities. In most cases, the teachers encouraged the young men, if they ever have the possibility to attend university, to specialise on one of the before mentioned directions. The encouragement of the teachers is based on the fact that they have noticed the particular good performance of the young people in the courses and wanted to motivate them for further education in that sphere. In this context, the
authorities were aware of the importance of education for future employment positions. Thus, it is obvious that in that way the teachers had a great influence on the future prospects of the young men as they still hold on the recommendations to enter higher educational facilities and study the advised subjects. To the question, where they think they would work after graduating university, none of them could give me a clear answer with the explanation that this can not be decided until it is time for it. But all were confident that a university degree will enable them the access to better occupation opportunities. In this respect, my empirical data corroborates the statement of Hurd and Johnson (1967) that educational achievements are a prerequisite for placement in high occupational positions (ibid. 55). As better the educational background as higher the employment position, which contemporaneously raises the ‘social prestige and status’ (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 57) in the belonging community.

Even when they would perform a better work in the future, all of them would like to remain in the Kente business. They do not want to give up the Kente work because as they reported me Kente weaving is a part of them and will always stay. This highlights what Kabki et al. (2008) state that “Ashanti people refer to the place where their ancestors were born as their hometown and especially if they have been born there themselves this is the town with which they feel lifelong connection” (Kabki et al. in van Naerssen et al. 2008: 155). Almost all the young men I interviewed have been born in Bonwire and followed its tradition to learn the Kente weaving, what they want to continue practising it in the future which accentuates the ‘lifelong connection’ (ibid.) to their hometown and its traditions. To continue their tradition the majority of the young people would like to establish their own businesses for Kente products besides their future employment. More specifically, this means that they would like to build up own shops in the bigger cities and have employees in Bonwire who would weave for them. Thus, the social prestige and status would rise as they would have a good work and simultaneously continue the Kente business. The realisation of the future plans, whether they are of educational or of self-employment dimension, depends mainly on the necessary capital which remains the biggest challenge and problem among the young men:

“The problem is money. If I get money I can do whatever I want. I can go back to school” (Emmanuel, 21).

The apprentices in Suame Magazine pursue equal employment prospects. They either want to continue their education or establish their own businesses. The ones who still have not completed Senior High School would like to do this in near future and after that attend university:

“I want to take my education further. […] If I got an opportunity I’ll go to the university. […] I want to go and have my degree there. […] I want
The majority would like to study techniques which are connected to their current employment. All agree that the university degree will provide them a better employment position in the auto mechanic sphere. Here education functions again as the main channel for reaching a better occupational position. The other young men who do not plan to enter educational institutions would like to establish their own businesses by opening their own auto mechanic workshop. The self-employment pattern is also connected to social mobility as the young men plan to change their position from being an apprentice to becoming a master. No matter which pattern the young people follow, they all aim a better vocational position which will additionally raise their social prestige and status. Furthermore, it is also seen that the employment prospects are strongly linked with the current occupation. No one pursue totally different employment perspectives for the future which differ from the current activity. In this respect, all the apprentices I talked with, aggregate their current occupation with further educational activities by participating in the ICT, auto diagnostic and business classes offered by SMIDO. Thus, SMIDO can be considered as an educational institution which provides specific computer skills. ICT is important due to “employment creation and income generation potentials” (Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II 2005: 37) particular for the youth. These are crucial reasons to acquire knowledge in the ICT sphere. All of the young men see the classes, especially the auto diagnostic classes, as an advantage for their future employment prospects. First, because it enables them to combine it with their current work and secondly, because they adopt further knowledge in addition to the workplace:

“When I heard that they organise some school for people at Magazine I decided to join myself inside so that I’ll be able to know something about that and you know some things about the new cars that are coming. So because you’ve been having a lot of problems about the new cars that are coming so I try myself in SMIDO.[…] I’ve joined for I think about three months now and it has helped me a lot. […] And the diagnosis class it helps us a lot. […] I put myself into the diagnosis class so that I will know more about the fuel injection cars (Elvis, 26).

At their workplace the majority of the young men deal mainly with diesel cars and they want to expand their knowledge by learning more about fuel injection cars, which will be widespread in the near future in Ghana. Thus, the classes give them the opportunity to advance technologically and to prepare for the near future. As demonstrated before the harsh employment conditions do not allow them to perform other activities beside the work. But in case of SMIDO classes, the masters supported their apprentices:
This statement indicates that the master even advised his apprentice to visit the classes which are held two times per week for two hours. The masters’ support is explained by the fact that they can draw their own benefit from the newly appropriated knowledge of their apprentices. The apprentices, who educate themselves, are able to repair also other car brands besides the specialisation of the workshop and therefore the masters have the possibility to take also other car brands in order. Thus, they benefit from their apprentices' knowledge. Overall, the visit shows that the SMIDO classes are of a great advantage for the current employment situation as well as for the future prospects. In order to realise their future prospects, which either mean to continue education or to become self-employed, they need the necessary capital. Just like the Kente weavers, the auto mechanic apprentices see the capital acquisition as the biggest problem and challenge for the implementation of their future plans:

“Most is financial problem. […] It’s all about money and if you want to open your own shop you need money. […] They (parents) know that I am an apprentice so I have to have money” (Daniel, 26).

The statement emphasises not only the financial problem for realisation of the future plans, but also the difficulty to accre capital due to the reason that they have to provide financial support to their families who, as stated, know just that apprentices have to have money. The financial commitment in the family environment is an obstacle for the young people from both areas in accruing capital (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 61) with the consequence that future plans have to be postponed for an indefinite time. In order to accumulate capital for future plans all the young men from both areas see international migration as a solution. All of them told me that they would move abroad temporarily if they get this opportunity. No one of them would stay longer abroad as needed. This means after they have accumulated enough capital they would intend to move back to Ghana. Here again it is obvious that the ‘lifelong connection’ (cp. Kabki et al. in van Naerssen et al. 2008: 155) to their country or more specific to their hometown remains significant. Thus, it can be said that international migration is an economic strategy. The only condition to be internationally mobile is a better occupation in the immigration country. As explained before a better employment is defined through a higher payment in the new work position. At this point it is again visible that spatial mobility is linked to social mobility due to the reason that the young men would solely migrate for a better work position in another country. In this connection, they do not only keep their social prestige and status in the community they belong, but they further raise it by migrating as migration in Ghana is considered as a strategy for
social advancement (cp. Sieveking & Fauser 2009: 54). Thus, it can be concluded that spatial mobility is directly connected to social mobility, which in return have influence on the social prestige of a person.

Altogether, two equal patterns regarding the employment prospects of the young men from both areas could be identified. They either want to continue education or be self-employed. The educational attainment, as demonstrated, is a prerequisite for better occupational positions. Thus, education strongly affects one’s social mobility. Both future prospects pattern are strongly linked to their current employment as no one intended to perform an occupation which differs totally from the current one. The realisation of their future plans depends mainly on the necessary capital which they all do not possess. Thus, spatial and social mobility, which have further influence on the social prestige, are considered as crucial strategies for accumulating capital which can be invested in future prospects with the objective of maintaining higher social mobility and prestige.

VI. Conclusion
Within this report I tried to highlight the employment prospects of young men from Suame Magazine and Bonwire, who work in different spheres. As my findings show the educational backgrounds as well as the current employment situation are crucial determinants for the employment prospects. The prospects of the young men from both areas are related to their educational attainment and their occupation. This consequently leads to the main outcome that two identical pattern in relation to the employment prospects could be observed. First the youth strive for more education and, secondly, for self-employment, whereas educational attainments are considered as a prerequisite for employment placement and self-employment. Before I was in the field, I assumed that the occupational perspectives of the youth would vary to a great extent, but with the time it became obvious that education is the main future prospect of the youth. The results show that education is mainly associated with social mobility, which in turn affects the social prestige. The educational achievements are the decisive factor for better job opportunities. Better job opportunities include a better and higher position, which is defined by a higher payment. If they will realise their future plans is still dubious due to the lack of capital. None of them was able to accumulate enough capital for the implementation of their future plans, even after years of work. The accumulation of capital was and is exacerbated due to two major reasons: first because of the family expectation for financial support and secondly, because of the employment conditions, which, as shown, differ among the apprentices and the weavers. The realisation of the prospects does not solely depend on the necessary capital, but further on the economic situation of the country. As Gough (2008) noted: “Africa is […] widely regarded as the continent suffering the greatest economic decline. Consequently, young people are growing up in a situation where their prospects are much worse than of their parents” (Gough 2008: 245). In order to
improve the economic situation of youth the Ghanaian government had started strategically to focus on initiatives targeting youth’s development needs by enhancing the educational system as education is considered the main key for the attainment of economic success within the development policy framework. Overall, I gave an insight into the employment prospects of young men, who performed distinct occupations from two different areas. In this context, I recommend future researches to focus on the employment prospects of females as I did not have the possibility to talk to young women because the occupational spheres, where I carried out my survey, were dominated by men.
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Appendix

1. Central Questions for Youth:

→ What apprenticeship programme do you do in the moment?
→ What kind of skills do you train there?
→ How does one day in your life looks like?
→ Can you tell me a little about your working or apprenticeship situation?
→ What exactly is your occupation?
→ How do you like your working or apprenticeship situation in the moment?
→ What you think of your situation?
→ What kind of problems/challenges do you face in your current working or apprenticeship situation?
→ Is Kumasi your hometown or are you from somewhere else?
→ Why you moved exactly to Kumasi?
→ What employment possibilities did you have in your hometown?
→ How can I imagine your hometown? Can you describe it a little.
→ What are your employment plans for the future?
→ What do you think your opportunities will be after the apprenticeship programme?
→ Did the apprenticeship programme fulfil your expectations?
→ Can you imagine moving to another place?
→ To which place you would like to move and why?

2. Demographical Questionnaire:

1. Sex:______________________________________________________________
2. Age:___________________________________________________________
3. Place of birth:___________________________________________________
4. Current profession:______________________________________________
5. Position:_______________________________________________________
6. Former profession and place:_____________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________
7. Educational background:_____________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

8. Profession of your parents:___________________________________________________

____________________________________________________

____________________________________________________

9. Number of siblings:_________________________________________________________

10. Merital:____________________________