

Stephen A. Adaawen

**Street Hawking and Urban Space Regulation: The Case of Street Hawkers in Accra,
Ghana.**

**Master Thesis for the Award of Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in Development Studies,
(Specialising in Geography)**

**Department of Geography
Norwegian University of Science and Technology**

Trondheim, May 2011

Declaration

I hereby declare that, with the exception of the references to other people's work, which have been duly acknowledged, the views expressed in this dissertation are my own and have neither in part nor in whole been presented elsewhere for another degree.

.....

Stephen A. Adaawen

.....

Date

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this study to my grandmother, Madam Kenkeni Adeetuk; my parents, Elder and Mrs. Mathew Adaawen and Dr. Mariama Awumbila.

Acknowledgements

I will first of all like to give thanks to the Almighty God for granting me the grace to be able to come this far and indeed for the successful completion of the course. I wish to also express my profound gratitude to Associate Professor Stig H. Jorgesen for his painstaking advice and constructive comments during the analysis and writing of this thesis. His insightful and fatherly suggestions have contributed to the successful completion of this thesis. Thank you so much for everything; I am grateful.

I am also deeply indebted to the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund Quota Scheme Scholarship for giving me the opportunity to pursue my MPhil Programme in Norway and also the Norwegian-NATURE knowledge CREATION of the Globalization Department, NTNU for giving me the travel grant for this research. Further, I wish to acknowledge Dr. Stephen O. Kwankye, Dr. Mrs. Delali Badasu and the entire staff of RIPS and the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana for their support and encouragement during the course of my studies.

Special thanks go to the teaching and non-teaching staff of the Department of Geography, NTNU. I cannot also forget the officials of the AMA and Odawna Market executives for participating in the research. Thanks also to my colleague MPhil students who have been very supportive and caring throughout my study. I want to thank you for your constructive criticisms which have contributed immensely to the completion of this thesis.

Finally, I reserve the greatest thanks to Prof. and Mrs. Assibi Amidu of the Department of Linguistics, NTNU for the love and support shown me since my arrival in Norway. You have always opened your doors to me to visit anytime I was homesick, I am grateful. To my very good friend Owusu Boabang of the Childhood Studies Centre, NTNU and Mr. Ghanatta Ayaric as well as my friends in Ghana (Dominic Alaazi, Sebastian Anyamasah and Emmanuel Azechum), I wish to extend my gratitude to you all for the support and the love shown me. I appreciate your efforts and time you spent with me during the course of my studies, thanks and God bless us all.

Abstract

Street hawking/vending is an important activity in the informal sector which serves as a source of livelihood to many people in most developing countries across the world. The activities of hawkers mostly in urban centres as they try to eke out a living is always not only beset with challenges but has often raised a lot of concerns from governments, city authorities and other actors. This situation as highlighted is not different from what pertains in Accra-Ghana. Street hawking/vending has been designated as illegal. The activities of hawkers, the problems and challenges that emerge have necessitated a decongestion and relocation of the hawkers to a constructed market; the first of its kind in the country. However, the exercise undertaken by the city authorities has also brought with it challenges and problems and hence implications for all the actors involved.

This study sought to examine in the face of urban space regulation, the socio-economic impact of the relocation of street hawkers to the Odawna Pedestrian Market at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle (avenue) in Accra. Specifically, the study tried to unveil: (i) the underlying reasons behind the policies resulting in the relocation of the hawkers by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA); (ii) find out the livelihood impacts of the relocation exercise on the hawkers; (iii) to seek the views of both the AMA authorities, the hawkers and the public on the relocation of the street hawkers. Further, attempts have been made to find out why people hawk or sell on the streets and pavements of the city; who these people are (their profiles) and why the hawkers do not want to relocate to the newly constructed Odawna pedestrian market.

The livelihoods framework, structuration theory and place concept are the main theories that have been used in tandem with published data and information to analyse the qualitative data gathered. The qualitative method employed to gather the data consisted of participant and covert observation as well as in-depth interviews of a total of 28 informants of which 23 of them were primary informants and 5 being key informants. Snowball sampling was the main sampling design used for the interviews.

The study has revealed that the underlying reasons why people sell on streets and pavements is mainly as a result of unemployment due to limited job opportunities and poverty. It is highlighted that in spite of the fact that many people of varying ages and sex are engaged in hawking, the youth are the most dominant. In the light of challenges, it is shown in this study that these challenges have informed the relocation exercise embarked by the AMA which has in turn affected the hawkers socio-economically and psychologically.

In reference to the foregoing, the study concludes that even though the AMA has succeeded in moving a significant number of the hawkers to the constructed market, its main goal of totally getting rid of hawkers from the streets and pavements has been unsuccessful. It is further brought to light that, the activity which is a livelihood to many and present in all the major cities of Africa and in neighbouring West African countries is deeply ingrained in the psyche of the people. In this regard, there is the need to adopt more pragmatic measures and strategies to address the situation. Against this background, several recommendations have been made by the study to help tackle the hawking activity. It is noted however that the sample interviewed does not represent the broad views of the many hawkers in the country and the actors involved in the activity. In cognizance of this, areas have been identified for further research so as to give more insights into the dynamics of street hawking in the country.

Table of Contents

Title Page.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of figures.....	xi
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Acronyms.....	xii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to Study.....	1
1.1.1 Street Hawking Situation in Ghana.....	2
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Justification of Study.....	4
1.4 General Objective.....	5
1.4.1 Specific Objectives.....	5
1.4.2 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Organization of Thesis.....	6
Chapter Two: Theoretical Perspective, Concepts and Models of Street Hawking.....	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Livelihoods Approach (Framework).....	7
2.2.1 Vulnerability Context.....	10
2.2.2 Shock.....	10
2.2.3 Trends.....	10
2.2.4 Seasons.....	11
2.3. Livelihood Assets.....	12
2.3.1 Human Capital.....	12
2.3.2 Social Capital and Political Capital.....	12
2.3.3 Physical Capital/Financial Capita/Natural Capital.....	13
2.3.4 Activities.....	15
2.3.5 Institutions/Policies.....	15
2.3.6 Livelihood Strategies.....	16
2.3.7 Livelihood Outcomes.....	16

2.4 Linking the Livelihoods Framework to Street hawking.....	17
2.5 Structuration Theory.....	19
2.6 Linking Structuration to Street Hawking.....	22
2.6.1 Physical Structures.....	22
2.6.2 Economic Structures.....	23
2.6.3 Social Structures.....	24
2.6.4 Legal/Illegal Structures.....	25
2.6.5 Human Agency.....	25
2.7 Place Concept.....	27
2.8 Linking <i>Place</i> concept to Street Hawking.....	28
2.8.1 Place as a particular location or ‘container’ on the surface of the earth.....	29
2.8.2 Place as a sense of belonging.....	29
2.8.3 Place as a locale.....	30
2.9 What does this place represent for Hawkers, Authorities and the Public?.....	31
2.9.1 Hawkers.....	31
2.9.2 Authorities.....	32
2.9.3 Public (Drivers, Pedestrians & Buyers).....	32
2.10 Conceptual Framework.....	33
Chapter Three: Methodology and Research Process.....	37
3.1 Research Methodology.....	37
3.1.1 Methodological Justification.....	38
3.2 Methods of Data Collection.....	39
3.2.1 In-depth Interviews.....	39
3.2.2 Participant Observation and Covert Observation.....	41
3.2.3 Secondary Data.....	43
3.3 Choice of Informants and Sampling Technique.....	44
3.3.1 Sampling Technique.....	44
3.4 Characteristics of Informants.....	46
3.4.1 Primary Informants.....	46
3.4.2 Key Informants.....	47
3.5 Choice of the Study Area.....	47

3.6 Power Relations, Positionality and Critical Reflexivity.....	48
3.6.1 Power Relations.....	48
3.6.2 Positionality.....	49
3.6.3 Critical Reflexivity.....	50
3.7 Bias, Reliability, Validity and Ethics of the study.....	52
3.8 Data Processing and Analysis.....	54
3.9 Limitations/Challenges of the Study.....	55
Chapter Four: Background of Study Area.....	58
4.1 Profile of Ghana.....	58
4.2 Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile of Accra.....	59
4.3 Urban Spatial Organization of Accra.....	63
4.4 Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Avenue (Circle), Accra.....	68
Chapter Five: Typology of Street Hawkers and Dynamics of Hawking Activity.....	70
5.1 Types, Composition and dynamics of hawking in Accra.....	70
5.1.2 Types of Street Hawkers.....	70
5.1.2.1 Itinerant Hawkers.....	70
5.1.2.2 Semi-stationary and Stationary Hawkers.....	71
5.1.3 Composition of Hawkers.....	73
5.1.3.1 Itinerant Hawkers (hawkers on street).....	73
5.1.3.2 Semi-stationary and Stationary Hawkers.....	77
5.1.4 Dynamics of Street Hawking.....	80
5.1.4.1 Starting the Street Hawking Activity.....	80
5.1.4.2 Daily Activity and Stress.....	81
5.1.4.3 Hierarchical Transition.....	85
5.2 Social Networks.....	87
Chapter Six: The "perception/views of hawking" activity as seen by 'Others'.....	91
6.1 Perception of Street Hawking by the Authorities.....	91
6.2 Views of the Hawking Activity by the Public.....	94
6.3 The Views of Hawking Activity by the Hawkers.....	96
6.4 Alternative Locations and Businesses.....	97
6.5 Reasons for relocating Hawkers to the Odawna Pedestrian Market.....	97

6.6 Challenges of the Relocation of Street Hawkers.....	101
6.7 Problems/Challenges facing the Accra Metropolitan Assembly.....	101
6.8 Challenges facing Hawkers.....	104
6.9 Challenges facing the Public.....	110
6.10 Socio-economic Impact of the Relocation on Street Hawkers.....	111
6.10.1 Impact on Hawkers in the Odawna Market.....	112
6.10.2 Impact of the relocation across the gender and age divide and types of goods sold.....	115
6.11 Measures/Efforts at tackling challenges of the relocation exercise.....	117
6.11.1 Measures/Efforts being undertaken by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA).....	117
6.11.2 Suggested Solutions/Measures at tackling the challenges of the relocation exercise from the Hawkers.....	120
6.11.2.1 Hawkers in the market.....	120
6.11.2.2 Hawkers on the street.....	122
6.11.2.3 Opinion of the public at tackling the challenges of the relocation street hawkers.....	123
Chapter Seven: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.....	125
7.1 Summary.....	125
7.1.2 Typology of Street Hawkers and Dynamics of Hawking Activity.....	126
7.1.2.1 Types of Street Hawkers in Accra.....	126
7.1.2.2 Composition/Profiles and dynamics of Street hawking.....	126
7.2 The 'Perceptions/Views' of Hawking Activity as seen by 'Others'.....	129
7.3 Reasons for Relocating the Hawkers.....	130
7.4 Challenges of the Relocation of the Street Hawkers.....	131
7.5 Socio-economic Impact of the Relocation Exercise.....	132
7.6 Alternative Businesses/Ventures and Locations.....	133
7.7 Efforts at tackling challenges of the relocation exercise.....	134
7.8 Conclusions.....	136
7.9 Recommendations.....	138
7.10 Limitations of the Study.....	139
7.11 Areas for further research.....	140
References.....	142
Internet References.....	154
Appendix.....	155

List of Figures

Figure	Page
2.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.....	9
2.2 Conceptual Framework Showing the Dynamics of Street Hawking and Significant Actors..	35
4.1 Map of Accra Showing Study Area and Places with high levels of hawking activities.....	62
4.2 Signboard prohibiting hawking in Accra.....	64
4.3 Hawker selling on pavement in spite of warning in Accra.....	64
4.4 Traffic Jam in Accra.....	66
4.5 Street Hawkers selling their wares in Accra.....	66
4.6 An Aerial View of the newly Constructed Odawna Pedestrian Market.....	68
6.1 Hawkers selling to passengers in vehicles Caught in traffic at Accra.....	92
6.2 Heavy vehicular traffic in Accra.....	92
6.3 Abandoned Sheds (<i>Tuabodom area, Odawna Pedestrian Market, Accra</i>).....	100
6.4 Billboard showing Odawna pedestrian market (<i>Nkrumah Circle, Accra</i>).....	105
6.5 Gutter choked with weeds & grasses in Odawna Pedestrian market, Accra.....	106
6.6 Patches of flooded water in Odawna Pedestrian market, Accra.....	106

List of Tables

Table	Page
4.1 Population of Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) by Sex and Region of Birth (Percentages)..	60

List of Acronyms

ILO	International Labour Organization
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
HBEs	Home-Based Enterprises
CBD	Central Business District
NDC	National Democratic Congress Party
NPP	New Patriotic Party

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

The world over, people strategize and adapt in diverse ways to make a living. Since time immemorial, humans have undertaken movements to different places in their quest to make a living. Indeed people mostly move in response to their needs which often serve to initiate the movement in the first place (Adekoya, 1978). De Haan (1999) contends for instance that migration has been used as an income and livelihood diversification strategy all over the world by both the poor (and non-poor). The search for alternative livelihoods has seen more people being engaged in the informal sector in especially many developing countries. This is facilitated according to Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) by increasing limited formal employment opportunities due partly to both global and national economic changes and increasing urbanization. Xaba *et al* (2002) in their ILO study for example observed that in Sub-Saharan Africa, there has been an increase in informal sector activities with so many people being engaged in it whilst the formal sector has stagnated in growth over the years.

Indeed defining the informal sector as noted by Cross (2000) has always been difficult if not problematic (see also Swaminathan 1991). However, the ILO (1972, 6) conceives of the informal sector as *“one in which there were fewer barriers to entry and a heavy reliance on indigenous resources and family ownership; operations were small-scale and used labour-intensive and adaptive technologies; workers acquired skills outside the formal school system; and markets were unregulated and competitive”*. Similarly, Portes *et al.* (1989) are of the view that, the informal sector basically consists of economic activities that use primarily illegal methods to produce legal products. The formal sector on the other hand was more formalized and organized administratively and indeed has characteristics that are opposite to that of the informal sector (Teltscher 1994).

Street hawking/vending is an integral aspect of the informal economy in most developing countries. It has been defined differently by various scholars. Hawking however has been conceptualized by the 1960 Public Health and Urban Services Ordinance of Hong Kong as “*any person who sells, or exposes for sale his wares or offers for hire his labour in a public place; or any person who itinerates for the purpose of selling or exposing for sale his wares, services or labour*” (Yunusa, 1988, 10). This definition covers both stationary and mobile hawkers. Hence, for the purposes of the study this definition will be applied whilst taking cognizance of the fact that the hawking activity also entails persons who offer goods and services for sale on streets, pavements and in fact public spaces (McGee & Yeung 1977). Street hawking or vending means the same economic activity. In this regard the terminologies will be used interchangeably in the study but has the same meaning.

Street hawking has been seen to absorb many unemployed persons often youth who mostly move especially to urban centres for greener pastures (Bhowmik 2005). In Asia for example, Bhowmik (2005) alludes to the fact that there has been a substantial increase in the number of street hawkers which has been estimated to constitute about 2% of a metropolis. The number of street hawkers/vendors in India has been posited at about 10 million in the country according to the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors/Hawkers of India. Thus hawking since time immemorial has provided a leeway for unemployed persons and the poor to make a living for themselves in the face of unfavourable economic conditions mostly orchestrated by the ever changing global economy. The phenomenon of street hawking or vending thus has a deep rootedness in economic history (Yunusa 1988) and hence seen us an important livelihood strategy in the developing world (Bromley 1998; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008).

1.1.1 Street hawking situation in Ghana

Indeed, the case of street hawking is not different from what pertains in Ghana. Street hawkers abound in almost all the big towns and cities in the country. The situation of unfavourable socio-economic conditions in the light of unfavourable economic and trade policies in the country has triggered a massive out-migration. Normally, economically active youth and in many cases children move from rural areas to urban areas to engage mostly as hawkers and

*kayayei*¹ with Accra often the point of destination (Anarfi *et al.* 2003; Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008). Anecdotal information indicates that in Accra alone, there are more than 4000 street hawkers. As a result of increasing poverty levels with rising cost of living in the country, hawking has more or less become a livelihood strategy for these adventurous youth who flock into the city in anticipation of making it in life (see Anarfi 1982). It has been noted by Caldwell (1969) that movement to towns for many Ghanaians has particularly been an important part of livelihood strategies for many years and has indeed provided new possibilities and opportunities for modernity (see also Kasanga & Avis 1988). The activities of these hawkers as they try to make a living by selling on the streets and pavements have raised concerns about the legality and the problems associated with their activities (Duh 2004; Davis 2008; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008).

There are not only hawkers on the street but also beggars who often walk on crutches, and others mostly disabled persons being led or pushed in wheel chairs by other people often children. Many Ghanaians see street hawking as convenient because one can readily buy anything from fresh fruits, machetes, chewing gums, flashlights to dog chains from the car whilst in the slow moving traffic that characterizes Accra. Other people including road users and government have however raised concerns about their activities (Davis, 2008). In the face of rapid urban growth and increase in the number of vehicles on the roads and consequently a keen competition for urban space, the hawkers have been seen not only to cause human congestion but vehicular traffic and accidents (Afukaar *et al.* 2003). In fact the hawkers in their bid to eke out a living have been noted by Amma Darko (undated) in her own words to have “*rendered the ceremonial route which runs from the Kotoka International Airport through the 37 Military Hospital down to the Parliament House a paradox*”.

The development of slum settlements (Sodom and Gomorrah, Nima etc) and the generation of filth which has been observed to have implications for the environment and health of the people in the city of Accra have also been attributed to these hawkers. The hawkers and beggars it has been noted risk their lives by going in and out of traffic and usually congregate on busy streets at major intersections, and their activities impede the free flow of traffic (Duh, 2004).

¹ Persons, mostly young females who carry loads on head pans normally for a negotiated fee (female head porters).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the light of the foregoing backdrop, several attempts have been made by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) over the years to decongest and remove hawkers from the streets and pavements of the city. In fact efforts were made by the AMA as far back as 2007 to relocate the hawkers to the Odawna pedestrian market at Kwame Nkrumah Circle (Davis, 2008), which was built at a cost of 20 billion old Ghana cedis to 4,000 hawkers (Modern Ghana 2007). The relocation of the street hawkers has brought with it attendant problems and challenges. Besides, the efforts of the authorities being derailed by the overflowing of drains at the Odawna market and the subsequent abandoning of stalls and return to the streets (Daily Graphic 2007), there has been the challenge of the hawkers having to move to the new market and to start selling their wares in a different environment altogether.

Many of the hawkers have not been able to acquire a shed to sell their wares resulting in many of them becoming displaced and losing their livelihood of selling on the streets and pavements. Also, several others have refused to stay in the market and have returned to the streets barely some few months after the AMA moved them from the streets. In fact they sell their wares in spite of security guards stationed at particular areas to deter them. Bentil (2009) has observed that the hawkers have now adopted new strategies from harassing to pulling pedestrians in order to sell their wares. This situation has resulted in recurrent clashes with AMA guards (*abaayei*²) and the police who normally raid and seize their goods in order to send them away. This situation has resulted in the loss of livelihoods and property often generating political and public debates in the country. Austin (1994) has for instance highlighted that street hawkers are very vulnerable when especially conflict erupts between them, the police, authorities and even pedestrians.

1.3 Justification of the Study

From the foregoing, it is observed that hawking on the street is an important livelihood strategy in Ghana. Many unemployed youth mostly with little or no education in most especially the urban centres engage in the selling of wares on the streets to make a living. The income generated does not only help improve the socio-economic welfare of both the hawkers and families left behind mostly in the rural areas but help reduce the poverty situation in the country.

² *Abaayei* is a Ga (language spoken by people of Accra) word meaning “they are coming” used to refer to the AMA task force.

The forcible relocation however due to governmental policy, as well as problems of traffic accidents and congestion in the city has led to untold hardships. People have lost their livelihood and property thereby exacerbating the urban poverty situation with implications for families left back in the rural areas. According to the GSS (2007), whilst there was generally a lower poverty level in the Greater Accra region over all in comparison with the other regions, there was an increase in urban poverty levels in Accra. Poverty levels in the region for instance increased significantly from 5.2% in 1998/99 to 11.8% in 2006. In spite of the challenges and problems experienced by the hawkers as a result of the relocation and decongestion exercise, not much research has been done to bring to light their plight. Indeed the world over, the bias of studies on other informal activities against street hawking have been documented by various scholars (see Beavon & Rogerson, 2000; Teltscher 1994).

Against this background, the study therefore seeks to highlight the effects of the forcible relocation of the hawkers to the Odawna Pedestrian Market at the Kwame Nkrumah Avenue (Circle) in Accra by the AMA and also to contribute to existing debate on the subject matter.

1.4 General Objective:

From the foregoing discussion, the general objective of this study will thus be to examine the socio-economic impact of the forcible relocation of street hawkers to the Odawna Pedestrian Market at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle in Accra.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives:

- To identify the underlying reasons behind the policies resulting in the relocation of the hawkers by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly
- To find out the livelihood impacts of the relocation exercise on the hawkers.
- To seek the views of both the AMA authorities and the public on the forcible relocation of the street hawkers

1.4.2 Research Questions:

- Why do people hawk/sell on the streets and pavements of the city?
- Who are these people?
- Why is it that the hawkers do not want to relocate to the newly constructed Odawna pedestrian market?
- What is the socio-economic impact of the forced relocation to the Odawna market on the hawkers?

1.5.0 Organization of thesis

The thesis is organized basically into seven chapters. Chapter one gives an introduction and background to the study, statement of the problem, general and specific objectives of the study as well as research questions of the study. Whilst chapter two covers the theoretical perspective, models and conceptual framework of the study, chapter three focuses on methodological research process. Chapter four comprises of a brief profile of Ghana and of the specific study area. Chapter five and six are the empirical and analysis chapters of the thesis. Chapter five provides insights into the typology of street hawkers and the dynamics of hawking activity whilst chapter six focuses on the "perception/views of hawking" activity as seen by 'Others'. Lastly, chapter seven gives the summary of the research findings discussed in chapter five and six, conclusions and recommendations, the limitations of the study as well as areas identified for further research.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Perspective, Concepts and Models of Street Hawking

2.1 Introduction

Human behaviour is very dynamic. Indeed, ways by which humans adapt to overcome the challenges posed by their environment in the quest for survival has metamorphosed over time. In this wise, there is no one social science theory which adequately elaborates the complexities that surrounds the real world. Consequently, social science researchers often adopt various theories and concepts to explain human behaviour and social phenomena. This is often to throw more light and meaning to reality (see Aitken & Valentine 2006).

This chapter seeks to highlight the theories and concepts that suffice to give more insight to the phenomenon of street hawking/vending. That is, bring to light the street hawkers or vendors as actors, their choice of locations, the influence of structure, human agency among other dynamics observed. Against this backdrop therefore, the main theoretical perspectives that have been used are the livelihoods approach, structuration theory and the place concept. These have been used in tandem with development concepts and models that have served to influence the hawking phenomenon as it emerges mostly in big cities in low income countries such as India, Thailand, Vietnam, Ecuador and Ghana.

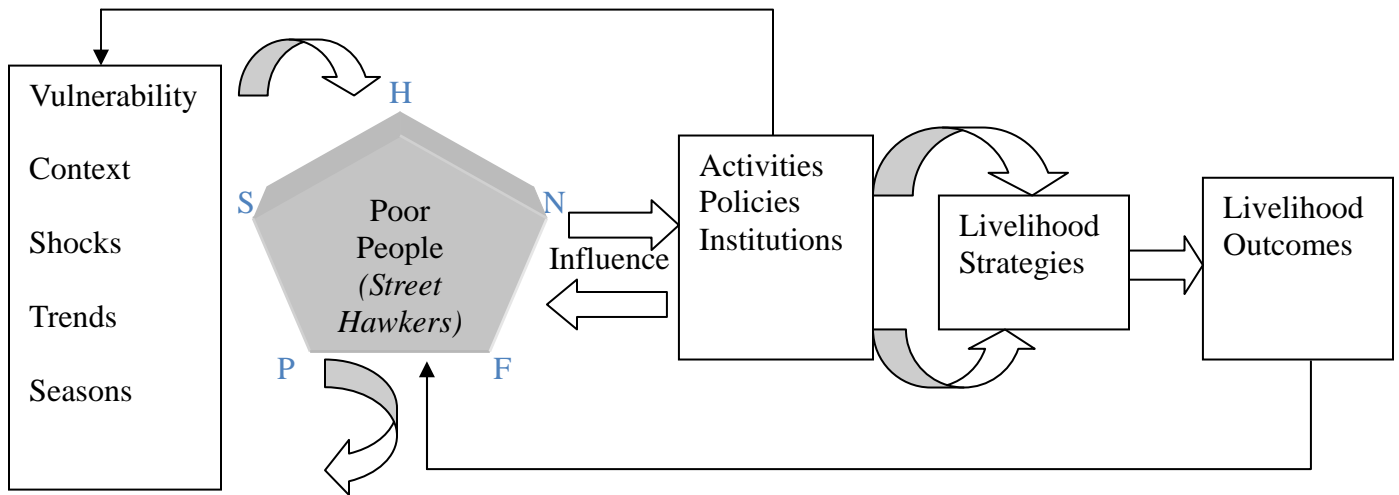
2.2 Livelihoods Approach (Framework)

The livelihoods debate has been ongoing for a long time and has been central to rural development thinking (Scoones 2009). A livelihood first of all as conceptualized by Carney, (1998, 4) comprises “*the capabilities, assets including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living*” (see also Chambers & Conway 1992). The livelihoods approach basically aims at promoting sustainable livelihoods. Indeed the sustainable livelihoods framework was conceptualized in cognizance of the dynamic nature of poverty in urban areas of developing countries. This is in reference to the fact that there is rapid urbanization the world over and as such many people living in extreme poverty conditions in urban areas. Hence taking note of the problems and factors affecting people living in extreme poverty conditions in urban areas was thus crucial for the development agenda (Lloyd-Jones 2001).

In this regard, the framework looks at the resources and assets that poor people draw on in their quest for survival due to their vulnerability. Additionally, the framework holds that in looking at livelihoods, there is the need to understand the poverty situation from the perspective of the poor themselves (Ellis 2000). Lloyd-Jones (2001) is hence of the view that poverty cannot be determined by income poverty lines but a need to holistically take into consideration the range of livelihood activities available to people and the strategies employed to eke a living. It highlights how policies and institutions can influence the vulnerability of the poor as they try to make a living and that strategies adopted can be assessed in terms of their wellbeing or the magnitude of influence on people. In this wise, Carney (1998) posits that a livelihood is sustainable when it is able to cope and recover from the shocks and stresses, maintain its capabilities and assets without affecting the natural resource base (see also Scoones 1998).

Against this backdrop, the livelihood approach envisages that even though poor people may be handicapped by lack of money or any form of savings they can rely on in their bid to make a living, they may be endowed with both material and non-material resources or *assets*. These resources according to the approach may encompass their knowledge (ideas and skills), labour, health, family and friends among others. The framework thus argues that poor people should not be perceived as deprived or inactive, but that there is a need to consider the resources available, taking note of the prevailing socio-economic conditions so as to identify their vulnerabilities or the opportunities available to them. The livelihood assets (resources) as conceptualized by Carney (1998) include: human, physical, social and political, financial and natural capital. These assets are the resources central to and available to individuals or households which they rely on for sustenance. These assets are often influenced by the context which in itself serves to make the poor people and their assets vulnerable. The livelihoods framework is diagrammatically represented below.

Figure 2.1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: Adapted from Livelihoods Framework by Tony Lloyd-Jones in Rakodi (2002).

From the livelihoods framework above, it is envisaged that the various components interact in complex ways to produce livelihoods outcomes which in themselves can be negative or positive. It is observed that peoples’ capacities or livelihoods assets are influenced by shocks, trends or seasons of whatever form which makes them vulnerable. People's vulnerability according to the framework is dependent on how they are able to overcome or withstand the constraints to their capabilities posed by the vulnerability context. Indeed government policies or the activities of institutions may also indirectly present constraints or shocks to people and thereby making them vulnerable. For example, a sudden change in permission to street hawking like banning or outlawing the activity may present a shock and as such affect their ability to eke out a living.

Similarly, unfavourable policies, institutions or their activities may directly influence the livelihood assets of poor people. For example, city authorities in a particular development country where hawking is prevalent may institute a policy to prevent people from selling on the streets or doing any form of business on or by the street which may to some extent affect their ability to make a living. Also, the activities of an institution like the Police in their attempt to enforce the prohibitions instituted by the authorities can also affect the fortunes of people who have resorted to doing business in unapproved areas of the city as demarcated by authorities in most urban areas. Further, the framework depicts that poor people by their activities can influence government policies and the activities of institutions or organizations.

Thus, policies from government and other agencies, and the activities of institutions impact on the livelihood assets of people which go a long way to inform their livelihood strategies. That is, people adopt different livelihood strategies to overcome the livelihood constraints posed by the activities and policies of institutions. Consequently, this leads to different livelihood outcomes (positive or negative). These outcomes will depict whether a person is vulnerable or has been able to overcome the shocks, trends or seasons encountered in his or her effort to carve out a livelihood. The framework thus shows that peoples' livelihoods are influenced by a complex array or network of interactions that are interrelated and indeed influence each other to produce livelihood outcomes.

2.2.1 Vulnerability Context

2.2.2 Shock

Shock as captured in the framework refers to unexpected happenings or circumstances that may affect a particular livelihood. This could be due to economic downturns, flooding, fire, disaster or an unfavourable policy put in place. In the context of the study, the sudden abolishing of a particular business venture or the designation of any area noted as very conducive for selling goods as prohibited by authorities in any city can serve as a shock to people engaged in that particular income making venture. In the case of most developing countries where selling on the streets is common, a forcible removal of these people from the streets will adversely affect their livelihood. This is because of the fact that many of them might not be able to make enough money for their socio-economic wellbeing. Hence the forcible removal will present some form of shock to them. For those who are unable to cope or engage in an alternative livelihood, they may resort to illegal activities such as smuggling of goods which mostly are either expired or banned items, stealing or engaging in other nefarious activities which may threaten the wellbeing of the society.

2.2.3 Trends

Trends basically refer to the changes in patterns of the livelihood. This may for example be how it has been like to sell over time. That is, whether it is profitable or not to sell on the street with more people for example engaging in street hawking. It depicts the changes in fortunes of a particular venture over time. Also it shows what types of goods are sold during a

particular period during certain times of the year or day. Further, trends will encapsulate how easy or difficult it is to do business over time with changes in regulation and perceptions of the authorities and people towards hawking respectively. It also highlights for example, how the situation is before and after a shock; may be after an occasional raiding exercise in the case of hawkers or a major crop disease attack in the case of peasant farmers. Thus, *trends* seek to show or give a situational overview of changes over time in the reference to a particular livelihood and how sustainable or resistant the livelihood is. In other words, it refers to changes due to general economic development, changing regulations, rights and duties as well as the opinions and perceptions of people over time.

2.2.4 Seasons

Seasons, as shown in the framework borders on what time of the year or on what occasion it is lucrative to do business or sell. Normally, business booms during certain periods of the year or on special occasions. This often also determines the type of goods that will be sold to enjoy the high demand for those particular goods and hence high profits. During Christmas for example, there is always an increase in demand for goods as people shop for the Christmas season. In Ghana for example, there is always an increase in demand for all sorts of goods which invariably always lead to an increase in prices. During this period businesses are always booming with high profits. Hawkers often change from selling other goods to Christmas items like toys, trees, chocolates etc. Further, it is observed that, for the hawkers and other sellers, it is profitable to sell during dry seasons when there is no rainfall than to the wet rainy season. This is because the constant torrential rainfall activity does not only destroy their items they keep in the open but does not allow people to come out on to the street as they stay at home to avoid the rain showers. This often leads to low sales and losses. Similarly, on national days and special occasions like major football tournaments, during political campaigns and special promotion for a particular item; sales also shoot up. Hence, the variations in the seasons or occasions also determine when it is or not appropriate or good for the carrying out of a particular livelihood and for that matter hawking.

2.3. Livelihood Assets

2.3.1 Human Capital

The human capital highlighted in the framework refers to the manpower or labour endowments of households/poor people which according to the livelihoods framework can be measured in the quantitative and qualitative terms (Carney 1998; Ellis 2000). These according to the framework can also be seen as the capabilities of the poor people which are both crucial in both the productive and reproductive process. It envisaged that the ability of poor people or households to exploit opportunities for their socio-economic wellbeing is saddled by their lower levels of education, skills and health status as well their social responsibilities which places some form of psycho-social and economic stress on them. The lack of appropriate qualitative human capital may predispose poor people in urban areas or households to engaging in low income-earning survival activities as they are unable to secure employment in the more formal labour market in the urban setting.

Within the context of the study, the qualitative terms refers to the educational levels and technical skills (i.e. making of handicrafts, the dexterity with which they navigate between cars, innovative and adaptation skills etc.) of the hawkers as well as their health status, whilst the quantitative measure will refer to the number of persons engaged in street hawking. Since unemployment is very rife, many of the urban poor and unemployed youth often resort to engaging in the informal economy with hawking or selling on the street the readily available source of livelihood (see Yunusa 1988). This is in light of the fact that besides their numbers, most of them are less endowed in the technical skills and education to engage in the formal labour economy and hence their confinement to the informal sector.

2.3.2 Social Capital and Political Capital

Social capital illustrates the social relationships that emanate from the social interactions or networks that exist among the hawkers as well as other important actors and existing institutions; both private and public available where people seek refuge in times of crisis. It encompasses the *“the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, society's institutional arrangements which enables its members to achieve their individual and community objectives for their ‘socio-economic wellbeing’*

[*emphasis mine*]” (Narayan 1997, 50). Normally the interaction amongst people over time often results in some mutual trust which people exploit in their daily activities. This social capital that emerges as a result of the social networks or relations may also wane or breakdown as a result of conflicts and mistrusts which are inevitable in human social interaction. In this regard, it is argued that these social networks do not often favour poor people in the urban settings due to mistrust, insecurity and increasing heterogeneity (Ellis 2000; Knox & Pinch 2000). In cognizance of insecurity and mistrust for example, people often adopt strategies to overcome these issues to be able to ply their trade. A clear case of insecurity and mistrust is the resentment of especially formal shop owners towards street hawkers in Accra (see Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008).

With regards to political capital, it borders on the decision making system or the political process. The influence of political actors and government agencies can influence peoples’ efforts at making a living. In many countries where hawking is common for instance, government and other governmental agencies often do not recognize the activity (see Bhowmik 2005). In places where recognition is given, unfavourable policies and lack of commitment is always not there at ensuring the welfare of the hawkers or people engaged in other informal activities (Obasi *et al.* 2008). Similarly, market associations normally formed by the hawkers often lack power to be able to engage government and political actors in negotiations geared at their welfare.

2.3.3 Physical Capital/Financial Capita/Natural Capital

The physical capital on the other hand encompasses the infrastructure; from transport, roads, traffic lights, pavements, built market, shelter, water, energy and communications. The physical capital influences the ability of poor people to take advantage of their capabilities or assets for their socio-economic wellbeing. In the case of street vendors or hawkers in Mumbai for example, hawkers in spite of prohibition by government often conglomerate in and around traffic light intersections, railway stations and pavements which serve to provide a good environment for the hawkers to operate (Anjaria 2006).

The savings, credit and any other finances available to say the hawkers relates to the financial capital aspect of the livelihoods framework. Money is very important for survival or starting a livelihood. Hence, a person's ability to survive or continue with his or her source of livelihood in the light of shocks (e.g. low sales, drought, poor crop yield, fire outbreak or

unfavourable governmental policy) will depend on the amount of initial capital or savings one has. Besides, the availability of credit facilities or loans from the banks and how accessible it is to the poor can influence their livelihoods. Normally where loans or credit facilities are available poor people are unable to access them because of high interest rates or they lack the collateral security required to access these facilities. For those who access these facilities, they often do not pay back in time or do not pay back at all. Those engaged in any economic venture at all do not make enough profits to re-invest to expand their business due to low sales and the small nature of their businesses.

The natural resource stocks of relevance to livelihoods of people (hawkers) especially common pool resources borders on the natural aspect like land (space) and other environmental resources of the framework like trees for shelter under which, for example, the street hawkers may seek shade. Because of increasing urbanization, land and for that matter space has become problematic in most cities. Thus the availability of land to the poor in urban areas to do any economic activity like farming, market gardening, or establish any business is often difficult to access. Also, in the case of trees to provide shade from the scorching sun in the case of street hawkers is often not available at all because they have been cut for development purposes or for construction.

Environmental factors like the nature of vehicular traffic flow and the traffic lights system may also stifle the progress of the hawkers. If there are traffic congestions, it creates a congenial environment for hawkers to operate as the slow moving vehicles will enable them to meander their way through and sell their goods. In the case where there is a fast moving traffic with cars moving at a high speed it will be highly dangerous to sell as one will risk being knocked down by a car. Also, if the street lighting system is effective it will facilitate sales. Even when it is dark, the lighting system will make it possible to sell further enhancing their livelihood. Hence common pool natural and environmental resources, due to the factors enumerated among others often also affect the wellbeing of poor people.

2.3.4 Activities

Activities, refers to happenings or actions of the actors involved in influencing and producing the livelihood outcomes. The actions or inactions of actors often produce livelihood outcomes which can be negative or positive. The outcomes can further make one's livelihood vulnerable or not. Normally, the action of governments or authorities as noted can impact on the livelihood of poor people. In Seoul for example, Bhowmik (2005) observes that the Korean government often hire gangsters to attack and evict street dwellers. The problem is even worse when there is an international event as the government seek to clear the city to get rid of vendors thereby impacting on the socio-economic wellbeing of poor people.

Further, the activities of the hawkers or street vendors; that is, the running and meandering between cars caught in traffic and selling on the pavements are not only tiring but stressful. Their ability to endure the exhaustive nature of the hawking activity in the face of harassment and regulation will to a larger extent also determine the livelihood outcomes. Similarly, the activities of criminals in constructed markets and whether or not the public will patronize the market can impact on the livelihood of the hawkers. This is the case because; with the activities of criminals it will be less easy to detect theft in the enclosed market where there is human congestion than on the street where it is an open system with higher visibility and control.

2.3.5 Institutions/Policies

Institutions are the power wielding entities that by their actions can effect change or profoundly influence livelihoods. These can be city authorities, city guards, police, government and political agencies as well as NGOs. Also, self-help groups and associations, trade unions and market associations often collaborate and act to improve on their welfare. Market Associations for instance serve to improve conditions and address matters concerning members of the association.

In relation to the foregoing, these institutions often come out with *policies*. These policies are normally geared at influencing behaviour or certain activities. The type of policies instituted can adversely influence livelihoods depending on how favourable or unfavourable they are. Thus institutions like market associations for example often engage authorities to come out with favourable policies.

2.3.6 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies encompass the methods employed by poor people to make a living. The livelihood strategy that a person or a hawker will adopt besides the assets available will depend on the vulnerabilities encountered and their ability to overcome the limitations presented by the vulnerability (see Carney 1998, Giddens 1984). The activities of institutions and policies instituted will also influence the livelihood strategies adopted. For example, if a government comes with a policy to exempt taxes on all chocolate products and frozen chicken products imported, this will lure people into dealing more on these products in order to enjoy the tax rebate.

Normally for those who are innovative, they often revert to the sale of other goods in the light of any regulation or constraints or changes in trends or seasons. Others may resort to engaging in illegal activities like prostitution, stealing, and smuggling of illegal goods just to make a living. Other alternatives which most especially marginalised people fall on to be able to bear or cope with any economic stress is to resort to drugs or apathy. They may also rely on religion where they engage the services of a cult leader or spiritual people to pray for them with the hope that God will turn around their fortunes. In instances like these, over-optimism becomes the order of the day. Hence, the livelihood options available to people often determine the livelihood strategy or pathway (De Haan & Zoomers 2005).

2.3.7 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes seek to show the viability and suitability of a particular strategy adopted to make a living. That is, the yield of a particular livelihood one is engaged in and the potential of enhancing the person's socio-economic wellbeing. These livelihood outcomes can be negative in which case it is not a suitable livelihood and hence opening a person to vulnerability or positive when it further enhances the livelihood. When the outcome is perceived as positive, then it enhances the welfare of the individual involved. It must be noted however that in spite of a livelihood producing a positive outcome, it might still be prone to vulnerability unless it is sustainable. That is, the livelihood should be able to endure shocks and limitations encountered (Carney 1998; Scoones 1998).

Considering the efforts that have been made with the proposition of the livelihoods framework and its people centeredness approach to development however, it has not gone unscathed. It has extensively been criticized by various scholars. For instance, the livelihoods framework has been criticized as lacking engagement with the economic process of globalization (Scoones 2009). In fact it is argued that the framework is too complex and not dealing with real life situations. It has been observed that it focuses very much on the local level and not dealing well with big shifts in the global markets and politics.

Further, Scoones (2009) is of the contention that the framework has not given attention to power and politics. That is, it has failed to link livelihoods and governance debates in development. An attempt at linking livelihoods and decentralization according to Scoones (2009), resulted in the emergence of agglomeration of NGO practitioners, consultants among others engaged in development at the local level and who often fail to link with those in government, public sector and politicians. This situation he notes has often resulted in confusion and contradictory theorisation with appalling livelihood outcomes. Similarly, De Haan & Zoomers (2005) have also bemoaned that access (voice and participation) and decision-making which are governed by social relations as well as institutions and power are two major challenges facing the livelihoods approach. Notwithstanding the scathing criticisms, the livelihoods framework will adequately explain the dynamics of street hawking in Accra. It will help highlight the extent to which institutional decisions have impacted on the livelihood of the people through the relocation exercise embarked. The next section highlights how the livelihood framework relates to street hawking.

2.4 Linking the Livelihoods Framework to Street hawking

In relating the livelihoods framework to the phenomenon of street hawking, the discussion will focus narrowly on the influence of policies and institutions on the available assets to the hawkers in terms of human, physical, social and financial capital and how this has in turn affected their livelihood and indeed their survival or sustenance. Similarly, assets or capacities of the hawkers in terms of their activities have also; or do influence the policies of institutions and other actors in the city. In the case of street hawking or vending, it is envisaged that in the context of the available assets, they are endowed with the necessary human capital in both quantitative and qualitative terms, but with little or no education and skills in terms of quality.

Numerically, it is envisaged that many people mostly youth of both sexes are seen to be engaged as street hawkers (Teltscher 1994). Many of these hawkers are people who are unemployed due to their lower level or lack of education and skills and partly due to the high unemployment levels in most developing countries. Due to high unemployment levels, it is noted that other people, for example housewives and daughters are often forced into the informal sector to supplement or even earn household income (Meagher, 1995).

In respect of the assets available to hawkers, it is envisaged that they can be vulnerable due to shocks, unfavourable changes in hawking over time or variations in profits according to some specific occasions or times of the year (seasons). *Shock* for instance could be in the form of governmental policy at removing or outlawing the street hawking phenomenon. Also, erratic unfavourable changes in the economy and as such variation in the purchasing power can also influence the vulnerability of hawkers at making a living. Similarly, changes in the level of profits by season can also dispose people to vulnerabilities. Whilst in the case of hawking it is profitable to do business during Christmas, dry season and special occasions than at any time in the year for example in Ghana, it does not yield much to sell in the wet season when hawkers are always at the mercy of constant torrential rains. The rains sometimes also destroy their goods displayed in the open. The ability of hawkers to endure these limiting factors will determine their level of vulnerability or sustainability of their livelihood.

The activities of institutions or government policies as noted in the foregoing can for example can affect the assets that the hawkers possess and thereby their ability to continue with their livelihood. The lack of strict enforcement of regulation with regards to the illegality of street hawking in the first place has often facilitated the activities of street hawkers or vendors in major cities in the world. The non-recognition of hawking by institutions or agencies of higher authority has often stifled the operation of hawking and the ability of people selling on the streets and pavements to make a living. Thus the non-recognition or prohibition of the hawking activity has often led to the destruction of unauthorised structures of hawkers (who are mostly squatters) and seizure of hawkers' goods and consequently a loss of property and goods (Daily Graphic 2009). The prohibition from selling on the street often leads to adoption of livelihood strategies at outwitting the authorities to be able ply their trade. Whilst the favourable strategies often produce good outcomes, inappropriate strategies often result in bad or negative livelihood outcomes further making them vulnerable. These outcomes observed will further go a long way

to determine the vulnerability of the hawkers as they attempt to make a living in an ever changing and unstable economies characteristic of developing countries.

2.5 Structuration Theory

Structuration theory was postulated by Giddens (1984) to bring to light the interactions that ensue between humans and the wider social systems and structures within which they find themselves (see also Chouinard 1996). Structuration criticizes structural Marxism for being too abstract and portraying humans as lacking agency and thus influenced by the constraints presented by the structures that surround them (Peet 1998; Chouinard 1996). Indeed, structuration theory *"emphasizes the ways in which 'knowledgeable human' [emphasis mine] actions and practices interact with structural constraints to both transform and reproduce social structures"* (Entrikin & Tepple 2006, 34; see also Gregory 1994). It is a *"process whereby the duality of structure evolves and is reproduced over space and time"* (Rose 1998, 4). Giddens (1984) posits that social actions and social structures do not exist independently of each other. That is, the duality of structure is very much interdependent. Social structures, for instance language, only exist independently if they are created and reproduced by human actions. There exists a symbiotic relationship such that they depend on each other and also pose constraints to each other (Dyck & Kearns 2006; Peet 1998; Barley & Tolbert 1997).

Structuration theory argues that structure itself serves as a medium and an outcome of interactions which are mostly informed by deliberate or unintended actions of humans in a social system (LeBeau & Mufune, 2004). Indeed Dyck & Kearns (2006) contend that structure refers to the rules (constraints) and resources (possibilities) that emerge or have been instituted due to the interactions that ensues between human beings and upon which they redefine their social lives. *Resources* encompass the physical environments and the social relationships within them. The resources may be *authoritative* or *allocative*. Giddens (1984) is of the conviction that, authoritative resources emanate from the activities of agents whilst that of allocative resources results from the influence of the environment or the material world. The rules or constraints refer to the limiting powers of the physical and social environment, as well as the biological capacities of actors. In fact, the *"constraints are not externally imposed on the flow of action; instead the structural components of the society that are embedded in an enduring way in institutions are both enabling and constraining"* (Giddens 1983, 78).

Thus constraints will for example include social control mechanisms or norms that specify or guide, sanction or reward human behaviour. Hagerstrand (1970) for example identifies 3 forms of constraints that people face. These are *capability constraints, coupling constraints and authority constraints*. Capability constraints refers to the limitations on a person's capabilities due primarily to his/her biological make up. Whilst authority constraints encapsulates the control that power wielding entities have on individuals; coupling constraint borders on the duration of time that one have to interact and collaborate with others, tools or material in order to be able to produce and consume. It is thus clear that, structure does not only constrain but stimulates human innovation to be able to overcome the constraints to enhance their social lives.

Institutions as captured by structuration theory refer to the rules and resources that have been diligently reproduced over time. Institutions can be viewed as the acceptable patterns of behaviour as prescribed by the rules instituted through human interaction and recognized by society. These are parameters often set aside by society to guide behaviour. For example *political institutions or structures* according to structuration theory can be seen to be endowed with authoritative resources that have influence and power over people. Similarly, *economic institutions* it is noted also possess *allocative* resources that enhances people's capacities to be able to control goods or things which are material in nature (North 1993).

Further, Giddens (1984) posits that *agency* as highlighted in his structuration theory refers to the capabilities that people possess to do things. In other words it refers to the “*capacity to make a difference - transformative capacity*” (Giddens 1984, 14). Humans in the face of both environmental constraints and enhancements often act on purpose. That is, human beings are purposive agents and not passive (Peet 1998; McMunn *et al.* 2006). Street hawkers for instance are rational economic actors who often seek to maximize or optimize profit. Thus in a day for example, irrespective of how much sales they make, hawkers will naturally like to sell more to make much profits. In this vein, Peet (1998, 155) is of the contention that the everyday interactions *occurring as a flow of intentional actions, has unintended consequences which systematically feed back as unacknowledged conditions of further acts*. Hence human agents often act deliberately to achieve a particular end; even though unintentional consequences of action also do often emerge in what Giddens terms *recursiveness*. This notwithstanding, structuration theory argues that people are most often aware of their actions and do not act

unknowingly in spite of the fact that they are at times unaware of the consequences (see Stones 2005). For example, many poor farmers in developing countries cut trees and bushes for farming. Even though they seek to make a living through this farming practice, they are unaware of the long term effects of deforestation and loss of soil fertility as a result of the indiscriminate cutting of trees and bush burning. Similarly, street vendors/hawkers do not judge or have an understanding of the risk involved in carrying out their activities. As their activities on the streets and pavements do not only create filth and congestion but makes driving and movement very difficult and sometimes cause accidents on the roads.

In spite of the significant contribution of structuration theory to social theory it has been widely criticized by various scholars. A major criticism of structuration according to Rose (1998) centres on what she calls 'conflation' of structure and agency. In this regard, Barley & Tolbert (1997) argue that reducing structure to action makes it difficult to separate institution from action. Consequently, the collapsing of structure and agency together makes their analytical power weak. Archer (1996) is thus of the view that in order to come to terms with why things in society are the way they are, there is the need to look at the components of society and people independent of each other to be able to grasp an adequate understanding of them and their respective roles over space and time in the shaping and reproduction of society. Further, Thompson (1989) criticizes Giddens' conceptualization of structure as not only being too loose and abstract but vague in sharp contrast to structuralists' thoughts where structure is seen to physically constrain human action (see also Peet 1998). It is further argued that Giddens in his propositions failed to take cognizance of the fact that some people have choices more than others primarily due to their gender, class, ethnicity, background among others under any circumstance that they find themselves.

Irrespective of the criticisms of structuration theory, it provides a very useful platform to comprehend how people and structure interact as they negotiate their daily activities for their socio-economic wellbeing. Structuration theory could highlight how street hawkers in the face of existing structural constraints (institutional) and an enabling physical structure as in the nature of the road, street lighting system, and social organization among other factors facilitate their selling of items or goods as a source of livelihood.

2.6 Linking Structuration to Street Hawking

Giddens' structuration theory has been in the limelight since his work "constitution of society" in 1984 (Rose 1998). Subsequently, the theory has been used by various scholars to explain social phenomenon. The theory thus seeks to identify how structure influences social action and the vice versa. In relating structuration theory to street hawking, it is conceived that the hawkers in most developing countries operate in a structural milieu. Indeed, they operate in social, physical, legal and illegal structures which enable or constrain their livelihood of street hawking.

2.6.1 Physical Structures

Firstly, the physical structures existing in most cities of developing countries enables and constraints the hawking process. For instance the road network, traffic light system and the dense human populations often create slow moving traffic jams. This is especially the case in the rush hours of the morning and when one is returning home after work. The roads are not only narrow and inadequate considering the teeming numbers of vehicles but also the traffic lights are faulty and do not function at all some at some road intersections. This situation creates a congenial atmosphere for hawkers to sell their wares to passengers and drivers caught up and sitting in traffic.

Also, car occupants have the opportunity to purchase essential items they could not purchase on their way home or perhaps do impulse buying. This situation has been noted to be the case facilitating street vending in most cities in Asia aside the proximate causes of street vending (Bhowmik 2005). Besides, the heavy traffic situation, the broad pavements and pedestrian walkways and bridges provide a good space for hawkers to conglomerate and keep their goods whilst they sell their goods. However, in areas and countries where there is fast moving vehicular traffic on the roads, it will be practically impossible do any form of business there. This is because there would not be any person in a slow moving car to sell to. Besides, it will be extremely dangerous to sell on the road as one will risk being knocked down by a car. Further, in areas where high metal rails have been constructed in the middle of the road to separate both sides of the street will also prevent people from doing any business on any side of the road. This is because they would not be able to jump or cross the rails.

2.6.2 Economic Structures

Related to physical structures are economic structures. These refer to the nature and location of constructed or enclosed markets. This will reflect differences in selling on the streets and in the market. It is seen that markets that are difficult to access and indeed poorly designed with no access roads and electricity will not only constrain and discourage hawkers from moving in and selling there but also discourage potential buyers from patronizing the market. Hence the likelihood of moving back to the enabling environment of the street to sell their items will be inevitable. Indeed, there are variations in selling on the street and in the market. There exist also differences in the prices of goods. Whilst petty goods like newspapers, sachet water and candies which are lighter in weight and lower in profits are mostly sold on the street; both lighter and heavy items (heavy boxes of cake soap, big travelling bags and footwear) which normally attract high profits prevail in the markets (see Ahmed 2000).

It is noteworthy however that, in spite of the less profit of items sold on the street; they often sell faster than items in the market. This is because people selling on the street constantly come into contact with potential buyers who may often do impulse buying even if they do not need the item or do ostentatious consumption to show status or power. In the markets however, sellers are often saddled with low sales as a result of lack of patronage. Besides the foregoing, these economic structures also present their own forms of limitations to hawkers. For example, selling on the street is very stressful and demanding as it involves exerting so much physical energy unlike in the market where one is seated under the shade of a shed at a fixed location. Beavon & Rogerson (1986) for instance have observed that coffee carts made from light plywood and tea chests on wheels and used to sell coffee in Johannesburg have metamorphosed into heavy packing cases and corrugated iron sheets and no more on wheels. Consequently, selling coffee has become very stressful for coffee sellers in Johannesburg. Because of the small profit margin per unit with selling on the street, there is thus the need for more endurance for one to break even. With sellers who find themselves in enclosed markets, they are faced with frustrations because they cannot always seek customers like those on the street do. This is in light of the fact that they are confined and hence have to wait for people to come in to buy. This situation it must be noted has resulted in people adopting a livelihood strategy of occupying sheds in the market and selling on the streets at the same.

Indeed, the actions of the street hawkers have redefined and influenced how the physical structures are being used. Drivers for example, have been forced most at times to use one lane on the road just to avoid knocking down a hawker selling on the road. Similarly, pedestrians risk their lives by being forced to walk on the shoulders of walkways because of the activities of hawkers. The pedestrians also walk on the fringes of the road also to avoid harassment from sellers or pushing down or even stepping on the goods of hawkers on display. These circumstances that are available to the hawkers influence their actions as to their mode of operation in the quest to make a living; taking into consideration the limiting and enabling circumstances that the physical structures present and the fact that this has redefined the way people use these structures.

2.6.3 Social Structures

The social structure basically refers to the *institutions* and both formal and informal *social networks* that emerge through social interaction and upon which hawkers draw on in the process of their activities. This can be referred to as the social capital that result due to the networks formed in reference to the social interaction that ensues. These social structures can also be enabling and constraining. This often also includes *political structures*. The constraints that an institution may present to an individual for example are what Hagerstrand (1970) refer to as *authority constraints* where power is exercised. This is when a higher entity under the control of some individuals or political institutions exercises power. Rogerson & Beavon (1986) are of the opinion that governmental authority has often extensively impacted negatively on street trade in urban Africa, Latin America and Asia where street vending is very common. Indeed, urban policies have often favoured elites who are often in the higher income bracket who wield power and authority than the poor (see Linn 1983). The attitude of political structures towards concerns of the hawkers can also profoundly affect their activities. For example, countries like Malaysia, Vietnam and Cambodia, government does not give due recognition to; or give credence/legalise street vending in spite of the fact that it provides a livelihood to many people (Bhowmik 2005). The view of hawking by authorities is; the activity often represents traffic danger, harassment of people, they do not pay taxes and in fact see them as people who deal in illegal goods. The lack of commitment on the part of politicians and the use of the street hawking or vending problem to win political votes can also exacerbate the problems confronting the hawkers or street vendors.

The social networks that exist amongst the hawkers and with other actors like potential buyers, shop owners and formally with authorities also influence the hawking activity. Whilst the hawkers may strike some rapport with some of the buyers, they do have some interactions informally amongst themselves which can be collaborative or conflicting. The familiarity with shop owners perhaps due to long periods of interaction may allow hawkers to access goods on credit from the shop owners who act as retailers or wholesalers. The hawkers also have various market associations that have been formed to address issues concerning them. Potential buyers can also discourage or encourage hawkers to be in business by either patronising their goods or not. Thus, the hawkers in the face of the constraints they encounter as they try to eke out a living draw on these social structures. Nevertheless, these social structures may also act to inhibit their operations.

2.6.4 Legal/Illegal Structures

The legal structures as it relates to hawking activity can be in the form of legislation. This refers to the social control mechanisms that have been put in place to regulate behaviour. In this regard, the legal structures determine whether the hawking activity is a legal activity or not. Hence the enactment of a bye-law outlawing hawking by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly in Ghana can be seen as a form of legislation limiting the sale of items on the street. The legislation has in turn influenced the various strategies adopted by the hawkers to outwit the AMA task force. The illegal structures relates to the erecting of physical unauthorised structures mostly by hawkers who often double as squatters. Their lack of permits and lack of approval from the authorities or government makes them illegal. Examples of these illegal structures include kiosks and temporary structures erected along major roads, lorry stations and access road in residential neighbourhoods to sell items.

2.6.5 Human Agency

Human agency according to the structuration theory refers to the capabilities that people possess to be innovative in the light of any circumstance that they find themselves (Giddens 1984). Indeed, humans are not passive agents who are unable to either take advantage of opportunities that surround them or not being able to overcome constraints (*be it capability, authoritative or coupling*) imposed on them by the environment (Gregory 1981; McMunn *et al.*

2006; Hagerstrand 1970). The concept of *Possibilism* already mentioned by Paul Vidal Blache depicts human agency and the level of innovation in response to environmental factors (see Crosby 1995). Indeed Thompson (1978, 106) in his critique of structure, agency and process recognizes human agency and as such contends that “*people and not structures are the agents of history*”.

In cognizance of the foregoing therefore, it has been observed that there is a contrast to popular notions that the informal sector for example provides a labour reserve for the more formal sector (Anjaria 2006). For instance, Bhowmik & More (2001) contend that people who were formally engaged in the mill factory of the central districts of Mumbai have taken up the initiative and resorted to selling vegetables and cooked food on the streets. Hence, poor people are often very active and inventive agents. This is so because people often in the light of their circumstance often act and take advantage of the existing enabling and constraining structures around them to carve out a living. Hence human agency cannot be discounted.

In reference to the dynamics of the street hawking or vending therefore, it can be seen that Giddens’ theory on the limiting and enabling factors of structure can be applied. The ability of the poor people or hawkers to use their capabilities to take advantage of the enabling environment or to overcome the constraints; and the way people revise the use and interaction of structure in the city reflects the *recursiveness* of social structure and social action as noted in structuration theory (Giddens 1984). Hence the structuration theory amply elucidates the street selling activity which is prevalent in most cities of developing countries.

Besides conceptualizing the phenomenon of street hawking from the perspective of the livelihoods framework and structuration theory, the circumstances of the hawkers can be viewed also in the context of the development policies that have been pursued over the years by the government. In the face of unfavourable economic conditions since the early 1970s with the worse in the 1980s many people have sought refuge in the informal sector. With trade liberalization in the 1980s to help solve the appalling economic situation especially with the repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 (Afolayan 1988; Adepaju 2002; 1984), the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was instituted in the country. SAP brought about deregulation and removal of subsidies and increased competition in the market as a result of trade liberalization which saw prices of goods and services soaring. This economic situation brought about an increase in cost of living. Other conditions under SAP included the

retrenchment of public sector workers resulting in rocketing rates of unemployment in the country. Consequently, many people sought many ways to make a living and as such many people falling on the informal sector. Whilst many others emigrated to Europe and North America, there was a spontaneous rural-urban migration in the country (Manuh 2005) and thus an increase in unemployment as highlighted.

Further, regional development in the country has been uneven with a significant gap in development between southern and northern Ghana. This situation has served as a recipe for rural-urban migration and subsequently rapid urbanization (Anarfi *et al.* 2003). A conscious effort by the government to make the capital (Accra) a modern city informed the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Modernization of the Capital City by the NPP government which had as part of its mandate to upgrade the Accra to the state of a modern city. This move by then government also served as basis for decongesting the city of hawkers. Thus the conscious governmental effort at making Accra a modern city in the face of rapid urbanization also influenced the relocation exercise.

2.7 Place Concept

The concept of *place* is very important in explaining humans and their relationship with their immediate surroundings and environment and how this has in turn influenced behaviour. Indeed a comprehensive understanding of places is crucial to the whole being of humans (Relph 1976). For example *place* have been used to analyse and study the consequences of illness and health provision and a clear understanding of medical geography (see Kearns & Joseph 1993; Kearns 1993). The explanation and meaning of *place* has been contentious over the years. In fact *Place* has often been defined subjectively. In cognizance of this, Hubbard *et al.* (2004, 5) are of the opinion that “*what constituted a place was seen to be largely individualistic, although attachments and meanings were often shared (simply put, a place meant different things to different people)*”. In this wise, it is very difficult to conceptualize *place* and as such the varying meanings and definitions that abound (Cresswell 1996).

Agnew (1987) has identified three meanings of the concept. He contends that *place* could be conceived of as a location where it will be referring to an absolute location or a point on the surface of the earth or a sense of *place* where people play out the feeling of belonging or attachment that people have towards a place. Further a *place* could be conceptualized as a locale

where people interact and carry out their daily activities. Similarly, Hubbard *et al.* (2004) are of the contention that *place* is another form of space. For them, *Place* emerges in some distinct social spaces through naming and other distinct activities and imaginings akin to that particular social space (see also Lefebvre 1991). In the light of this, Heidegger (1958, 19) posits that “‘*place*’ *places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality*”. In contrast to *place* being an absolute location on the surface of the earth, it can be referred to as a “*center of meaning or a focus of human emotional attachment*” (Entrikin 1976, 616).

Place can thus be seen to be in interrelationship with humans who are in themselves active agents. Sack (1997) reveals that as much as the self and place are influenced by nature, society and culture, humans are not passive but very active who play a crucial role in the construction of place. *Place* in turn presents possibilities and limitations to humans in their daily social activities. Hence Entrikin & Tepple (2006) posit that human geographers acknowledge the socially or humanly constructed nature of places. That is, humans as active agents play out in constructing place which itself constraints and facilitates human activities in consonance with notions of duality of structure in structuration theory (see Giddens 1984).

2.8 Linking *Place* concept to Street Hawking

The concept of place can be seen to play out in the dynamics of street vending or hawking. *Place* in this context can be seen to manifest in the three forms or abstraction of space as highlighted by Agnew (1987). Mostly interactions between hawkers and *place* operate at both meso and micro-scale level. That is while the hawkers relate with *place* at the meso-scale, they carve niches or there are particular locations within these spaces that they do operate at the micro-scale level. In spite of geographers; particularly Tuan (1977) in his poetic writings emphasizing that *place* and people do not exist in a grid of geometric relationships or scales, the use of meso-micro scales here is to show the levels at which hawkers often interact in their various niches.

2.8.1 Place as a particular location or ‘container’ on the surface of the earth

In many instances *place* is conceived in absolute terms where people are gathered in a bounded locale or territory (Hubbard et.al 2004). Street hawkers everywhere in the major cities of the developing countries where it is prevalent are often seen to congregate at certain particular places. They often assemble around areas that facilitate their activities. Consequently particular places that often attract hawkers are traffic light intersections, pavements, railways and lorry stations and overhead or foot bridges. These spaces become meeting places, negotiation places for buying, as well as conflicts and collaboration zones amongst hawkers, other actors like potential buyers, authorities and drivers of vehicles. Within these areas as well, that is at the micro-scale level, there are often particular points or locations which most hawkers occupy or avoid. This is often to take advantage or avoid the constraints respectively that may affect the sale of goods and hence their profits. For example in Johannesburg, vendors selling coffee in coffee-carts usually conglomerate around areas adjacent to railway stations, entrances to factories and in bus terminals (Beavon & Rogerson 1986). Also, Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) note that street vending in Accra is concentrated around Makola, Kaneshie, ‘Oxford Street’ in Osu and areas around Kwame Nkrumah Circle (avenue) which are heavy traffic zones. The case is not different from hawkers selling belts and ties from mobile trolleys in Hong Kong (see Potter & Lloyd-Evans 1998). Thus, street hawkers often choose strategic locations to be able to access potential markets in order to maximise sales.

Lefebvre (1991) however argues that the idea or notion of absolute space and for that matter *place* is non-existent (see also Holloway & Hubbard 2001). This is in light of the fact that space has social activity ongoing and as such has variation and indeed becomes a historicized space. Thus for Lefebvre (1991) there are no doubts that *place* is socially produced.

2.8.2 Place as a sense of belonging

Humans generally often exhibit a spirit of belonging or attachment to environments they find themselves. *Place* often present a unique form of space showing the lived experiences of people (Hubbard *et al.* 2004). It is created and in fact maintained, according to Tuan (1977), as a result of care due to the emotional attachment people have. Peet (1998) highlights that there often exist some strong relationship between community and place which serve to identify with each other. In this sense, Relph (1976, 34) thus concedes that “*people are their place and a place*

is its people". Street hawkers often feel a sense of attachment to the streets and pavements from which they derive their livelihood. They perceive the areas within which they operate as providing food and livelihood needed for survival. That is, the streets have become a working *place* for the hawkers.

Indeed the hawkers know the streets and pavements and how to operate there, how to spatially position themselves in their bid to maximize sales and how to draw or utilize the advantages prevailing in the *place*. In Bangladesh for example, in spite of the vending activity being illegal and hence harassment from the authorities, the vendors still feel a sense of attachment to the streets as the only place to do business. In reference to this, vendors pay whooping amounts of money as bribes to gangs, law enforcement agents and Police to allow them sell or do business on the streets (Bhowmik 2005). In many other places like Ghana, hawkers often resist eviction from various locations that they operate but have been designated as prohibited. Hence, hawkers are often attached to the place they ply their trade and thus often prepared to do anything to protect their interest. Thus, places are very important in expressing sense of belonging for those who dwell in these areas and indeed is a locus for identity (Huabbard *et al.* 2004).

2.8.3 Place as a locale

This is very similar to place as a sense of belonging. Thrift (2003) argues that what is widely acceptable is that *place* is involved with *embodiment*. Hence being at a particular place is very complex and as such involves a set of both mental and physical performances that change over time as humans interact with *place* (see also Hubbard & Holloway 2001). Sellers mostly perceive the area they operate also as a locale where they carry out their daily social activities. They sometimes sleep, cook, bath and entertain themselves in these areas. Abrams (1964) observes that in Calcutta an estimated 600,000 people slept on the streets and in Bombay 77,000 people lived under stairways and landings in the early 1960s.

In constructed markets and around pavements for example hawkers perceive their environment as unique and actually have their own peculiar mode of operation, the kind of things they sell, have conflicts and executives to resolve issues arising within that particular locale. The dynamics of a *place* such as street vendors or hawkers' locale is usually very different from other settings in the geographic area. Through their activities and perceptions they often transform

areas they occupy but designated for other purposes into places or locales of business. For instance streets and pedestrian walkways meant for vehicles and for human movement respectively are often inundated with hawkers often briskly doing business.

2.9 What does this place represent for Hawkers, Authorities and the Public?

2.9.1 Hawkers

Indeed these *places* (i.e. streets, pavements, market, lorry stations, walkways etc) in the light of their activities can be places of comfort or discomfort for hawkers. This is dependent on how well they adapt to the place. That is how they take advantage of the possibilities that it presents or their inability to cope because of the limitations prevailing at the place. Similarly, these places that the hawkers occupy and operate can also be places of earning money, dissatisfaction, humiliation, stigma, abuse, frustration and fear. These places and how conducive they are for doing business changes from day to day, according to seasons and even on the particular time of the day. Whilst rush hours, both in the morning and evening when vehicular traffic swells as a result of people returning home may often improve sales, the same area may be dangerous in the night. This may be due to the activities of thieves and other criminals. It is worthy to note also that these areas could be places of escape for the occupants. For example, Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) note that female porters in Accra carve out survival spaces by sleeping on open slabs on the street or congregating around ethnic lines to avoid or minimize rapes. Others as further reported saw the street as a place of refuge from forced marriages and to seek economic empowerment to escape from the jaws of poverty.

In fact, the streets, besides being noisy, polluted and indeed very warm and hot because of the weather, are mostly areas for making money or places that they suffer abuse and humiliation from potential buyers and authorities. For example in Cambodia, according to Agnello & Moller (2003) the Urban Sector Group (USG), an NGO concerned about slum dwellers and workers in the informal sector note that women vendors do not hold permanent places at areas of operation and as such subject to constant harassment from the Police and market security officials. For the vendors they have to often pay bribes to these officials to be able to ply their trade. Those who cannot afford to pay often have their goods seized and sometimes destroyed. Similarly, Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) also observed that in Accra

street hawkers suffer abuse from formal shop owners, managers of urban space and consumers alike thereby making it difficult for them to sell their wares. In instances like these hawkers do not only operate with fright in these spaces but are frustrated and many a times suffer physical injuries due to abuse meted out to them which undermines their ability to make a livelihood.

2.9.2 Authorities

The city authorities often frown upon hawking in public spaces designated specially for other social activities. Authorities in many cities across the world where street hawking is prevalent often do not only recognize the activity but prohibits people from selling on the street. They often see the places hawkers operate as places that generate filth, traffic congestion on the streets providing essential items at cheaper prices to the citizenry and for harbouring criminals. Even in areas where it is recognized and hawkers are licensed to do so, specific places and markets are often demarcated for operation. For instance in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur where hawkers are recognized and licensed, they are required most especially food vendors, to sell in food centres and markets (Bhowmik 2005). Because city authorities are often against selling on the streets they often recruit city security guards and police to ward off and seize the wares of those who flout the prohibition. Thus city authorities generally see the places that hawkers operate as areas that derail the development of the city.

2.9.3 Public (Drivers, Pedestrians & Buyers)

The public also hold different views and perceptions about the places that hawkers often operate. On the street where hawkers often sell for example, drivers of vehicles will perceive it as solely for the movement of cars and other vehicles. Amongst the drivers themselves, the police, hawkers and passengers, the street is a place of negotiation for space and conflict. Drivers plying the road may often appeal to other drivers to allow them to cross from one lane to the other in heavy vehicular traffic or for the exchange of passengers. Sometimes they also quarrel amongst themselves for space or with the police when charged for a traffic offence.

The passengers may also have conflict with the driver for not stopping for them to purchase a particular item or with a hawker for either keeping his/her change or selling a bad item. Also, hawkers may serve as a nuisance to drivers of vehicles and passengers and as such may suffer abuse of all forms. The public actors also perceive the street as a place of danger for

the hawker. This is the case because a car may run over them either injuring them or killing them. Similarly they may suffer physical abuse and the seizure of their items should the police or city guards pounce on them. For the buyers or pedestrians also, they may also view the street as or pavements as place for purchasing items, walking or a dangerous place. Thus depending on the form of interaction, the various actors enumerated may perceive or conceptualize *place* differently.

In cognizance of the foregoing background, the place concept gives insight into the activities of street vendors or hawkers. Besides, the fact that *place* creates a congenial atmosphere or facilitates the hawking activity it also presents obstacles or constraints. For instance the hawking activity mostly thrives in areas that have very slow moving traffic, in and around traffic light intersections, markets and around pedestrian walkways and overhead bridges where potential buyers are present. These areas also may present constraints thereby stifling the activities of the hawkers. On the street for example constant abuse from authorities and the Police as echoed earlier often serve to discourage hawkers from plying their trade. Similarly environmental factors like the scorching sun, rainfall which may destroy their goods and changes in the seasons might affect their sales. In spite of the aforementioned constraints however, street hawkers have been noted to be innovative. In many countries where the activity is prevalent, they have adopted strategies to overcome the obstacles they face in the pursuance of their livelihood. Thus, the concept of place also gives insightful explanations regarding the dynamics of street hawking and hence the findings of this study.

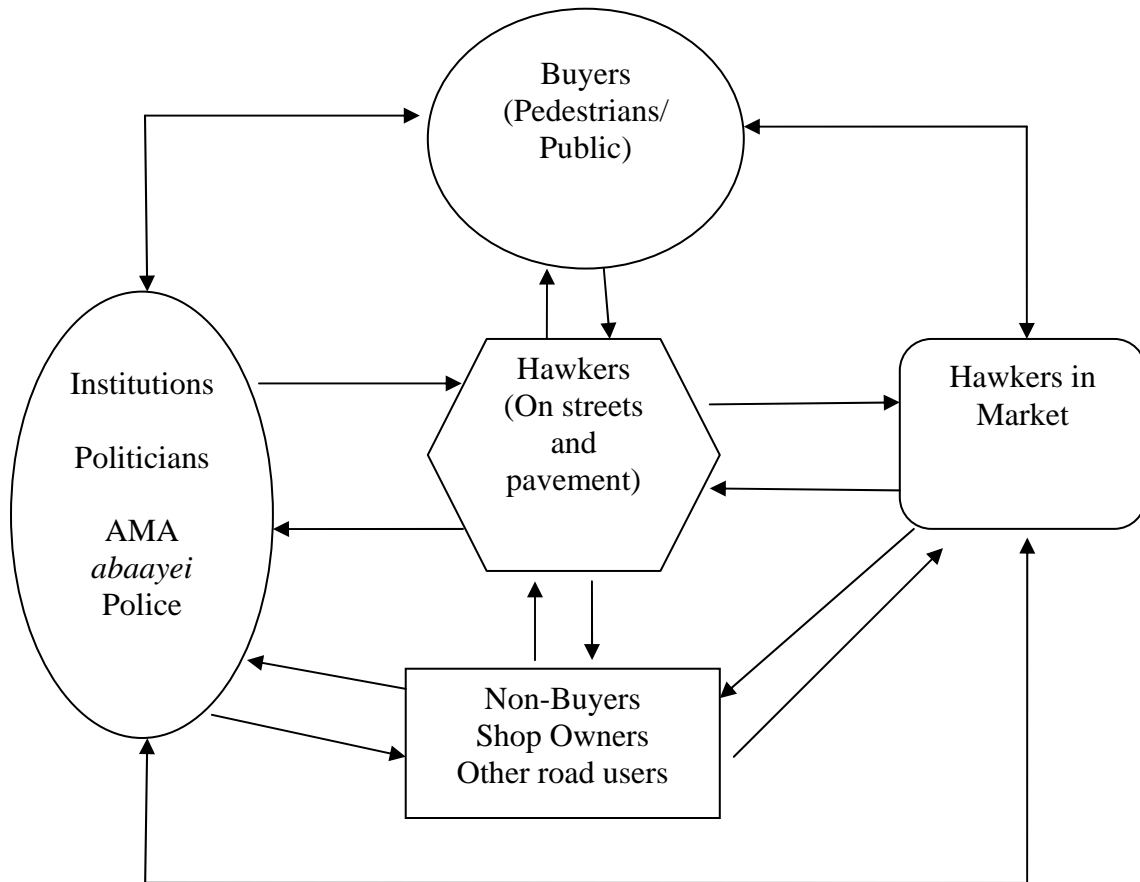
2.10 Conceptual Framework

As noted earlier, not one single theory can adequately explain social phenomena. There is thus the need to incorporate the various theories and concepts observed in order to bring into perspective the dynamics of street hawking in Accra, the influence of legislation and authority by the AMA, and how the relocation exercise has affected the livelihood of the hawkers. Hence, the livelihoods framework, structuration theory and place concept will suffice to highlight the street hawking phenomenon and relocation exercise in Accra. The livelihoods framework recognizes that poor people are endowed with resources which it refers to as assets. However institutional influence/interventions or the general harsh economic conditions bring about vulnerabilities which produce livelihood outcomes which can be negative or positive. These livelihood

outcomes further determine the extent of vulnerability of these poor. Thus the livelihoods framework emphasizes that, instead of focusing on the vulnerabilities much attention should be centred on how the assets or capacities could be harnessed to address their vulnerability or poverty situation (Ellis 2000; Scoones 2009). These components of the livelihood framework will help bring to light the assets or capabilities that the hawkers possess as they try to make a living. Also, it will highlight how the AMA in its legislation, policy of decongesting and relocating hawkers has impacted on hawking as a livelihood.

Similarly, Giddens' structuration theory will help illustrate the agency of hawkers as they take advantage of the enabling and limiting factors that they encounter. Structure; in the form of physical, social, and illegal structures will be used to give meaning to findings as captured during the research. Again, the influence of institution (AMA) will be highlighted to show how it influences human action and its impact on street hawking as a livelihood strategy. Further, the place concept illustrates how hawkers relate and perceive the streets and areas they operate as a *place*. Against the foregoing, the street hawking phenomenon can be visualized in the conceptual framework below.

Fig 2.2 Conceptual Framework Showing the Dynamics of Street Hawking and Significant Actors



Source: Author's construct (2011)

From the conceptual framework, it is visualized that the street hawking activity consists of so many actors involved with varying interactions and conflicting interests. The actors include the AMA, police/guards, wholesalers/retailers, public among others. These actors are interrelated in a complex network of interactions. For instance, it is envisaged that hawkers have the impetus to sell on the streets primarily because the pedestrians and the public patronize their goods. Further, the hawkers sell on the streets in spite of institutional legislation because of lack of proper enforcement of the law prohibiting people from selling on the street and pavements in the city. The buyers, namely pedestrians and the public also do purchase from them because they apart from the cheap prices they enjoy think it is convenient to buy from the hawkers; especially when caught up in slow moving traffic whilst going home after work.

Indeed, institutions like the government or city authorities, city guards, politicians and the police can discourage the hawkers from selling on the street and hence move to the constructed market through the proper enforcement of the law. Similarly, the potential buyers can also influence the hawkers selling on the street to either move to the market or stay on the street. In relation to the foregoing also, the potential buyers and the authorities can determine whether the hawkers in the market will return to the streets or not. Further, the city authorities and government can influence the hawkers to stay in the market by improving the conditions in the market and encouraging buyers to patronize the market. The predisposition of people to patronize the market is also dependent on the prices of items in the market and issues of accessibility and convenience. Thus, as to whether or not hawkers will stay in the market depends on the level of patronage. If the patronage is low, they will be influenced to return to sell on the streets.

Also, complaints and frustrations from the hawkers in the market, non-buyers (shop owners and other road users), potential buyers and the public can put pressure on city authorities. This will go a long way to determine the extent to which measures will be instituted to encourage or discourage hawkers from selling on the street and moving into the market. Occasional conflicts between hawkers on the street with drivers, pedestrians, shop owners and confrontations from the police, hired gangsters and city guards will also determine whether or not hawkers will abandon the streets and move into the constructed market.

The hawking activity is thus made up of a network of interactions of actors interconnected in feedback loops. The study thus hopes to take into account the influence of the various actors to bring to light how government and institutional legislation or policy of the relocation exercise affects or facilitates street hawking as a livelihood in Accra.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Research Process

3.1 Research Methodology

Methodology according to Kitchin & Tate (2000, 6) basically refers to a “*coherent set of rules and procedures which can be used to investigate a phenomenon or a situation*”. It entails the gathering of data, making meaning out of the data or information gathered through analysis and indeed interpreting the analysed data (Creswell 2009). The acquisition of knowledge and the methods involved is a crucial and debatable enterprise. This is in cognizance of the fact that research methodology has grown and metamorphosed over time (Clifford & Valentine 2003; see also Henn *et al.* 2006). Basically, two main types of research can be envisaged; that is qualitative and quantitative. The distinction between the two hinges on the fact that whilst quantitative is numerical, qualitative research is non-numerical (Babbie 2005).

The choice of a method for any research it is noted borders on the appropriateness of it to carve out the knowledge that is being envisaged in contrast to its convenience and ease for the researcher (Kitchen & Tate 2000; Clifford & Valentine 2003). Creswell (1998) is of the contention that the adoption of a particular method of inquiry depends on what one wants to know or do. In this regard, this study uses qualitative methods to explore the livelihood impact as a result of the relocation of street hawkers in Accra by gathering the views, feelings, perceptions and concerns of both hawkers who have relocated to the Odawna Pedestrian Market and those still selling on the streets and pavements as well as officials of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) and a cross section of the public. Bearing in mind that qualitative research methods (in-depth interview) facilitate a broader scope for the informants to be able to account and give insights into the experiences of their circumstances and lived worlds as noted by Gatrell & Elliot (2009); the qualitative method provided a platform for the soliciting of a wide range of information which was not known to the researcher hitherto the research.

3.1.1 Methodological Justification

Qualitative methodology was chosen for my research because qualitative data are richer in meaning and detail in comparison with quantitative data (Babbie 2005). This is borne out of the fact that the qualitative method of interviewing is ideal when it comes to flexibility and teasing out very sensitive information such as the relocation of the street hawkers with reference to their opinions, feelings, and views (Davis & Dwyer 2007; Babbie 2005; see also Saks & Allsop 2007). That is, it offers the researcher the freedom to modify his or her methods in response to the appropriateness of the data because of the flexible and reflexive properties that the qualitative methods possess (Ezzy 2002). This is indeed the case because of the fact that geographers in their humanistic approach recognize that human behaviour is not only subjective, but dynamic and complex. It is in this wise that human geographers draw on methods that would allow them to delve into the meanings, emotions, intentions and values that characterizes human behaviour (Ley 1974; Seamon 1979).

Against the backdrop that the whole relocation process of the hawkers had been met with resistance amidst destruction of temporary and unauthorized structures and the raiding of hawkers by AMA guards, adopting a qualitative methodology (in-depth interviews) will thus create the platform to bring out these feelings and sentiments. That is, highlighting their point of view, sentiments and experience with regards to the whole relocation process especially under the very circumstances that they found themselves (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009).

It is however noted that qualitative methodology has its problems and challenges and consequently its criticisms. For instance, even though qualitative research is credited with the issue of validity, it is found to be lagging when it comes to the issue of reliability with regards to findings (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). This is the case because of the influence of the perceptions of the researcher on the findings which might yield different results when a different researcher is studying the same phenomenon.

Further, concerns have been raised about the representativeness of qualitative research findings and hence its 'generalizability' (Babbie 2005). This is in reference to the fact that samples drawn for qualitative research are often small and hence concerns about generalizing findings from the small sample to the larger population. Indeed it is argued that, qualitative researchers do not find concepts like 'representativeness' and 'reliability' so relevant or interesting.

Lastly, another criticism is the fact that analyzing qualitative data is very tedious and laborious. Coding data and identifying themes is very cumbersome and may blur the occurrences of differences and similarities in the data which could be a recipe for bias. These criticisms notwithstanding, the qualitative method is ideal for the research considering the fact that the qualitative approach does not treat informants as objects but that its subjective approach appreciates them “as *people whose experiences, beliefs, and feelings are to be respected and valued as legitimate sources of data*” (Gatrell & Elliot 2009, 76). In fact, qualitative research draws its strength from the fact that its intent is not always to make generalizations but to have an in-depth understanding of the subject matter under study and as such relying on the voices and experiences of subjects more directly affected; hence its appropriateness for this study of street hawking in Accra.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

The data for the research was obtained from both primary and secondary data sources. I recognized that the issue of the relocation and decongestion was a very sensitive and volatile issue that could raise tensions and emotions. So I exercised much caution in the conduct of the research. This I did by employing the method of in-depth interviews and both participant and covert observations. These were supported with secondary data to further give meaning and relevant context to the data gathered.

3.2.1 In-depth Interviews

The primary data for the study was qualitative data which was gathered through the use of in-depth interviews and also observations that were done with regards to the activities of the hawkers. An interview “*is an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest*” (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, 2). It is a method of data gathering through some form of questioning and listening (Babbie 2005). Dunn (2000) notes that, interviews entails some form of verbal exchanges with the researcher trying to elicit information, as he puts it, from another person. In view of this, the interview offers the room for the researcher to explore with the informant on varying issues which are confidential and sensitive such as the relocation exercise in Accra. Its advantages lie in the fact that it is very flexible as it allows in-depth questions to be asked so as to get insightful understanding of a particular subject matter thereby giving me much flexibility and scope in my analyses.

This is against the background that the relocation exercise was done with some form of coercion in spite of the fact that much publicity and notification had been done about the exercise. The circumstances surrounding the relocation exercise of the street hawkers makes it ideal to explore the situation with qualitative methods and for that matter in-depth interview. In the light of this therefore, I used both open-ended and semi-structured interviews to gather data from the targeted informants. With semi-structured interviews, “*the researcher and participant(s) set some broad parameters for discussion*” (Crang & Cook 2007, 60). Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, 3) are of the contention that semi-structured interview is an *interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena*. They normally exhibit some level of predetermined order though the informant still does enjoy some flexibility (Dunn 2000). The open-ended interviews on the other hand, also have questions determined in advance but structured in a completely open-ended form (Mikkelsen 2007).

There were 4 different types of interview guides for the targeted informants (see Appendix). Thus, the interviews were conducted with hawkers who had relocated to the pedestrian market at Odawna, Kwame Nkrumah Circle (Avenue)-Accra as well those still selling their items on the streets and pavements, the views of the general public and AMA officials. I started every interview with an introduction of myself and an explanation of the purpose, aims and objectives of the research in very simple and plain terms. Further, the consent of informants were sought and in fact also made aware of the fact that they had the right to decline to answer any question asked and felt like not answering. I made it clear they were free to opt out if they were no longer interested in the interview (see Dowling 2000). Also, I asked for permission to use a digital recorder even though some did decline for the recording of their interview. This was because some of the hawkers were afraid their voices could be used to identify and victimize them should I be an undercover journalist or agent employed by the authorities.

All interviews were conducted within the day between the hours of 09.00 and 15.00. The interviews were conducted between these hours of the day to avoid times that the hawkers were most busy especially late afternoon when people have closed from work and traffic is swelling on the streets. The research was structured in such a way that 2 to 3 interviews were done in a day spanning a period of 2 months from June to August, 2010. The interviews were scheduled this way due to the fact that it was very hard to make appointments as many of the informants

kept postponing arranged meetings because they were either busy or had other important businesses to take care of. The interviews were mainly done in the market under erected sheds and convenient areas along the streets and pavements. However, the interview with the AMA official took place in his office after a series of postponed arranged meetings.

Taking into account how sensitive the relocation process was, I adopted the *funnel approach* as prescribed by Dunn (2000). With this approach I tried discussing matters from very general issues to issues bothering the impact of the relocation exercise on their livelihood and the procedures involved in acquiring a shed from the market. This allowed for greater discussion with the informants on a wide range of issues even though some of them did recount their removal from the streets with some emotions. In situations like that I tried to divert the discussion so as not to rekindle tempers further elucidating the flexibility of the semi-structured interview method. The efficacy of the interviews was consolidated with the aid of a guide or a checklist which was used to ensure that areas of interest had been amply covered by the interview (Mikkelsen 2007; see also Gatrell & Elliot 2009). In spite of the criticisms of in-depth interviews as not being objective but subjective, not testing hypothesis and as such not scientific (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009), its strengths as an instrument are enormous. These strengths will be counted on so as not to undermine the quality and validity of this study.

3.2.2 Participant Observation and Covert Observation

In social science research, researchers also adopt a host of methods so as to enrich their comprehension of a research question. This is known as *triangulation* (drawn from surveying) where researchers rely upon diverse ideas and sources in their studies (Clifford & Valentine 2003). In cognizance of this, both covert (non-participant) and participant observation were also done during the research. *Participant observation* as noted by Wogan (2004) can be described as “*deep hanging out*”. That is immersing yourself in the community or group of subjects you are studying.

With the *covert observation* on the other hand, even though the researcher is embedded in the research process, the researcher observes things from the quiet without affecting the interaction ensuing (Gatrell & Elliot 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The covert observation was done strategically at major traffic light intersections and along the main roads from the Ridge roundabout (independence avenue) through 37 Military hospital roundabout down Liberation road along the Kotoka International Airport roundabout down to Tetteh Quarshie Interchange (along Liberation road south of the Kotoka International Airport; see map, Fig 4.1).

The observation was done around 'rush-hours' in the morning when the vehicular traffic situation was normally intense. This is the time when majority of the workers are moving down to Accra central where most of the offices, ministries, businesses and markets are located and in the evenings from about 15:30 where the traffic starts building up from the Ridge roundabout (Independence Avenue) in Accra through 37 Military Hospital roundabout down to the Tetteh Quarshie interchange. This I did by observing activities from strategic positions but like a normal pedestrian. This gave me the opportunity to appreciate the activities of hawkers doing their selling on the streets. That is, the dynamics and manner in which the selling on the street is carried out within their street environment, thus throwing more light on the data gathered through the in-depth interviews.

The participant observation was done in the Odawna pedestrian market. With the participant observation, I was able to strike a rapport with some hawkers in the Odawna market which granted me the opportunity to immerse myself (see Crang & Cook 2007), to ascertain or grasp the dynamics involved in selling in the market on first hand personally. I first of all did a reconnaissance survey or familiarization tour of the market with some friends. On my rounds I bought some singlet and men's boxer shorts from a lady seller after a very hearty bargaining and conversation with her. During the process of the conversation after the purchase of the items, I mentioned my intended research to her which she readily consented to being part. She in fact disclosed later that she was one of the executives of the market association. This I noticed from her popularity and respect she commanded within the market after she agreed to go round the market with me even for my first day in the market.

This key contact that was made gave me the opportunity to mingle well in the market and become familiar with the hawkers. This facilitated my interviews and participant observation when I offered to help sell on two different days for about 2 hours on each occasion. This gave me the opportunity to appreciate the dynamics and challenges involved in selling in the market and on the street. On the street, I did not get involved so much because I was not only shy but afraid I might get knocked down by a moving vehicle. I was shy because I felt a known person in a moving vehicle might notice me and make fun of me or spread wrong information that I was now into selling on the street. Nevertheless, I was able to learn a lot from my observation.

In fact, reservations have however been raised about these approaches regarding such issues as ethics and acceptability by the subjects under study (hawkers). Besides, the mere observation of their activities does not give insight into the issues bothering hawking and the relocation exercise in the city. This has prompted the engagement of other complimentary methods such as the in-depth interviews and the use of secondary data from publications, journals and articles to buttress the observations. However, concerns such as these were taken into consideration and a good relationship struck with the subjects in the light of these envisaged reservations and challenges so as to facilitate the observations.

3.2.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data basically refers to information or literature already existing. The secondary data will be used to buttress and indeed give meaning to the qualitative data collected. Existing literature in the form of secondary data often gives a fair idea of what already exist in the subject and indeed a contextual background to the subject. Further, in spite of the fact that secondary data sources are normally the works of people and as such sometimes difficult to adapt or make comparisons, it often helps the researcher to identify gaps and areas for elaboration as well as for further research. Aside the foregoing, secondary data can serve as a basis for comparative analysis as well as buttressing findings from the data collected (see Crang & Cook 2007). Thus, secondary data for the study were obtained from published statistical data and information from other studies on the subject matter. I also used information obtained from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana, Legon. Published books, journals, online sources on street hawking or vending have also been used to throw more light on my research findings.

3.3 Choice of Informants and Sampling Technique

As noted earlier on, information for this study was gathered from both primary and secondary data sources. A small sample was carefully selected from the research population for the purposes of the in-depth interview. This was in cognizance of the fact that qualitative research does not always seek to make generalizations but hinges on the voices and experiences of subjects which often gives more insight into the matter under study (Gatrell & Elliot 2009).

3.3.1 Sampling Technique

Snowball sampling was the main sampling technique that was used for the research. The snowball is a form of sampling technique in which an informant interviewed is asked to suggest other people for interviewing (Babbie 2005). Informants (Key and Primary informants) were purposively selected for the interview. In qualitative research it is always imperative that the researcher sought the consent of the informant to being part of the research. Dowling (2000) contends that there is always the need for an explanation of the research objectives and purpose to the subjects under study. That is the aims and objectives of the research should be communicated to the informants by explaining to them what the study is about and what they are consenting to. They should be made aware that it is voluntary and in fact have the right to opt out if they feel like doing so (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). I was able to contact a key person (Lady) at the Odawna pedestrian market who happened to be an executive of the market association (see section on participant observation). This woman served as the contact person or *gate keeper* and actually facilitated my contact with informants in the market to interview. This was necessary because hawkers at the market had become very apprehensive as result of the resentments borne out of the relocation exercise. This problem had been further compounded also by the politicization of the exercise and the activities of investigative journalists who on many occasions disguised themselves in various forms in recent times in the country to tap sensitive information.

In spite of the fact that this method raises concerns about representativeness of the larger population, snowball sampling is appropriate for studying migrant workers and highly mobile persons such as the hawkers (Babbie 2005). I was able to make appointments with hawkers (informants) still selling on the streets any time their consent was sought to participate in the research. Normally, I approached them whilst they were selling on the street by introducing

myself as a student from the University of Ghana after which I try to convince them by explaining the purpose and objectives of the research. I had to sometimes hide my identity because when you introduce yourself as a student from Norway, they tended to have the impression that since I was schooling abroad I had money and hence will ask for money. In fact some of the informants sometimes requested for some payment before the interview was granted. In a circumstance such as this, I had to explain that the research was purely for academic purposes. This notwithstanding, on many occasions I had to buy an item to be able to even get their attention in the first place and indeed parted with some money but purely on humanitarian grounds.

On the part of the AMA official (Public Relations Officer) I was able to establish contact with him before I embarked on my journey to Ghana to start the field work. I was able to convince him via telephone conversation about the aims and objectives of the research. I got into contact with him after so many booked appointments upon arrival in Ghana for the interview. The official of the AMA, whom I spoke to, gave very insightful explanations into the reasons behind the whole relocation and decongestion of hawkers going on in the city. Further, he enumerated some of the challenges and the AMA was facing in carrying out the exercise and shed some light on some of the strategies that were being employed to avert any confrontations that were being envisaged as a result of the tensions borne out of the relocation exercise. *Purposive sampling* (judgemental) was used to identify informants from the public. It refers to the situation where a sample for a particular study is selected on the basis of the knowledge of the researcher and the ones which will be most useful per the purpose of the study (Babbie 2005).

Since the issue of street hawkers had become an important matter which had generated a lot of public and political debate in the country, it created the good platform to engage the public on their views about the phenomenon and the relocation exercise. In this wise, I made efforts to interview a cross section of the public in around the Odawna market, the Accra Central Business District and around some parts of the city. This enabled me to sample the diverse views of the public on their opinions on the hawkers and the relocation exercise.

3.4. Characteristics of Informants

In all, the primary data for the research was gathered from 28 informants. 23 of these informants were primary informants and 5 were key informants.

3.4.1 Primary Informants

The 23 primary informants consisted of the general public and hawkers drawn mainly from the Odawna market and *trotro* station opposite the Nkrumah Avenue (circle), those on the street in and around Tudu (kinbu area) and Makola (Accra CBD) and those along the Nkrumah avenue (circle) road all in Accra. They were comprised of males and females within the ages of 15-55 years and varying marital statuses. For the primary informants of both sexes, 2 fell within the 15-24 years age bracket, 10 in the 25-34 age group, 11 and 1 person in the 35- 44 and 45-54 years age cohorts respectively. For both the key and primary informants it was revealed that 15 of them were married, 8 recorded as unmarried and only 1 person each reporting as widowed and divorced.

It was observed that generally all the hawkers had lower levels of education. Indeed, more than half of the primary informants had educational levels up to primary and junior high school level (19 informants). Only 2 of the total number of both key and primary informants interviewed had education up to senior high school whilst only one person had education up to the tertiary level. With the exception of a primary informant (hawker) who indicated Lagos-Nigeria as the hometown, almost all the informants interviewed were people coming from rural areas in southern Ghana with a few from Accra contrary to popular belief that most of the hawkers come from rural areas in northern Ghana.

Within the Odawna pedestrian market, I interviewed a total of 13 hawkers (*10 primary informants and 3 key informants*) of which 7 were females and 6 being males. Also, 7 primary informants (*3 females and 4 males*) were interviewed as hawkers still selling on the streets and pavements whilst a total of 6 primary informants (4 males and 2 females) were drawn from the public across the city of Accra to solicit their views on the subject matter. In the Odawna pedestrian market I was able to contact a female hawker who was one of the executives of the market association³ who served as my contact or *gate keeper*. She in fact facilitated my

³ Market Association: this is a group of hawkers who come together to form an association with elected executive who oversee to the welfare and matters concerning hawkers and the market

interviews by introducing me to some of the hawkers who then recommended other hawkers I could interview in respect of the *snowball technique* even though I sometimes did the contacts myself by approaching the hawkers and explaining the aims and purpose of the research (see Babbie 2000; Browne 2005).

3.4.2 Key Informants

The key informants were 5 in number. Whilst 3 were males, 2 were females between the 35-44 age group. The AMA official was one of the key informants interviewed. The rest were market association executives of the Odawna pedestrian market and an AMA task force/guard who gave insights into the whole issue of the relocation exercise. Whilst the AMA official and the guard were interviewed with the same interview guide, the others who were the market association executives were interviewed with the same guide as the hawkers in the market.

Indeed issues raised regarding the relocation exercise by the AMA officials but not captured in the interview guide for questioning (Kitchin & Tate 2000) were further discussed with the hawkers for further elaboration and to ascertain the facts. A vivid account of the reasons behind the relocation and decongestion exercise was given by the AMA official and guard. The challenges and problems hawkers face and the effect of the exercise on hawking itself as a livelihood were recounted by the hawkers' market executives. In fact some of the informants spoke for a long time and indeed digressed from time to time but were generally cooperative whenever I got the opportunity to interview them. Most of the interviews lasted for about 15 to 20 minutes. With the exception of one of the market executives who declined to be audio recorded all the interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis.

3.5 Choice of the Study Area

This study is situated in the Accra Metropolitan Area where the newly constructed Odawna pedestrian market is located. In spite of the fact that there had been a number of decongestion and relocation exercises in the various regions across the country, Accra has been chosen because of the fact that the whole issue of decongestion and relocation of street hawkers actually started in Accra by the then Mayor of Accra; Stanley Nii Adjiri-Blankson in 2005.

Besides Accra being the national capital with so many businesses and industries, it also abounds with social amenities which serve to attract people mostly from rural areas in the other regions who often come to look for greener pastures. It also has a very large population with majority being engaged in the informal sector of which sales is the leading occupation (GSS 2002). The preponderance of people selling on the streets and pavements facilitated by the vehicular traffic congestion and the problems that come with it has necessitated the construction of a market structure and the relocation of the hawkers.

The situation of a market of this sort purposely for hawkers in Accra justifies my choice of the city and for that matter the Odawna market for the study. This is in reference to the fact that hawking in the city according to the AMA bye-laws was illegal and thus the AMA not actually owing the hawkers any responsibility to construct any market of this sort (Agyei-Mensah & Asiedu 2008). Further, my familiarity with the city and my experience of the activities of the hawkers also gave me the urge to situate the study in Accra (see also chapter 4 on study area).

3.6 Power Relations, Positionality and Critical Reflexivity

3.6.1 Power Relations

Social research and the issue of *power relations* are interrelated. This is because in research, the interviewer and interviewee are not always equal partners. That is, the interview process is not just a mere dialogue between two people but is a form of expertise conversation often exhibiting some power asymmetry between the researcher and the interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). Normally, the researcher dictates and controls the interview by introducing the topic for discussion and following up with questions for further elaboration (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). According to Dowling (2000), power can manifest in the stories or interpretations one makes as a researcher in the sense that knowledge can be both directly and indirectly powerful. That is the analyses you make as a researcher can directly have an influence on people's lives as well as the perceptions people might have about the subjects under study.

Basically three types of power relations can be envisaged: reciprocal, asymmetrical and potentially exploitative relationships according to England (1994). *Reciprocal power* relationships are instances where both the researcher and the researched are co-equals and in fact enjoy some almost equal benefits and costs from participating in the research. Whilst those being studied are in positions of influence than the researcher in *asymmetrical power relationship*, it is otherwise with the potentially exploitative power relationship. That is, the researcher wields much power than the participant in the *potentially exploitative relationship*.

These power relations are reflected especially during interviews where the researcher and informant are seen to be speaking from different positions where the researcher may be seen as an *outsider* or *insider* (Mullings 1999). Mohammad (2001, 101) contends that the 'insider/outsider' in research referred to "*the boundary marking an outside from an inside, a boundary that is seen to circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded*". My position as a researcher (*outsider*) in this study granted me advantages in the research process itself because I absolutely decided on what method to use, where to do the research and whom to interview even though the informant (*insider*) also had the capacity (power) not to participate in the research or answer questions.

Taking into account the foregoing, the open-ended and semi-structured interview offered the informants some flexibility and some freedom to express their concerns and opinions with regards to the relocation exercise. Knowing very well that my status as the interviewer asking hawkers of the same age range, the elderly and persons of authority questions might generate reciprocal and asymmetrical power relationships and as such may influence the validity of the study, issues of courtesies regarding respect and absolute explanation of the purpose and intent of the research were clearly made known to the informants to win their trust. This was to enable me get the needed information and cooperation from them.

3.6.2 Positionality

Similarly, a researcher's status or *position* on the social ladder, his race and even religious background can have profound influence on the perceptions and findings of the research. Hall (1992, 258) contends that researchers normally "*speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, a particular experience, particular culture, without being contained by that position*". That is, researchers "*are differently positioned subjects with different biographies; we*

are dematerialized, disembodied entities” (England 1994, 248). These real circumstances that we do find ourselves sometimes as researchers affect our understanding of the world (Hartsock 1987). It is therefore very important to take cognizance of circumstances such these so as to revise our own position and that of the informant ensuring that the quality of the research is consolidated (McDowell 1992).

Positionality is thus how our findings and interpretations are put into perspective in reference to prevailing personal circumstances. In fact doing the research in a society such as Ghana where patriarchy is deeply ingrained in the psyche of the people, my position as a male researcher and the power that I wield and as such my influence and prejudices on the research cannot be discounted (Kearns 2000). However, the advantage of knowing the terrain and culture of the area gave me the urge to note that during the research circumstances such as these could arise. In this regard therefore, I tried to be as diplomatic as possible. Thus, issues of respectful behaviour, shyness, punctuality, courtesies and indeed my dressing as a researcher were not compromised during the period of the research. My ability to recognize issues such as these in order to strategize facilitated the progress of the research.

3.6.3 Critical Reflexivity

Further, in order to ensure the quality of the research it is necessary to do a *critical reflexivity* especially with regards to my position, power and influence on the study. Dowling (2000) for instance contend that recognizing and negotiating power relations in the form of critical reflexivity is very important. Thus, England (1994, 244) conceives of reflexivity as a process “*self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher*”. In other words it refers to the researcher’s contribution to the knowledge that is being produced (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). In this sense therefore, I constantly assessed how my role and interactions as a researcher with informants was in a way enhancing or inhibiting my collection of the needed data. This was done by looking deep within me to see my own biases in the study, issues of power relations and influence as emphasized earlier on. That is, to see whether I was being passionate about some of the treatment meted out to the hawkers as narrated or was disturbed about, for instance, the fact that they were not making many sales in the market and yet paid daily tolls to the AMA.

By taking note of the fact that the power dimension cannot absolutely be eliminated in research, I was very strategic, took cognizance of situations such as these by modifying especially where I deemed it appropriate. This I was able to do by reflecting on my feelings and emotions in the research. Indeed I improvised ways for effective communication with my informants by intermittently cracking jokes with funny comments to at least inject some humour during the interviews and also to make it more informal. This was in light of the fact that a study such as the relocation exercise involved the loss of property and livelihood and thus had the tendency to rekindle passions. Even though there were instances where informants were emotional in their narration of their ordeals during the relocation exercise, the measures undertaken during the research helped forestall any form of selective observation that might have undermined the findings of the research.

There were however instances I was sceptical about some of the responses of the hawkers. Some for example made comments to the effect that they were happy with the relocation and yet mentioned that they were not happy in the market because they were not making many sales in comparison with selling on the streets and pavements. For example in the following interview in part, I asked the hawker (Female; Age 43yrs):

Interviewer: *How do you see the relocation exercise by the AMA?*

Hawker: *I appreciate the work of the AMA in the first place! Because, at first when you were walking in Accra, you would realize that it was so congested. There is no way for pedestrians to pass. So there was a need for the relocation of the hawkers to remove them from the street...*

Interviewer: *So did you come here willingly or you were forced here?*

Hawker: *Oh well; it is willingly*

Interviewer: *So why did you agree to come here but did not sell on the street?*

Hawker: *For me per se, because the sun is too hot. But as for this place there is a little bit shade after putting on the market, you can sit some; where if you get a visitor, the person can even get a place to sit. If they don't buy you can even lie down and sleep. When the buyer comes someone will wake you up and then you sell. So for me per se, when I was in Accra, I will sell for one month and go to the hospital for one month. But now, this place is quite better for me. I was even able to keep some money to do other things. So I will prefer this place than to be on the street to be in the sun.*

Interview: *So, has the relocation affected your business?*

Hawker: *Yes!!!...I don't make money here! When I was on the street I made money more than here. So it has really affected me a lot.*

From the interview extract, it is observed that the hawker acknowledged and lauded the good work of the AMA and as such what informed her willingness to move but lamented about the fact that she was not making enough sales and money in comparison to how it was on the street. The hawker's responses were inconsistent and contradictory since she could not be happy being in the market and yet complained about not making much money. I felt that the good remarks about the AMA and relocation exercise from some of the hawkers were borne out of the perception that I was probably hired by the authorities to interview and victimize people even though I had on many occasions shown my old student card from the University of Ghana that I had on me to show that I was a student. I used my old student card because I did not want the hawkers to know I was schooling outside the country as this will give them the perception that I had money and then begin to request for money. Nevertheless, the responses received were enough to satisfy the aims and objectives of the research and as such the quality of the findings.

3.7 Bias, Reliability, Validity and Ethics of the study

In every social research *biases* are imminent. Most of these biases most often result from sampling errors (size and non-random samples), poor interviewing, and our influences as researchers as well as often also skewed towards a section of the population. These biases are further exacerbated by language differences, filtering of information by assistants, and cultural norms among others (Mikkelson 2007). Indeed, my ability to speak and understand the *Twi*⁴ language which is widely spoken and understood in Ghana and the audio recording that I did catered for the likely filtering of information as a result language differences. Besides, despite the fact that I sometimes felt sorry for some hawkers after the narration of their ordeals during the relocation process by the AMA, I was conscious not to be carried away by sympathy as this could influence the objectivity of my research. I therefore made a conscious effort through a critical reflexivity so as to be cautious of the likely influence my sentiments could have on the outcome of the research.

⁴ The *twi* language is the is spoken amongst the Ashanti tribe in southern Ghana and the most widely spoken and understood by many people in Ghana

Babbie (2005), is of the conviction that a study is good when it is *reliable and valid*; that is the study should as much as possible be consistent when the process is repeated and indeed reflect the study or concept it seeks to measure. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) contend that reliability has to do with how a research can be trustworthy and consistent whilst validity refers to the correctness and how truthful a statement about a thing is. Qualitative research has over the years been particularly criticized on issues of its small sample sizes, use of conversations as data and analysis (Gatrell & Elliot 2009). Consequently qualitative research has often been referred to as *touchy feely* and or *subjective* as opposed to systematic and rigorous (Crang 2003). In response to these concerns raised however, Lincoln & Guba (1985) came out with four criteria in order to establish the issue of rigor in qualitative research. These criteria included *credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability*. To them, *credibility* referred to the authentic representation of the real lived world or experience which for them was akin to validity in quantitative research. Further, Lincoln & Guba (1985) were of the view that the *transferability* criterion could be defined as how the qualitative research findings fit outside of the specific study situation and thus the same as the quantitative research notion of generalizability. Whilst *dependability* referred to the minimization of personal ideas and perceptions in the interpretation of data and indeed similar to *reliability or replicability* in quantitative research, *confirmability* on the other hand was conceptualized as how the level of bias and interests of the researcher in fact influence interpretations which is translated as objectivity in research. Baxter & Eyles (1997) further developed a general set of criteria to emphasize the rigor in qualitative research which more or less translate into some form of check list of questions which could be used in the evaluation of qualitative interview research as the relocation of street hawkers to Odawna Pedestrian Market in Accra, Ghana.

In reference to these concerns, an attempt was made to carefully choose and in fact balance the research across all sections of the targeted sample population. Taking note of the fact that the research was some form of social interaction and also the sample being small, it might be difficult to confirm my findings in other contexts. It is envisaged however that in spite of the concerns enumerated; when a similar research is conducted in other areas, it would yield similar findings as socio-cultural and hawking dynamics across the country are very similar. In this light therefore, it is hoped that the observations and the critical reflexivity that was constantly done on the field to ascertain my level of influence on the study will consolidate some credibility. Indeed,

it is my belief that besides the biases and limitations encountered which have been duly noted; the further clarifications that were made in light of the flexibility of the semi-structured form of the interviews, the study can be said to be amply credible, dependable and confirmable taking note of the sensitive and volatile nature of the relocation process which had the tendency to rekindle passions as well as time and space limitations.

In qualitative research also, the act of interview as a form of inquiry is also a *moral* venture. This is borne out of the fact that findings are always representations of human conditions and thus moral and ethical issues being crucial in the research process (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). *Ethics* in research is defined according to O'Connell et al. (1994, 55) as being about “*the conduct of researchers and their responsibilities and obligation to those involved in the research including sponsors, the general public and most importantly the subjects of the research*”. Birch et al. (2002; in Kvale & Brinkmann 2009) alludes to the fact that problems of ethics in interviews often emanate due to the complexities involved in probing peoples' private lives and making them public. Since the problems of ethics manifest throughout the research process, it is necessary to take note and make efforts to deal with them.

In this regard, the purpose and objective of the study was clearly communicated to the informants and their consent sought before any interview. The informants were also made aware that they were free to ignore any question or completely opt out of the research if they felt like doing so. Their consent was sought before the recording of their interview, whilst for those who refused to be recorded, an appeal was made to them to allow me write down the responses for the purposes of analyses. I also assured informants of their anonymity and that information collected was going to be confidential in order to get the much needed information whilst catering for the ethics aspect of the study.

3.8 Data Processing and Analysis

In research analysis, a study is significant if the findings are analyzed or interpreted in relation to relevant theory so as to make meaning. The analysis of qualitative data is very cumbersome and involves making insightful meanings into the findings (Mikkelsen 2007). Indeed, it is worthy to note that the analysis of the data actually starts during the research. This is the case because of issues of restructuring and refocusing of the research questions in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study as well as the methods employed during the research (see Crang & Cook 2007).

For this study, data collected were transcribed and thoroughly edited after which I coded the data into themes for interpretation. A matrix was manually drawn with broad themes. Consequently themes identified in the transcribed data were subsumed under the broad themes in the matrix drawn. Interpretation of the data was done in relation to the objectives, theoretical perspective of the study, concepts and secondary data in the form of statistics and facts from books, journals, internet and articles. Insightful analyses and meanings were made out of the data by linking the findings to theory (Mikkelson 2007). Analyses were done mostly in relation to the *livelihoods approach* theoretical perspective which illustrates how institutional forces for example can produce unfavourable livelihood outcomes and as such make peoples' livelihoods vulnerable. It aims basically at promoting sustainable livelihoods (see Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002). Other theories like *structuration* which stresses duality of structure and the *place* concept have been used for further clarification and understanding of the analysed data.

3.9 Limitations/Challenges of the Study

A host of challenges were encountered during the process of the research. A major challenge that I encountered was striking a rapport with the hawkers both at the market and on the streets. This was due to the resentment that many of them harboured because they were in the first place not making many sales as compared to when they were on the streets and pavements, and also because of their mobile nature which made contacting them difficult.

Besides the foregoing, most of them were cautious of talking to interviewers because of the activities of investigative journalists who in recent times conducted under-cover investigations to reveal sensitive information in the country. For instance, there was a case where I was interviewing a lady hawker along a pavement at the busy area of Tudu around the Kinbu area (Accra CBD) where all of sudden she became hostile because AMA guards had surrounded us inquiring what was going on. Even though I was scared myself that they may attack me and collect my recorder and camera, I did not show it to give them the sign but mustered courage and continued with the interview. I assured my lady hawker I was interviewing of her safety after a friend who was nearby explained to the group of AMA guards that I was conducting a research.

In times where informants were doubtful of my identity, I had to confirm my identity with my student card and the introductory letter that I took from the department of Geography, NTNU interchangeably with my old University of Ghana student card depending on the circumstances I

find myself. There were times I had to use my old University of Ghana student card just to forestall the event of informants asking for money because of the fact that I was coming from abroad and the perception that I had been given money to do the research. In fact, there were times where informants requested for some money. There were instances I had to just part with some few Ghana cedis but on humanitarian grounds.

Related to the foregoing was the issue of noise. Many of the interviews were conducted in the market, along the streets and on pavements. As a result, there were problems of hearing as there was noise all over with people shouting on top of their voices and even from loud speakers with music advertising and calling out to buyers to come and purchase their items. There were times informants had to intermittently break from the interview to attend to buyers. These situations sometimes stalled the progress of the interview and indeed interrupted the flow of the conversation and hence the quality of information of the interview.

Another challenge encountered was the difficulty in meeting the AMA authorities. In spite of the fact that I started making arrangements via phone long before my arrival in Ghana, I had to make several appointments before I could meet the AMA official to interview. Even though it was frustrating that the official kept postponing arranged meetings due to his busy schedule, I persisted with follow up phone calls and visits to the AMA premises. Sometimes I waited long hours at the reception before being told of his absence in the office. However, my persistence yielded results when I was finally granted audience after several postponements.

It must be noted that apart from politics and religion most Ghanaians are football loving. As a result of Ghana's participation in the World Cup which was ongoing in South Africa during the period of the research, sometimes arranged interviews had to be rescheduled especially on days that Ghana was playing or any of the top teams had a match. Besides, I was very much interested in watching the matches myself as a researcher. This situation stalled the progress of the research. In this regard, booking of appointments with respondents were carefully done not to clash with days that Ghana most especially had a match.

Further, a limitation to the study was the sample size of the study. Admittedly, there are so many hawkers in Accra, but the study covered only a few and thus raising concerns about *transferability* (generalizations) which can have implications for the findings (see Lincoln & Guba 1985; in Gatrell & Elliot 2009). This is against the backdrop that purposive sampling that was done could blur or might not actually reflect the characteristics possessed by other

respondents thereby making findings skewed. Similarly, I also do not know how to use the qualitative software programme to analyse my data. So everything was done manually. Not only was the transcribing of the interviews tiring and time wasting as I had to keep replaying to be able to transcribe verbatim, the sorting out of the data into themes and putting them under the broad themes in the manually drawn matrix was very tedious and cumbersome.

I however strived in cognizance of the aforementioned challenges and limitations to judiciously follow the time plan of the research so as to be able to finish collecting the data on time considering the limited time period (2 months) that I had on the field. Issues of positionality, power relations and critical reflexivity were very crucial for the success of the study.

Chapter Four

Background of Study Area

4.1 Profile of Ghana

The Republic of Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast is located along the coast of West Africa. With a mid-year population in 2010 estimated to be about 24 million people, the country generally has a youthful population with a broad base population pyramid which tapers at the top. The total number of youth (10-24 years) as at 2006 was estimated to be 7.5 million. About 16% of the total population in 2005 were living in urban areas. Ghana is divided into 10 administrative regions and has 170 metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies. The country also practices a multi-party democracy and has an elected president (executive), judiciary and legislature. The economy of Ghana has changed over time with declines and negative growth rates as well as hyper-inflation rates registered between the 1970s and 1980s (Government of Ghana 2005b; Awusabo-Asare & Tanle 2008).

Poverty has been seen to be very endemic in the country with marked variation within the country. Indeed, whilst the country was successful in reducing poverty from 51.7 in 1991 to 39.5% in 1999 and further to 28.5% in 2006, there is still a marked incidence of poverty in the country. Besides, the high incidence of poverty in the rural areas of the country, there has been a significant incidence in the urban areas of the country especially in Accra. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2007) the poverty incidence in the Greater Accra Region in fact increased from 5.2% in 1999 to 11.8% in 2006 further indicating the prevalence of poverty in urban areas (see also Owusu *et al.* 2008). Whilst agriculture is the main source of livelihood for majority of the population (i.e. 56% of the total labour force of 115 million people in 2008) according to the Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation Report (2009), a significant number is employed in the informal sector of sales and petty trading. The report, for example is of the view that, between 1987 and 1999 the proportion of the labour force engaged in the informal sector in Ghana increased from 79% to 86%. Indeed, Baah-Boateng & Turkson (2005) are of the contention that the informal sector accounted for about 80% of the total employment in country in the year 2000. This emphasizes the crucial role the informal economy plays providing livelihood opportunities for the people.

4.2 Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile of Accra

In reference to this study, there is the need to give insights into the socio-economic, spatial as well other dynamics of Accra which in one way the other characterizes and indeed influence the activities of street hawkers in Accra. Accra which is the geographic area of focus of this study is the capital of the republic of Ghana. Its development ensued after the capital of the Gold Coast during the colonial times was moved from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 (Dickson 1969). In fact , the city of Accra developed from the first settlements of Ussher Town and James Town along the coast of Ghana to a much more big and complex modern city (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). The city which is the largest in the country also serves as both the capital of the Accra Metropolitan Area and the Greater Accra Region. Its ecological zone falls within the coastal savannah zone of Ghana and is characterized by two climatic seasons (wet & dry seasons). The mean monthly temperature of the Accra Metropolitan area ranges between 26°C and 28°C with a relative humidity of 60% - 75% (Dickson & Benneh, 1998).

Demographically, the city of Accra as at 1970 recorded a population of 624,091 people which rose to 969,195 in 1984. The 2000 Population and Housing Census of Ghana however posited the city's population to a high of 1,658,937 people in 2000. This, it was observed accounted for about 57.1% of the total population of the Greater Accra Region. Whilst 43.6% of the total population enumerated in the Greater Accra Region according to the 2000 Population and Housing Census were migrants, the remaining 56.4% of the population it was revealed were born in Accra. It is however estimated that, the population of Accra in 2010 stands at about 1.7 million people. Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) recognizes that, anecdotal evidence indicate that daytime population is more than three million people of mostly people from adjoining towns and villages who come in the daytime to engage in trading activities. The reasons partly explaining the high preponderance of migrants from the Eastern Region in Accra from Table 4.1 is the proximity of the region to Accra and also the perception of availability of job opportunities which attract migrants from all parts of the country. Table 4.1 depicts the population by sex and birth place in the Accra Metropolitan Area.

Table: 4.1 Population of Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) by Sex and Region of Birth
(Percentages)

Birth Place	Both Sexes (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
AMA	56.4	56.4	56.5
Another Locality in the Greater Accra Region	3.2	3.1	3.2
Western Region	2.0	1.9	2.0
Central Region	6.3	6.3	6.4
Volta Region	7.1	7.5	7.6
Eastern Region	11.9	11.6	12.1
Ashanti Region	6.1	6.4	5.8
Brong Ahafo	1.3	1.3	1.2
Northern Region	1.9	1.9	
Upper East	1.2	1.3	1.1
Upper West	0.8	0.8	0.8
Other ECOWAS States	0.8	0.8	0.8
Africa other than ECOWAS	0.2	0.3	0.2
Outside Africa	0.3	0.4	0.3
Total Percentage	100	100	100
Total Population	1,658,937	810,172	848,765

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2002) 2000 Population and Housing Census Special Report on Urban Localities

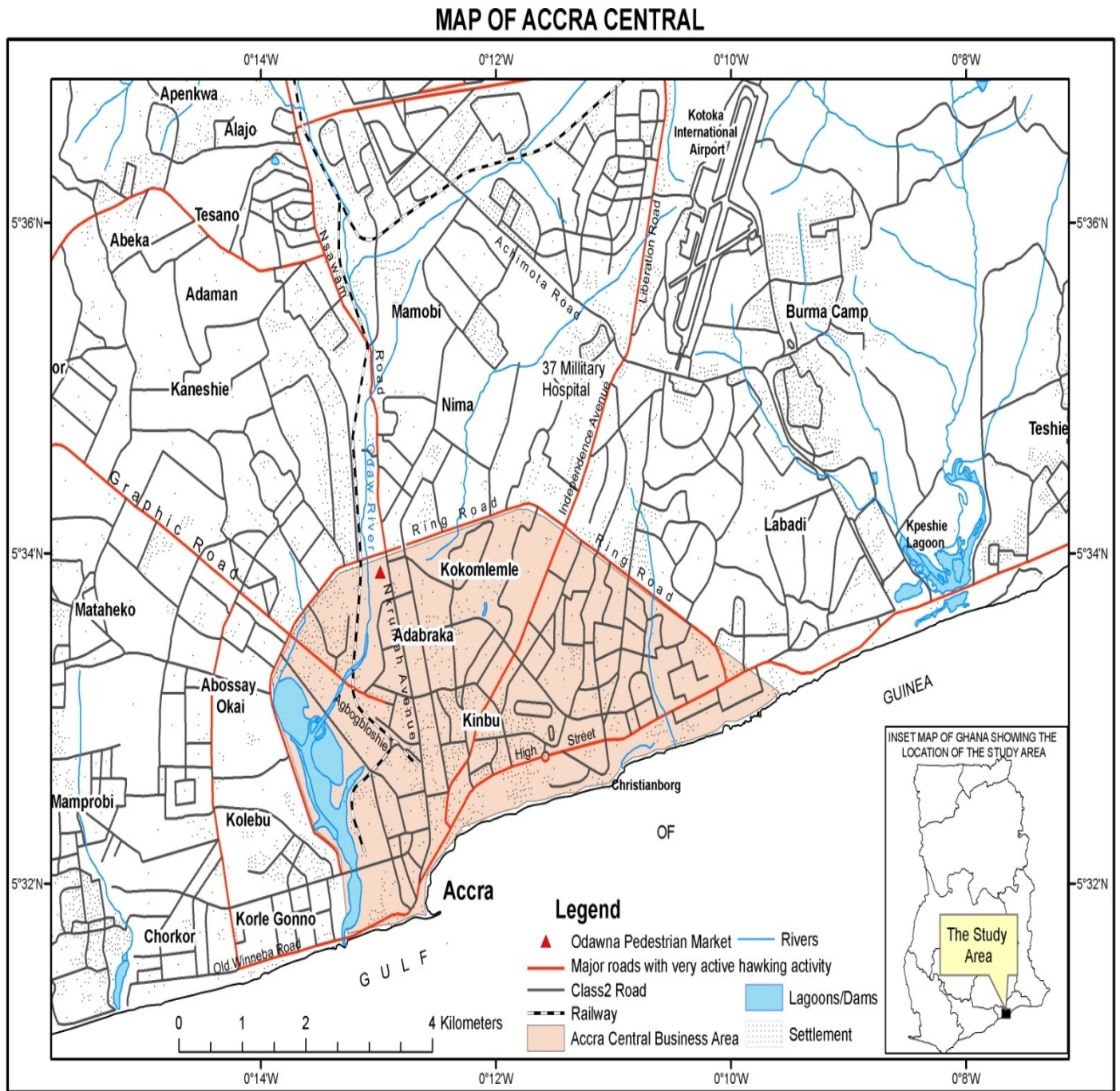
The age-sex distribution of Accra's population is similar to that of the national population. It is broad based and peaks narrowly towards the older ages. Sex ratio of Accra is 97.7. As far as young people (10-24 years) are concerned in the area, they constituted 33.4% of the total population in 2000: 16.2% were males and 17.2% were females.

It is worthy to note that, the city of Accra also serves as an administrative centre, communication as well as an economic centre in Ghana and is home to over 70% of the country's manufacturing industries. The leading occupational sector is sales, which employs majority of the region's economically active population with a larger proportion of the population in the city employed in the informal sector (Ghana Statistical Service 2002). Agriculture is among the least employing sectors in Accra. The unemployment rate of Accra which recorded about 14% in 2000 is above the national average of 11.2% and is one of the

highest in the country. The high unemployment within the Greater Accra region however can be attributed to significant immigration of people into the city in search of jobs and the fact that most of the jobs which are formal are very limited. Thus many people who flock to the city where it is perceived that all is well in search of jobs become unemployed because of the limited job opportunities thereby exacerbating the unemployment situation.

In spite of the fact that the Akan is not the indigenous ethnic group of Accra, it is the dominant ethnic group in the Accra Metropolis with about 40.7% of young people in the region being Akan. This is followed by the indigenous Ga-Dangme (27.8%), the Ewe (18.3), Mole-Dagbani (5.6%), Guan (3.1%) and Grusi (1.7%). Other ethnic groups namely, the Gurma, Mande-Busanga each constitutes less than one percent of the population of young people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). This is indicative of the fact that Accra is a place of destination for migrants from all over the country. Fig 4.1 is a map of Accra Central showing the study area, Odawna Pedestrian Market and areas of street hawking activity.

Fig 4.1 Map of Accra Showing Study Area and Places with high levels of hawking activities



Source: Field Survey (2010)

4.3 Urban Spatial Organization of Accra

All over the world, urbanization as result of immigration and increasing urban natural population growth has been very rapid. In fact as countries aspire to achieve economic development, urbanization inevitably becomes one of the outcomes of this quest at economic development and as such have their populations being more urban than rural by 2030 (UN-HABITAT 2010). The urbanization situation is not different from what pertains in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The rate of urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa most especially has raised concerns regarding the challenges it poses (Ofori 2007). The urban growth rate of between 3.3 and 3.7 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa it is envisaged is among the highest in the world and as such is likely to add about 400 million people to the African continent's urban population by the next 25 years (UN-Habitat 2004).

In Ghana, increasing population levels and rural-urban migration have led to urbanization of towns over the years and consequently resulted in high population pressure in especially the big cities mostly located in the southern part of the country. Lack of economic development to provide the needed infrastructure, employment to match the teeming population has been problematic (Ofori 2007). The situation is compounded by lack of proper city planning and hence the development of unauthorised structures and congestion. For instance, Ankomah (2005) is of the contention that Accra is bedevilled by a myriad of problems of which unauthorised structures as well as choked gutters have developed rendering areas of very beautiful scenery unattractive.

Indeed poor planning in Accra in the spate of its growth into an industrial city (see Knox & Pinch 2000) and lack of enforcement of locational and building codes has culminated in informal urban land and housing development. Besides, Home-Based Enterprises (HBEs) found in residential neighbourhoods in both affluent and low income areas along residential roads, avenues and around areas reserved for other purposes within the built environment, there is also the proliferation of kiosks lining major roads and street hawkers parading the major streets and pavements of the city (Boadi & Kuitenen 2005; Yankson 2000b). The hawkers often concentrate along the road due partly to inadequate transport system with traffic congestion during most part of the day. The occupants of private cars and mini-buses (*trotros*) who are normally stuck in the slow moving traffic also represent a group of potential customers with high purchasing power which facilitates the hawking business.

In fact, the Home-Based Enterprises are normally small business activities that take place within the premises of homes, home garages, neighbourhoods or along residential roads and paths which normally involves petty trading of household provisions, food processing and selling. It has also been noted that others also squat on both private and publicly owned lands to do their business (Grant & Yankson 2003). They most often disregard warnings and carry out their hawking activities in prohibited areas (see fig: 4.2 & 4.3)

Fig 4.2 Signboard prohibiting hawking in Accra Fig 4.3 Hawker selling on pavement in spite of warning in Accra



Source: Field Survey (2010)

The activities of the street hawkers most especially in the city of Accra have particularly drawn the attention of the AMA authorities (Ofori 2007). Normally they operate within areas that facilitate the sale of their wares. Notable areas like lorry parks, *Trotro*⁵ stations and areas around open market spaces also attract a lot of street hawking activity. The Tema *Trotro* Station⁶ (North of Kinbu) in Accra Central Business District (CBD) area, the Kwame Nkrumah Circle Lorry Station (S/W of Nima around Odaw river; see map) and areas in and around the Makola Shopping Mall (areas along the Ring road & opposite the Ghana Law School), Tudu (Kinbu area) down to Adabraka and Abossay Okai areas of Accra Central Business District all witness

⁵*Trotros*' are local mini vans that carry passengers from one location to the other within the city for a designated fee depending on the destination and stops at almost every bus stop for people to alight and hence its name (*Trotro*-meaning short distance stoppages).

⁶*Trotro*' Stations are open terminals for local mini vans (*trotro*), buses and taxis.

high levels of street hawking activities (see Fig 4.1). These areas are not beset with only vehicular congestion but intense human congestion. Street hawkers operate in these areas so as to be able to sell their wares on the pavements. Their presence on the streets and pavements is enhanced by the patronage of buyers both in moving public and private cars and those in the market (see Davis 2008; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). In many cases, registered shop owners and sellers in markets go out to join their colleague street hawkers to sell on the streets, pavements and on the walkway of overhead bridges (Blankson 2006).

The city of Accra is characterized by serious traffic and vehicular congestions especially in the rush-hours of the morning when everybody is heading towards the city centre for their day's activities and in the evenings from about 15.00 in the afternoon when people have closed from work and are going home. In fact the city has developed in such a way that all the big businesses, offices and ministries are concentrated around the city centre within the precincts of the Central Business District (see Fig 4.1 Map). In this regard, anyone who wishes to carry out any activity, be it official or for the purposes of business or purchase of items, will have to head to the city centre to be able to do so. This has created a congenial atmosphere for the hawkers to operate because of the heavy traffic (see Fig 4.4).

The situation is compounded by faulty traffic lights that abound in the city which necessitates the directing of vehicles by traffic wardens who are normally personnel of the Ghana Police Service or of the Community Police Unit of the Ghana Police Service. It is thus a common sight to see vehicles being directed or completely stuck in traffic due to congestion orchestrated by a faulty traffic light or no Police to direct traffic at all. In times like these, street hawkers often take advantage of the situation and meander between cars to sell their wares (see Fig 4.5 below showing traffic jam and hawking activity in Accra).

Fig 4.4 Traffic Jam in Accra



Fig 4.5 Street Hawkers selling their wares in Accra



Source: Field Survey (2010)

The street hawkers it has been noted from the covert observation during the research normally have some form of cooperation amongst themselves. This is the case because; there have been instances during the observation where fellow hawkers call out to their counterparts to come over and sell their items to a buyer when particularly he/she does not have the item that the buyer wishes to purchase. There have also been times when fellow hawkers had to shout out to other colleagues when they have not heard a buyer from a moving car call out to him/her to buy an item. So these hawkers in fact do not operate in isolation, they have some strong social networks that ensues between them in their interactions. They offer support to one another in all ways that enhance their trade. Meier (2005) notes that people especially migrants, like the case of the hawkers who are mostly migrants from other parts of the country, often substitute the absence of their families with the emergence of friendship associations. Some of the hawkers have regular buyers or customers they have established strong relationships with who buy only from them.

Further, passengers of both private and commercial vehicles alike purchase items ranging from potatoe chips, dog chains to even food stuffs (Davis 2008). Thus hawking according to Bhowmik (2005) survives not only because it serves as a source of employment for many people but because it provides some services of importance to the urban population. This is in light of the fact that these hawkers it has been noted often offer items at low prices. For instance food vendors who sell along streets and pavements have been noted to provide cheap and nutritious food in Dhaka in Bangladesh and Bangkok in Thailand (see Bhowmik 2005). Thus areas of heavy traffic like the main road from Kinbu through the Independence Avenue to the 37 Military Hospital down the Liberation Road, Kotoka International Airport roundabout to the Tetteh Quarshie Interchange (south of Kotoka International Airport) all experience intense activities of the street hawkers. Also of significance is the road from Nkrumah avenue (circle) through Tesano to Alajo and the Graphic Road: from around Agbogboloshie to Abossay Okai roundabout (Obetsebi Lamptey roundabout), (see also Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). It is noted that these areas of intense hawking activities have heavy traffic jams due partly to the presence of roundabouts and probably frequent faulty traffic lights as well vehicular congestion due to very narrow roads which cannot accommodate the teeming cars that ply it.

With the case of the Tetteh Quarshie Interchange (southwards of Liberation road on map), the newly constructed Accra Shopping Mall accounts for the traffic situation at the place. Many cars coming from the Spintex⁷ end of the road come to join those emerging from shopping mall car park which leads to the swelling of traffic jam in the area. It is also observed that many of these roads especially the Oxford Street in Osu⁸ (located N/East of Christianborg on map-Fig 4.1) has many shops and super markets adjoining it and thus heavy human activity and the presence of hawkers selling their wares on the pavements along the road (see Amma Darko; Ankomah 2005; Duh 2004). It is thus not uncommon to see shirts and other wares hanged on trees and walls for sale along this road.

⁷Spintex is a suburb in Accra where there are many factories and warehouses as well as residential areas that adjoin the Accra-Tema motorway after the Accra Shopping Mall.

⁸ Oxford Street in Osu is one of the busiest streets in Accra-Osu where the road is lit with modern shops and super markets and very bright lights in night and residential areas and estates and thus likened to Oxford Street in London-UK

4.4 Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Avenue (Circle), Accra

The Odawna Pedestrian Market is located at the Kwame Nkrumah Avenue (circle) opposite the main 'trotro' station (see Fig 4.1; N/East of Kokomlemle). It is a walled but open market with sheds where former street hawkers who were operating at various parts of the city have been relocated to sell their wares. The market was constructed at a cost of over ₵20 billion old Ghana (US\$ 226,223) under the joint collaboration between the central government and the AMA. Fig 4.6 is an aerial view of the Odawna Pedestrian market at Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra.

Fig 4.6 An Aerial View of the newly Constructed Odawna Pedestrian Market



Source: http://ghanadistricts.com/districts/?r=14&_=3&inc=projects

The new market was officially opened on the 8th of February, 2007 to house about 4000 hawkers and street traders who had been barred from selling on and along the streets of the city of Accra. The construction of the market having been precipitated by the worrisome activities of the hawkers, was aimed at stemming the human congestion and the frequent accidents on the roads, reducing the filth that had engulfed the city as a result of the activities of street food sellers as well as more importantly monitor and manage the tolls which traders are supposed to pay. As a result, roofed sheds were being sold ₵2.2 million old Ghana cedis (US\$ 248.845) whilst

that of an open-air went for ₵1.1 million old Ghana cedis (US\$ 237.534). Many hawkers are now selling in the market despite expressing mixed feelings at their relocation and the effect it has had on their business. In spite of many eviction and decongestion exercises carried out by the AMA, some of the hawkers have abandoned the sheds in the market and are back selling on the streets. Indeed many other hawkers have defied the outlawing of hawking by the AMA in its bye-laws as illegal and are still doing business on the streets and pavement. It is thus in the light of these concerns and the impact of the relocation exercise on street hawking as a livelihood that has informed this study. This is in cognizance of the fact that majority of the population of Ghana and for that matter Accra is engaged in the informal sector of which street hawking has become crucial as a source of income. Many people enter into hawking because of lack of job opportunities. The limited job opportunities can be attributed due to high levels of immigration of people into the city thereby making the availability of jobs scarce.

Against this backdrop, Hart (1994) is of the view that the informal sector in Accra is in fact a way of recouping what centralized agents have denied people especially the youth and hence their resort in the face of limited job opportunities to street hawking so as to supplement family income. Indeed the International Youth Foundation (2009, 15) have stressed that street vending and hawking which have become an important venture in almost every urban setting in Ghana for example has a “*youthful face*”. Thus the street hawking activity in Accra is an interplay of the spatial organization of the urban space in terms of infrastructure and human actors. The interactions of these actors it is noted either enhance or hamper their activities.

Chapter Five

Typology of Street Hawkers and Dynamics of Hawking Activity

A look at street hawking in Accra reveals several types and strategies of hawking. The hawking also involves some dynamics and human interaction that often ensues between the hawkers themselves, the authorities, wholesalers/retailers, store owners and the public or potential buyers resulting in the formation of social networks. This chapter seeks to throw light on the types and dynamics of the hawking activity in Accra.

5.1 Types, Composition and dynamics of hawking in Accra

5.1.2 Types of Street Hawkers

Generally, three types of street hawking were identified. These included the walking or itinerant hawkers, the semi-stationary hawkers and stationary hawkers (see also Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008; Iyenda 2005).

5.1.2.1 *Itinerant Hawkers*

With the walking or itinerant hawkers, they comprised those who were actually selling on the street and wading between cars and *trotros* in heavy traffic jams in the city of Accra. Normally these hawkers sell impulse goods that most often influence people to do impulse buying or to satisfy an immediate need like thirst for water for example. Thus items sold include toilet rolls, a variety of newspapers, plantain chips, sachet water, chewing gum, loaves of bread, CD (compact disc) bags, flags, hats, fruits, medicine, canned drinks (Pepsi and Coke) yoghurt, iced cream, machetes, dog chains flash-lights among others. Notable amongst them also were those who carried cooked groundnuts (peanuts) and roasted maize on head pans for sale, banana sellers, food sellers and hawkers who sold wax prints and second-hand clothes. Those who sold wax prints and second hand clothes were often seen to be moving from one house and office to another and in public places. The focus of the research is not on the latter group noted among the itinerant hawkers.

5.1.2.2 *Semi-stationary and Stationary Hawkers*

The semi-stationary hawkers consisted of those who sold their wares whilst sitting or standing on the pavements, street corners, walkways or overhead bridges of the city. They are semi-stationary because of the fact that they move from their locations occasionally to avoid the city authorities and AMA task force from harassing them and also to occupy specific spots or locations identified as strategic for selling more of their items. Occupation of a particular space also depended on first come basis. In spite of the fact most of them have temporarily claimed occupancy of any space due to consistent occupancy of the same spot over a long period of time, the earlier one came at a given time gave him/her the opportunity to occupy the most strategic place so as to attract potential buyers passing by on daily basis. Hence spatial occupation is often constantly renegotiated amongst the hawkers. Items mostly sold included things which were very movable and light in weight. For example a hawker around the Nkrumah circle (avenue) *troto* station when asked what he sells indicated that: *“I sell ‘ladies’ (that is female underwear like brassieres, panties, sanitary pads, hankies etc) with my wife”* (Field Survey 2010). Hence, mostly light and movable items like vegetables, underwear (male and female), second-hand clothes, shoes and bags, soap, VCD (video compact disc) and DVD (digital versatile disc) players and movies, phone cards and space-to-space (roadside mobile telephone systems) and mobile phone accessories among others (see also Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008).

Lastly, the stationary hawkers that were identified were those who were relocated to the Odawna Pedestrian Market at the Kwame Nkrumah circle (avenue) in Accra. They sold their items under sheds allocated to them from the AMA authorities for a fee in the walled market. The hawkers display their items in the stalls erected under the sheds for potential buyers to come in and buy (see Mitullah 2003). Items sold included second-hand clothes, shoes and bags, vegetables, provisions (soap, canned milk, tea etc), cooking utensils, cooked food, jewellery, cobblers and shoe polishers, watch repairers and hairdressers (operating in make-shift salons under the sheds).

There are differences that exist amongst these categories of hawkers. In fact, the different physical structures, locales and physical settings influence the type of goods sold and also the mode or strategy of selling. The itinerant hawkers as noted are mostly mobile and operate on the streets during traffic jams. Indeed whilst the itinerant hawkers are always on the run and sell items that mostly influence people to do impulse buying considering the limited time available

for buyers to take a decision because of the moving cars, the stationary hawkers are those who have been relocated to the Odawna market and are permanently selling their items in the market where buyers mostly have the time to bargain and choose from what they want to buy. Items are displayed on stalls erected under allocated sheds in the market. The semi-stationary hawkers are similar to both the stationary and itinerant hawkers. They often sell their items holding them in their hands moving around on pavements and persuading passing pedestrians to buy akin to the mode of selling of the itinerant hawkers operating on the street. Sometimes the movement around by the semi-stationary hawkers is to look for strategic places or a location to enhance their sales. This is akin to *Place* as a particular location or 'container' on the surface of the earth (Hubbard *et al.* 2004), where hawkers within the areas they operate, at the micro-level look for specific points or location to occupy or avoid. Also, their activities could be perceived in respect of place as a locale based on the social interaction between the sellers and buyers. The hawkers moving around with the items in their hands is also to avoid *abaayei* who are mostly lurking around to raid and seize items of those selling on the pavements. Further, there are those who display their items on the floor of the pavements on mats and makeshift small tables at a particular spot for most part of the day (see Mitullah 2003). This type of semi-stationary hawkers can also be likened to that of the stationary hawkers in the market who are immobile and indeed sell at one place in a market.

It was also seen that the goods sold also varied among the hawking categories. The itinerant and semi-stationary hawkers sold mostly items that were mostly lighter in weight whilst those in the market sold both heavier and lighter items. The itinerant and semi-stationary it was revealed sold lighter items in comparison with the stationary hawkers so as to enable them move with ease whilst selling on the street. Carrying heavy items like big travelling bags and boxes of soap according to the itinerant hawkers will impede their free movement on the street. The semi-stationary hawkers on the pavements also pointed out that even though they did not make that much profit from the sale of small and light items, the rationale behind their sale was that they were easy to carry about and to run away with especially when the *abaayei* are coming to raid them.

5.1.3 Composition of Hawkers

5.1.3.1 Itinerant Hawkers (*hawkers on street*)

The youth are mostly engaged in the street hawking activity. It consists of persons of both sexes with ages ranging between 15-25 years of age. The youth are dominant here because of the fact that the hawking activity is physical and laborious and requires persons who are young and energetic to be able to endure the pressure that comes with the activity. Aside the demanding physical stamina or endurance, one has to be alert or be able to make quick decisions regarding the sale of an item. This is because of the little time that one always have before the vehicle moves or buyer changes his or her mind not to buy the item again. Hence, the youth possess the necessary human capital in terms of labour and endurance to be able to sell their items (Carney 1998). Against this backdrop, it was observed with those selling on the street (itinerant hawkers) that males were the dominant sex. Mitullah (2003) in her generalizations however on street vending as observed in Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa is of the contention that, the vending or hawking activity has majority being females though she concedes that there is also a large representation of males and children. The male dominance however observed in Accra can be attributed to the rigorous and stressful nature of the hawking activity and the fact that most of the females are into selling vegetables and other consumables mostly in the markets.

The AMA official in sharing the same opinion with other informants for example, when asked whom these people were, had this to say: *it is a mixture, I remember one time I even met one of my students I taught at the school and she said "sir" and I asked "what are you doing here?" and she said she could not pass her exams. So I know there are people who even educated, people by virtue of not being able to pass their senior secondary school exams are there; some may be junior secondary school leavers and some could even be more than that. I know somebody who, he may not be selling on the streets but pavements, who is a 6th former⁹. So it is a mixture; and then we have the elderly, the women who are also there hawking and selling on the pavements. But I think we have a larger number of them being youth* (Field Interview, 2010).

⁹ The old senior high school system where people went up to form 6 (6 years in senior high school)

From the interview it is seen that in spite of the youth being notable persons involved in the itinerant hawking activity, the composition of hawkers cuts across the age divide including both educated and uneducated persons as well both married and unmarried persons. In Ecuador for example, Swanson (2007) is of the view that women and children as young as 4 years engage in vending and begging (see also Aliyu 2006). He notes that many of them work in Quito and Guayaquil during summer holidays and long weekends but do return to their rural communities to attend school during the other periods of the year.

Considering the stress and laborious nature of the hawking activity, women have been noted not to be resilient in carrying out some of the rigors involved in selling on the street. This is in light of the pressure and physical exhaustion that comes with the hawking activity. Further, females are mostly preoccupied with other obligations like taking care of the children and the home. Nevertheless, there were quite a number of females also plying their trade in this manner. Some even carried items on head pans with their babies at the back and executed their selling prowess with dexterity. For example some females had specialized in selling to the extent that some were seen carrying cooked eggs and peanuts arranged in a pyramidal shape on head pans running and selling them on the streets without the eggs falling off.

In the Odawna market and around the main Nkrumah avenue (circle) *trotro* station males were seen to be selling items like pastries, ladies shoes, bags and underwear that were considered by gendered ideologies in Ghana to be trades for females (see Overå 2007). Similarly, Agadjanian (2002) reports that increasing unemployment levels, informalization of the economy and structural adjustment policies had undermined economic advantage hitherto enjoyed by men pushing them into occupations designated as ‘women’s occupations’ such as street vending or commerce. In reference to these changing gendered patterns in the sale of goods in Ghana for example, Overå (2007) is of the view that it could be attributed to economic crises, structural adjustment policies, unemployment and consequent increasing rural-urban migration which brought about competition and overcrowding for already limited income making opportunities. This situation of shifting gendered occupations can be linked to the human agency as emphasized in Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory. In the light of the constraints that people encounter, it has necessitated the need to transcend gendered perceptions about particular economic ventures so as to be able to work for survival. This situation has thus informed the changing gendered pattern in the sale of goods.

Most of the items sold on the street as noted earlier were light and easily movable things that could be carried in the hand and on the head to facilitate movement. These items were carried strategically so as not to impede their free movement as they sell them. Thus, items like phone cards, chewing gums, dog chains, and canned drinks pushed on trolleys, sachet water and other perishable goods like fruits, loaves of bread and vegetables which are easy to sell were very common to see. These items attracted less profit but were purchased very fast. More valuable items which are heavy and mostly attracted high profits were difficult to sell quickly especially on the street. Thus items which did not sell much quickly but highly valuable and attracting higher profits were mostly found in the Odawna market where hawkers had become more stationary and in fact permanent in their location. Indeed the structures and mobility pattern create a differential market amongst the hawkers and various locations respectively.

The profit of street hawkers was dependant on the number of items that one was able to sell in a day. Against, this backdrop, items like fresh fruits and vegetables and other perishable goods which cannot be stored are often sold at a relatively cheaper price than their original price when night is falling. This is to avoid any loss of money invested in acquiring the item for sale. Considerations such as these demand strategic thinking of the actors or sellers. The itinerant and semi-stationary type it is observed is strenuous and generates little profit. This is against the backdrop that the hawking activity involved moving, running between cars and sometimes shouting on top of their voices to call out to potential buyers. The advantage here is that those on the pavement on and on the street sell quicker and more items than those in the market because of their constant interaction with potential buyers in vehicles as well as pedestrians. Hence the nature of the possibilities or limitations presented by the structures in which the hawkers operate and find themselves determines their inventiveness.

Thus the *structures* inform the type of goods that will be sold and the mode of operation or the strategy that will be adopted. The strategy adopted is dependent on the hawker's ability to digest the possibilities or limitations encountered in consonance with the duality of structure (Giddens 1984), the perception of the *place*; that is as a place of restriction or place of opportunities and consequently the livelihood outcome (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002). These livelihood outcomes according to the livelihoods framework will also determine whether one has been able to adapt to overcome the vulnerability contexts and hence the person's vulnerability

(Carney 1998). Thus, these structures and places can present constraints or advantages. They can also be places of comfort or discomfort depending how well or poorly the hawkers adapt or perceive these challenges. If they adapt poorly for example, the structures then poses some vulnerabilities to them.

Selling in the market however according to the hawkers was less strenuous unlike on the street. Heavy and valuable items that generated much profit return were commonly sold. These types of goods are sold to be able to make much income so as to cater for the daily tolls they pay to the authorities. It is also to defray the cost incurred in acquiring the shed in the market. Normally goods of this nature in spite of their high profit returns do not sell quickly. Thus, quick selling items common to the street hawkers are often sold alongside the heavy and valuable items or goods. This is to diversify their supply of goods and income making options.

The sale of items or goods also varied with occasions and time of the year. The hawkers often have to 'sense' the demand for new products so as to be able to introduce 'new' products or typical seasonal products such as flags, toys and unique paraphernalia. During Christmas for example, goods like toys, artificial Christmas trees and plastic watches are always sold. This is in recognition of the fact that changes in the *seasons* or *trends* as noted by the livelihoods framework can present vulnerabilities to the hawkers. Hence, hawkers influenced by human agency (Giddens 1984) normally switch in selling goods according to the season or time of the year and indeed the changes in the *trend* of patronage of products over time. During the period of the study for example, the goods sold were flags, football jerseys, *vuvuzelas*¹⁰ and soccer paraphernalia. This was due to the fact that the world cup 2010 was ongoing in South Africa at the time, of which Ghana was participating. Thus there was a high demand for soccer items especially on days Ghana won their football matches. Thus, the hawkers try to be strategic in the sale of items so as to reap the maximum profit.

¹⁰ A miniature plastic horn of the original traditional horn that was always blown by spectators at the world cup in South Africa to cheer their teams but was originally in historic times used to assemble people from surrounding villages and also common across many societies in Africa

5.1.3.2 Semi-stationary and Stationary Hawkers

With the hawkers selling on the pavements and walkways, and those in the Odawna market, it was a mixture of both females and males engaged in the sale of items. Many of them were unmarried even though they were up to the marriage ages of 16 and 21 years for females and males respectively. This situation is due partly to the poverty situation which is common in Ghana orchestrated by high unemployment levels in the country (Rhoda 1980), which in itself is a basis for engaging in street hawking. It was however noted that the majority (87%) of hawkers interviewed in the Odawna market were married with only one informant widowed. This striking differences in marital status between hawkers on the streets with those in the market can be attributed to the fact that most of them in the market were matured (25 years and above) and in fact were people who operated as hawkers for a very long time and thus had money to be able marry and raise a family. Also, operating for a long time as hawkers also endowed them with the financial capital in terms of money (Livelihoods framework) and as such the impetus to be able to negotiate and indeed afford a shed at the market unlike those on the streets and pavements who sold mostly small quantity of items that generated little profits. By their mode of operation, the semi-stationary and stationary hawkers in the market are immobile. Similarly, those in the market mostly sold goods that generated relatively higher profit returns than those sold by the hawkers selling on the street.

It was also revealed that both the semi-stationary and stationary hawkers can also become mobile hawkers plying their trade on the street and at traffic intersections at particular times of the day. There was an interesting revelation of hawkers in the market and on pavements who were immobile at a particular location during most parts of the day but became street hawkers during late afternoon and evenings. This situation is evident at times when the traffic is heavy and when people are returning home after the close of work for the day. This category of hawkers moving to the street to sell from their stationary location is borne out of the fact that they want to also exploit the booty sales that the itinerant hawkers make when the vehicular traffic situation is heavy and sales increase in the evening. That is, the hawkers in the light of the low sales are not only responding to changes or trends (Chambers & Conway 1992) in the patronage or demand for goods in the market, but being innovative. They strategically adopt the best market situation by moving to the streets in the evenings.

Hence, the hawkers are not passive but take up the initiative and act to address the perceived challenge facing them. This is in reference to the agency of humans captured in Giddens' (1984) *structuration theory* where people act in response to the constraints confronting them. The relocation to the streets to sell according to them is often to compensate for the low sales and income that they make during most parts of the day. This situation has also been amply observed by Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) where shop owners go out or recruit people to sell on the street for them. Thus, a hawker may be semi-stationary selling on the pavement with items displayed on a table or stationary, selling in the market but would become an itinerant hawker selling on the street in between cars in the evening. In this regard therefore, the amount of sales one makes and the quest to break-even partly determines how a hawker will transit between the hawking categories identified at particular times of the day and year.

The 20 hawkers (*in the market, street and pavements*) interviewed had little or no education. Whilst majority were school drop-outs, few had education up to junior/senior high school level with only one hawker having tertiary level education (Higher National Diploma). The lack of appropriate qualitative human capital in terms of better education and skills (see Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002; Carney 1998) makes them unable to participate or take up jobs in the formal economy and hence their confinement to selling on the streets even though some do transit to other income making ventures. Contrary to popular belief held that many of these hawkers were immigrants from the rural areas of northern Ghana, it was revealed that almost all the hawkers interviewed originated from the rural southern Ghana. They were mostly of the Akan¹¹ ethnic group, notably the Akwapems¹² and Ashantis¹³, who are noted for their business orientation and hence their notable dominance in the sales sector in Ghana. Indeed the AMA official interviewed was again of the contention that *...These days it is not only the "kayayeis" who are mostly from the north who are in Accra. We have a lot of them who are not even from the north but within or should I say all the regions in Accra. Sometimes, they just want to shift the blame and say kayayeis. I tell you the people we are dealing with, majority of them are not "Kayayeis"...* (Field Survey 2010).

¹¹Akan people is an ethnic group found from the forest belt in the south to the western coast of Ghana

¹² Akwapem tribe found in the Eastern region of Ghana on the Akwapem mountain ranges

¹³ The Ashanti tribe are found in Ashanti region in the middle forest belt of southern Ghana

Indeed urban dwellers do often also actively engage in hawking too as a source of livelihood. Mitullah (2003) has confirmed this observation as well by revealing in her generalizations of street vendors that trading on the streets is also a source of employment and in fact income for urban dwellers. Rural-urban migrants from northern Ghana especially females are often engaged as *kayayei*¹⁴ (Awumbila & Schandorf 2008), brewing of *pito*¹⁵, working in *chop bars*¹⁶ and the sale of charcoal whilst their male counterparts are engaged in cleaning and clearing of refuse, pushing of trucks (hand carts), as well as the sale of fowls, goats and sheep (Zaami 2010). There was also a case where a hawker indicated that he was from Nigeria.

A conspicuous but interesting observation was an European from England who was seen carrying a box of socks, handkerchiefs and men's underwear and was selling around the pavement to the entrance of the *trotro* station at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle-Accra (avenue). This person was an odd fellow considering that he was European and hawking in Ghana. His race might attract him more buyers out of amusement or sympathy. Fellow hawkers were seen not to be really bothered about him. I could not talk to him at the time because of confusion as a result of the presence of task force (*abaayei*) who were driving away hawkers and demarcating boundaries. However, I suspected he was either an anthropologist doing a study by immersing himself amongst the people or a CIA agent disguising himself.

From the foregoing, there are some similarities amongst the various hawking categories identified. In recognition of the fact that the hawkers are not passive in their bid to maximize their profits, they devise several strategies to either take advantage or overcome limitations that the structures (be it social or physical) present (Giddens 1984). Some specialize in the sale of one product whilst others diversify in the sale of items. It is worthy to note that the presence of semi-stationary and stationary hawkers on the street to sell is temporary as they return to their sheds the next day. Further, the livelihood outcome in light of a hawker's ability to adapt or succumb to the constraints indicates his or her vulnerability. Thus, for all the categories observed, many of the hawkers always hope of transiting to some better income making venture other than the hawking activity. Thus many see the hawking as a stepping-stone to acquire money to move into other ventures.

¹⁴ Ga name for female head porters who carry heavy loads of goods on head pans normally for a negotiated fee

¹⁵ Pito is a common locally brewed brownish beer in northern Ghana made from sorghum

¹⁶ Chop bars are local food restaurants

5.1.4 Dynamics of Street Hawking

5.1.4.1 Starting the Street Hawking Activity

The study revealed some dynamics as the street hawkers try to eke out a living. The street hawkers were of the view that one did not need any permission from anyone to start the hawking activity in any space especially on the street. However some form of social networks existed amongst them. Before one could start selling you needed to know someone who was already in the hawking business. This was normally for the sake of companionship and support especially in times of conflict with other hawkers or stress. Further, it was brought to light during the study that, one did not need to have any starting capital in the form of money to be able to acquire goods for the start of street hawking. According to the hawkers, the goods they sold were normally acquired from nearby stores, wholesale or retail shops. They either bought the goods from the shop or they were taken on credit. The repayment of the goods taken on credit is done upon the sale of the goods and the profit made after the sales taken. The situation is not different with the semi-stationary and stationary hawkers selling on the pavements, walkways, overhead bridges and market respectively.

They also do acquire some of their goods from shop owners and wholesale shops. For those who took goods or items on credit however, they had some form of mutual trust existing between them and the shop owners. That is, the hawkers have some form of collaboration with the shop owners based on trust as a result of the informal social relationship or interactions existing amongst them. Hawkers who are new normally have friends known to the shop owners who introduce them and most often stand as surety in order for them to acquire the goods or items needed for sale. That is, the hawkers possess some capabilities or *assets* in the form of social capital (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones 2002) as a result of the social networks that ensue amongst them and other actors due to the social interaction. Hence, even though a hawker may lack financial capital in terms of money or savings to start up the business, they however may be able to do so through the social capital that they possess or enjoy as result of the social networks they have with shop owners, wholesalers or retailers.

In relation to the above, most of the hawkers indicated that they had links with shop owners who also gave them the goods to sell on the street for a commission further emphasizing the social capital endowments they possess and enjoy as noted above. This is against the backdrop that buyers do not come into the shops to buy. This is so because of the activities of the street hawkers almost blocking buyers by selling the same items to them in front of shops at relatively cheaper prices in comparison to that quoted in the shops. So, many potential buyers often prefer to buy items from the hawkers than to acquire the same item in the shop for a higher price. Consequently, the shop owners are unable to get buyers to come in and purchase the goods (see Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). Hence, giving them some of the items to sell on the streets and pavements for a commission according to the hawkers was also a strategy adopted by the shop owners to break-even. The giving out of the goods indeed is based on social capital; that is the trust about paying back and the benefits that they hawkers will enjoy. This move by the shop owners also shows how inventive they are in trying to overcome the constraints that social structure present (in this case hawkers) as highlighted by structuration theory and institutional influence in the livelihoods framework. A few however indicated that, the hawking activity or business was a collaborative venture. This was mostly between spouses. Thus couples, besides pooling together finances (see financial capital *assets* in livelihoods framework) to acquire goods for sale, often engage in the sale together.

5.1.4.2 Daily Activity and Stress

The street hawking activity itself, it was observed during the study, involves running and wading between cars normally caught in traffic jams at traffic lights and major road intersections. The faulty traffic lights, intersections and slow moving vehicular traffic create a congenial environment for the hawkers. That is the physical structure prevailing as in the street traffic light system and the nature of the pavements and road (space) all play a part in enhancing the hawking activity.

Similarly, the economic and social structures also play out as buyers in traffic do patronize the goods sold whilst some of the hawkers also sometimes bribe city guards to be able to stay and sell most especially on the pavements (see *Structuration theory*: Giddens 1984). It was observed that sometimes one had to run for a very long distance along a moving vehicle in the bid to convince a potential buyer to purchase his or her items or trying to give out change. For others, they just waited by the traffics lights for it to indicate stop (red) or preferably stand on the white lines demarcating the lanes on the road displaying their items in order to sell.

In all, the hawkers often look for very strategic places or places they perceive as “fishing places” in order to catch attention of potential buyers on the street. This situation besides bringing about competition in their attempt to sell their goods often also breeds conflicts and petty quarrels amongst them. In this wise therefore, these places that the hawkers operate become places where they play out or express their feelings or perceived as a locale where they interact and carry out their daily activities (Agnew 1987). In Manila for example, Illy (1986, 64) observed that “*street vendors operate on public space and that there is competition about the use of public space as a limited good*”. Hence, the streets, market or pavements become meeting or negotiation places for selling and buying or better still, places of possibilities, restrictions or for intense competition as they eke out a living.

In spite of the petty quarrels that sometimes emerge amongst the hawkers, there is also some form of collaboration between them (both hawkers on street or pavements and market). This is in recognition of the sense of attachment and belonging that they normally have towards the place they occupy. In this wise, they often see each other as one people seeking to survive. Thus, for those who had many things and could not handle them whilst selling on the street for example, left them standing on the pavement of the road in the care of less busy fellow hawkers. Sometimes the goods are left unattended to without any theft. This is because they all almost have their goods at the same place. They often also call to one another when a potential buyer wishes to purchase an item which a particular hawker does not have but another have the item further indicating the collaboration that do sometimes exist amongst them.

As noted however, they also often quarrel amongst themselves when trying to sell especially the same item to one buyer. Conflicts also result between the hawkers and buyers as well as drivers. A conflict situation between buyers and hawkers for example is evident especially during negotiation or bargaining for an item where each of them is quoting a different

price. With those on the pavements in the Accra CBD, hawkers often look out for each other so as to alert one another when the AMA guards are coming to seize their goods so as to run away. Thus, they strategize in this wise in order to thrive in response to the restrictions posed by the pavements they occupy as a place due to the institutional influence of the AMA guards and the police.

It was also seen that hawkers at the Odawna market knew each other very well and enjoyed some mutual relationships. So it was very common for a hawker to direct a potential buyer to another who has an item that the buyer needed but he/she did not have for sale. This is so because of the sense of attachment and togetherness that they possess towards the market that they occupy as a *place*. Besides the foregoing, some specialize in the sale of special types of goods like ladies' bags only or perfumes only. Hence there is often some strong and complimentary relationship for instance amongst them as they identify with another (Peet 1998; Relph 1976). In this case, the hawkers have some form of social networks that exist amongst them as they interact with each other on daily basis.

Many of the hawkers expressed how stressful and tedious it is to sell their items. For those in the Odawna market, the agony of having to sit at one place from morning to evening whilst shouting to potential buyers to come and patronize the goods is very tiring. Selling on the pavements, walkways and on the street is not different. The attempt to evade the AMA guards plays out the fact raised by the livelihoods framework and structuration that institutional actors (in this case human actors) can influence the behaviour of people and indeed their activities. Hawkers say they have to hold their items in the hand to display whilst also being alert so as to run away or evade the AMA guards who always come unannounced to chase or drive them away from the pavements. Swanson (2007) for example notes that, in Quito, Ecuador, vendors hide in stores and doorways to dodge the police so as to avoid their items being seized. A situation a Quito Chief of Police, according to Swanson, describes as a '*game of cat and mouse*' (Swanson 2007, 721; see also Cross 1998).

Similarly, it was revealed that those selling on the street besides having to be running and meandering between cars and inhaling exhaust fumes, often have to endure the scorching sun and the very warm temperature that is experienced during the day. Hence, besides the institutional actors that may place limitations on the hawkers as they ply their trade, the physical environmental structure as in the weather also hampers their operation. Also, the hawkers

complained of suffering verbal abuses from both drivers and passengers alike as they shout on them to give way or in fact insult them. As a result of the stress that they go through every day, they experience body pains and other forms of illness. They bemoaned ill treatment often meted out to them and indeed indicated that they do get offended or feel very bad at the way people sometimes insult or verbally abuse.

The circumstances that the hawkers go through as noted in the foregoing do not reflect on their faces and body language. In spite of the hassle that most of these hawkers go through, they are always seen to be happy when they are plying their trade. They employ coping mechanisms such as ignoring verbal abuse, taking some rest at intervals when the vehicular traffic is less or just being hopeful that things will go on well. In the Odawna market or even on the pavements in the Accra central business district, hawkers are always seen either singing along or dancing to music from very loud speakers mounted by people either selling their goods or by wayside drinking bars (pubs). When caught in traffic on the street, it is a common sight to see hawkers laughing, shouting and conversing by the roadside on top of their voices indicating the conception of a place as a locale (Agnew 1987). A reason partly accounting for this lively appearance of most of the hawkers is that, most of them believe that God is supreme and in every situation, be it hardship or enjoyment they give thanks to him. A hawker at the Odawna market for example when asked whether the business was her own or she was doing it in collaboration with someone, contended that "...yes, *the business is for God and I am his slave taking care of it for him*" (Female Hawker age 35yrs; Field Survey 2010).

Thus many think that the hawking is temporal and that in God's own time things will turn around for the better for them. Hence hawkers, both Muslims and Christians alike, believe that God has a plan for everyone. The hawkers take solace in the adage that "*to be a 'man' is not a day's job or Rome was not built in a day*". That is, to be successful in life you need to work hard and be patient as good things do not come on a silver platter. So, for them, anyone who works hard and have faith in God, will surely be rewarded one day and as such move from the hawking activity to another profitable venture. The motivating factor to carry on with the hawking in light of its challenges therefore is faith and hope that God will one day sort them out with a better life. These beliefs and perceptions are but a clear case of the characteristically religious nature of Ghanaians. Their beliefs create some sort of 'over optimism' and go-ahead spirit to stay in the business which also can be seen to be a coping strategy to survive in the business.

5.1.4.3 Hierarchical Transition

There was also some form of hierarchical transition from the sale of small less profit earning items to items with higher profit returns. Hawkers especially at the Odawna market and around the Nkrumah Avenue (circle) *trotro* station were of the contention that they have in one time moved upwards from the sale of smaller and less income earning items to a much income earning ones. Indeed majority saw the hawking activity as temporal and were in fact going to use the street hawking to acquire some money to go and learn a trade or venture into other businesses. But for those who are unable to undergo training to acquire technical skills to move into other ventures, they remain in the informal activity of selling mostly as stationary hawkers. This is in light of the fact that most of these hawkers often have little or no formal education and as such cannot participate in the formal sector employment. Even if they do, they are normally engaged as casual labourers with very little wages. Illy (1986, 65) for example, observes among street vendors in Manila that “*hawking seems to be a permanent occupation for those who have minimal schooling and lack skills and training needed for other jobs*”. Thus the transition is mostly to other ventures within the informal sector even though there is the possibility of moving to formal employment like in the case of the Nigerian immigrant in the second interview extract below who holds a Higher National Diploma (HND).

The transition however, is dependent on long periods of selling, endurance and subsequent accumulation of money to be able to start a more lucrative business. The mobility from the sale of one set of items to another in the hawking business or to be able to undertake another venture are highlighted in this interview from two hawkers at the Odawna market and Nkrumah Avenue (circle) *trotro* station respectively:

First Hawker (Odawna Market): Female, 35 years

Interviewer: what is your level of education?

Hawker: Middle school-form 1 (i.e. Junior High School)

Interviewer: Where do you come from?

Hawker: Gomoa Denkyira, Central Region of Ghana

Interviewer: What do you sell?

Hawker: Ladies' bags

Interviewer: For how long have you been selling?

Hawker: I used to sell Ladies' slippers for a long time; so now that I sell Ladies' bags, it is 3 years now

Interviewer: Do you sell the same items during all times of the day and year?

Hawker: Yes, as I said; I used to sell Ladies' slippers; but have now changed to selling Ladies' bags.

Second Hawker (circle trotro station): Male, 26 years

Interviewer: What is your highest level of education attained?

Hawker: Higher National Diploma (HND, Tertiary)

Interviewer (me): Where do you come from?

Hawker: I am from Nigeria, Lagos State

Interviewer: What do you sell?

Hawker: I sell clothes (men's shirts and singlet)

Interviewer: So for how long have you been selling?

Hawker: I have been selling for the past 5 months now

Interviewer: Do you intend stopping any time soon?

Hawker: Yes oooh!! I intend stopping very soon because my mission in Ghana is to further my education. So if I gather enough money I will stop! (Field Survey 2010).

From the foregoing interview, it is seen that many of the hawkers have the intention of either improving on their business or moving to another higher income earning business activity. Sometimes the change in the sale of small profit making products to improved profit making items for example may be a movement up the social ladder for some of the hawkers. In this regard therefore, the migration to another better livelihood other than the hawking activity is a translation of the livelihood outcome of selling either in the market or the street. A positive outcome is reflected in a successful transition from hawking to another more lucrative business venture. For others, it is an opportunity to acquire the needed money to pursue other interests or to be able to learn a trade such as carpentry, tailoring, hairdressing, mechanic work or further their education as noted by the Nigerian immigrant hawker interviewed.

For the hawking activity therefore, it is not always a permanent livelihood as the hawkers seek to engage in a much better economic activity than the street hawking. They are dynamic actors who look for a 'better future' and not stuck in their activity pattern. Thus, accumulating the needed money capital to be able to move to a different economic venture depends on the amount of goods sold, how attractive an item is to sell, the endurance and go-ahead spirit of the hawker.

5.2 Social Networks

The hawking activity reveals a complex set of social networks that exist amongst the various actors observed. That is, apart from the social capital that these hawkers possess as noted earlier, they also do have some form formal and informal interactions with the other actors. The actors comprises of the itinerant, semi-stationary and stationary hawkers, AMA authorities, shop owners, wholesalers and retailers as well as the general public including tourists mostly Europeans who most often serve as potential buyers. These actors interact amongst themselves in complex interrelated ways. In fact the networks that often exist are often of a competitive/conflicting and collaborative nature.

In the competitive/conflicting aspect of the network, there are always conflicts and quarrels that may emerge in the interaction. For instance, the AMA authorities in their bid to clear and relocate hawkers through the *abaayei* often encounter resistance and sometimes violent clashes and counter accusations. This is in light of the refusal of hawkers to move away from the streets and pavements to the constructed market. Similarly, amongst the hawkers themselves, conflicts and quarrels do emerge. It is very common to see itinerant hawkers quarrelling on the street as they compete to sell on the street. The quarrel might also erupt because of competition for occupation of a particular strategic space on the pavement or market to sell. That is, the friction might emerge as a result of the efforts of the hawkers to find a niche or spatially good selling place for their items.

It has however been observed that the interaction and relationships amongst the hawkers is not always of competition resulting in conflicts. There is also some form of collaboration between the hawkers. It is very common to see itinerant hawkers calling on to their colleagues on the street to come over and sell to a potential buyer when he or she does not have the item required. They sometimes collaborate to leave their stock of items together on the shoulder or

pavement of the street. The safety of the items left by the road whilst they sell in the traffic jam is often based on the mutual trust these hawkers have built amongst themselves. Also, in the market hawkers often offer to take care of their colleagues' stalls in their absence or may direct a potential buyer to a different stall when he/she is looking for a particular good. Hence, the hawkers besides playing collaborative roles do also exercise complementary services to fellow hawkers.

Similarly, the hawkers also offer important services to the public through the goods that they sell (Bhowmik 2005). Not only are they relatively cheaper in comparative terms with those in shops but are almost always readily available to the public in traffic, on pavements and in the market. In fact European tourists are not only fascinated at the sight of the hawkers but do often purchase souvenirs and artefacts from the hawkers. Nevertheless, the European tourists sometimes get irritated at the harassment by the hawkers to buy their items which prices they often inflate due to the perception that they have money.

Further, the hawkers, especially those in the markets pay tolls to the AMA authorities. The revenue accrued from the collection of these tolls is used for developmental projects in the Accra metropolis. In looking at the contribution of hawkers to the socio-economic development of the Accra metropolitan area and Ghana at large, the AMA official interviewed conceded that: *they pay tolls anyway, so it gives the AMA revenue. All the markets; we take tolls from them. So it contributes to our revenue generation which we use to develop the city. We use for our road construction, we use for some of our street lights and even our own task force (abaayei) and to pay our work force who are helping to maintain the city. ...So they contribute and for the fact that the things they trade in, they serve the public. For instance those who were at the 'Novotel' park, they trade in ingredients (vegetables) which people need on daily basis. So they satisfy if not only the AMA but the larger public where when you want tomatoes to buy you have access to that. So they also help to maintain the citizens. People need to stay on food and all that on daily basis. So besides the financial gain and revenue we generate, they also service the residents within the metropolis* (Field Survey 2010).

From the interview, it is seen that the hawkers are pivotal to the sustenance of the public in the city and the revenue generation that the AMA makes for their developmental projects. Thus the contribution of the hawkers to the socio-economic development of the city and the Ghana at large cannot be discounted.

Further, networks of mutual trust also exist between the hawkers on the one hand and wholesalers and retailers on the other. As noted earlier, sometimes hawkers take goods from these shop owners on credit. They pay back after the goods have been sold and the profit generated taken. The trust to give goods out is based on a long period of interaction that has ensued between the two parties involved. For new hawkers who might be unknown to the shop owners, colleague hawkers sometimes offer to stand as surety for the timely payment of the goods after sales. The hawkers indicated that they prefer to buy from the wholesale shops. This according to them is because the wholesale prices are comparatively cheaper than those from the retail shops who mostly increase the prices of their goods to reap some profits. In spite of this however, a hawker may acquire goods or items at discount prices depending on the quantity of goods they purchase from any of the stores.

Hence the quantity of goods or items bought may offer one some discount. A discounted price may also be enjoyed by regular customers or used by the shop owners to entice potential 'hawker-buyers' to purchase their goods. The price tag that the hawkers will in turn put on their items depends on the cost at which they acquired the goods from the shop. As noted earlier on, shop owners may also recruit hawkers to sell their items on the street and pavements for a commission at the end of the day or they may themselves go out at particular times of the day to engage in the hawking activity (see also Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008).

The general public who serve as potential buyers are also central in the complex interactions and networks that exist in the hawking activity. They serve as ready market for the items that the hawkers sell. Indeed the actions of the public can serve to encourage the hawkers to continue to sell or abandon their trade. In spite of the institutional calls from the AMA and other stakeholders like the police to the public to desist from buying from the hawkers in the media and other social platforms, their patronage or demand for the items that the hawkers sell helps keep them in business. This is in cognizance of the fact that the patronage of their goods enhances their socio-economic wellbeing through the income that they generate from the sales that they make. The constant harassment however of the public, especially pedestrians by the hawkers to purchase their goods normally also result in quarrels, verbal and physical abuse in return. Thus the public aside patronizing the items of the hawkers often abuse the hawkers.

Against this backdrop, it is evident that the whole hawking activity involves a complex network of interactions and interrelationships. The network that ensues among the many actors identified is both competitive and complementary or collaborative. All these serve to shape the hawking activity.

Chapter Six

The "perception/views of hawking" activity as seen by 'Others'

Hawking as a means of livelihood has been perceived differently. Indeed the authorities, public including potential buyers hold alternative views of the street hawking activity. This chapter seeks to explore these varying views and perceptions of the hawking activity in Accra as held by the selected public persons mentioned above.

6.1 Perception of Street Hawking by the Authorities

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) which oversees the administration of the city of Accra has bye-laws which govern the city. These bye-laws instituted in 1995 under the powers conferred on the AMA by section 79 of the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462) guides the daily functioning of the city. Specifically, the “Hawkers' Permit” of the bye-laws spells out the stance of the AMA regarding hawking in the city.

The AMA is against hawking or selling on the streets and pavements in the city. The AMA official interviewed was of the view that, in spite of the fact that the hawkers, especially those in the market, pay daily tolls. They also render important services to the public thereby contributing to the revenue generation and development as well as the maintenance of the citizens despite the hawking activity being a huge problem the AMA was grappling with. Since the hawkers were mainly a heterogeneous group, he argued that their activities created the room for the sale of stolen and illegal or smuggled goods. He contends that the activity was not only dangerous to the hawkers and pedestrians alike, but compounded the already heavy vehicular traffic congestion that had plagued the city (see Fig 6.1 & 6.2). The official conceded further that the hawkers generate a lot of filth in the city which also leads to the choking of drains constructed in the city. This situation has resulted in emergence of stench coming from drains and the occasional outbreak of contagious diseases and the ever present high cases of malaria in the city.

In fact the activities of the hawkers also dent the image of the country. This is against the backdrop that tourists, mostly Europeans who visit the country, are often harassed and sometimes duped by the hawkers by charging them exorbitant prices for their goods. This situation is not only discomforting to the tourists but derails the efforts of the government to make Ghana the gateway to Africa and indeed Accra a modernized city.

Against the foregoing backdrop, the AMA therefore views hawking as illegal and contravenes what is set in the bye-laws of AMA. The illegality of street hawking in the city of Accra has been clearly spelt out in article 7 of the 1995 AMA bye-laws regarding hawking in the city. This article states that “no person shall offer for sale or sell any article in a street market other than in the space or selling allocated to him by the AMA” (Accra Metropolitan Assembly Bye-Laws 1995).

Fig 6.1 Hawkers selling to passengers in vehicles Fig 6.2 Heavy vehicular traffic in Accra Caught in traffic at Accra



Source: (Field Survey 2010)

In spite of the fact that hawking has been outlawed in the city of Accra by the AMA, hawkers still sell on every street corner and pavement in the city. The hawkers overcome the structures and constrain set by the authorities. Hence whilst the city authorities see the street as demarcated purposely for the movement of vehicles, hawkers have a different conception of the street. They see the street as a place of opportunities, for doing business, negotiation and meeting places for buying and indeed a place full of constraints. Subsequently, the hawkers operate on

the streets in spite of the restrictions that human and political institutions place on their activities (see Heidegger 1958; in Peet 1998). In fact, the AMA official was of the view that "...generally hawking in Accra is a bit problematic. It is not easy; you drive them away and they come back. For instance when you just see the National Theatre area, it is a problem. They would wait when the task force (*abaayei*) is coming around and then they move out of the place. When they are not there, then they come back. It is becoming a big problem..." (Field Survey 2010). These sentiments have also been noted in the case of vendors in Mexico City according to Cross (1998). He observed that the number of hawkers on the streets kept soaring even after permits allowing them to trade had been banned as a strategy to reduce their presence. He highlights further that "new 'plazas' (built for them to operate) [emphasis mine] were never more than half full, and after the collapse of the peso in December 1994 many made good on a threat to return to the street" (Cross 1998, 43). In relation to this also, hawkers that have been relocated to the Odawna market and allocated sheds in Accra have abandoned their sheds in the market and gone back to the streets to exploit the perceived high demand for goods there. In the light of this, efforts are being made by the AMA to re-allocate sheds that have been abandoned to other interested hawkers whilst putting other pragmatic measures in place to keep returning hawkers off the streets and pavements.

Thus, AMA sees the hawkers as persons who trespass the rules and regulations guiding the operating of businesses and trading in the city. This is also the case in several cities in developing countries where hawking is prevalent (see Bhowmik 2005; Illy 1986). To enforce the directive that hawking is not allowed on the streets of the city, the *abaayei* often conduct unannounced raids and seize goods of flouting hawkers. Hawkers are then normally expected to pay fines for the return of their goods. This has however not proven to be an effective measure at deterring hawkers from selling on the street. This is because of the fact that it is often beset with its own challenges like corrupt authorities, physical and sexual abuse of hawkers among others and thereby undermining it.

6.2 Views of the Hawking Activity by the Public

The public which comprises the potential buyers, drivers and pedestrians have expressed mixed feelings and views about hawking in the city. Even though many of the persons interviewed expressed their views about the fact that the hawking activity was problematic, others did not see anything wrong with selling on the streets and pavements in the city.

In reference to the activity in the city, members of the general public interviewed during the research concurred that the activity was very bad. They bemoaned the fact that aside the frequent accidents that they cause on the road almost each day, their activities made movement and the modernization of the city of Accra difficult if not practically impossible. This was in cognizance of the fact that the hawkers step on the lawns and grasses planted on the streets at the cost of the tax payer's money to beautify the city preventing them from growing. Further, the white-wash paint put on the pavement blocks on the roads to give the streets a nice look also gets dirty due to the constant dirtying of the pavement blocks by the hawkers.

Other potential buyers, even though acknowledged that hawking was bad, were however emphatic that they provided very essential goods at cheaper prices as compared to buying from the goods sold mostly in the shops. Pedestrians for instance, lamented that apart from the impulse buying that they do, sometimes as a result of constant harassment from the hawkers, they occasionally have conflicts with them. The conflicts sometimes result from pushing down the items of a hawker on the pavement. It could also be as a result of verbal abuse (insults) from the hawkers for not being able to purchase a good after stopping to may be just have a look at the items or goods (as in window shopping). A passenger of a *trotro* notes that, one cannot raise his/her her head and look outside or even towards the direction of a hawker. This is because the hawkers will misconstrue that you want to buy something by looking into their direction and rush and worry you to buy their items. They complained sometimes of doing impulse buying for things they do not intend to buy. This situation is particularly evident according to them, when you are travelling with children who will sometimes see things and start crying for you to buy for them which often affect their budget for the day as they do unexpected expenditure.

Drivers of both *trotro* and private cars interviewed indicated that, the hawkers made it practically difficult to drive on the road especially when you want to switch to a different lane on the road. They contend that, the hawkers cause frequent road accidents. Indeed one stands the risk of being sent to court and getting jailed if he or she knocks down a hawker. A driver expressing his opinion had this to say about hawking on the street: "*that one (hawking); I am always complaining about it. Just recently an accident occurred at Opebia roundabout; I was not there but I heard it killed a lot of them (hawkers). This is because when you are driving for example, they are selling on the street. When sometimes you want to change to another lane on the road, may be after you look into your driving mirror and you want to cross to the other lane you will realize that they are on that side again. So sometimes you find it difficult and because of that, me I think the way they have been selling on the street I think it is not advisable*" (Driver, Male-Age 44yrs; Field Survey 2010).

The foregoing interview extract shows how selling on the street makes it difficult for drivers to move and switch from one lane to the other. Besides posing difficulties to drivers on the street, selling on the streets is dangerous for the hawkers themselves. Hawkers have often been the cause and victims of car accidents in the city. This has often resulted in many deaths and injuries to Hawkers. The public therefore holds mixed feelings about the hawking activity.

From the study, it is noted that in spite of the fact that most potential buyers acknowledge that the hawkers provide very essential items at cheaper prices, majority do recognize that the activity was not only bad but very dangerous to the hawkers themselves. Further, the teeming numbers of hawkers selling on the street did not only make it chaotic on the road, but was an unpleasant sight to look at. This is because they constantly bombard you by displaying their items in your sight whilst in traffic and indeed also cause panic amongst road users and passengers at the way they run across the lanes on the road in moving vehicular traffic. Thus the hawkers as active agents in their bid to take advantage of the possibilities presented by the physical structures prevailing also serve as social structures that present some form of constraint to other actors (see *structuration* by Giddens 1984). The actions of other actors like the public in relation to the hawkers have also influenced the policies and actions of the city authorities and government at tackling the situation which may translate into livelihood outcomes (see livelihood framework). In this regard, the call was therefore unanimous for the AMA and government to do something pragmatic to address the situation.

6.3 The Views of Hawking Activity by the Hawkers

The response of the hawkers themselves (i.e. those in the market, street and on pavement) about selling on the street was explicit about the fact that selling on the street was bad. They noted that the choked open drains in the city were due partly to their activities and disposal of garbage into them which sometimes causes cholera outbreaks and malaria in the city. Indeed, the recent cholera outbreak in Accra and parts of Ghana has been attributed to street food vendors who expose their food to house flies and bacteria. Similarly, it has also been observed for example by Koo *et al.* (1996) that street vended foods were the source of the newly introduced cholera epidemic strain *toxigenic vibrio cholera* in Guatemala.

Further, the hawkers contend that the display of items and selling on the pavements also made it impossible for pedestrians to move freely. They also observed that selling on the street was dangerous. This according to them was due to the way they cross from one lane to the other between the moving cars on the road. For those on the pavements, they noted that they could be run over by a moving vehicle should it veer off the road. So, selling on the pavement with their backs to the road for them was dangerous.

In spite of the seeming awareness of the problems and dangers that come with hawking, the hawkers are of the opinion that they cannot do otherwise than to continue to sell on the streets as it is their main source of livelihood. This was in cognizance of the fact that the hawkers do not only feel a sense of attachment where they derive their livelihood but also perceive it as a locale where they interact and carry out their daily activities. Indeed, they conceive of the street as providing food and the livelihood needed for survival as well as deriving social and psychological comfort. In fact, they also have conflicts through their interactions with other hawkers on the street (see Relph 1976; Peet 1998). However, the hawkers expressed their willingness to relocate if the authorities could help them acquire sheds at the Odawna market since many of them cannot afford the money to pay for the sheds. The hawkers do know of the dangers involved in selling on the street and indeed consent to the fact that the activity is bad as they often cause traffic congestion and accidents on the roads and in fact generate filth in the city. But for them, they are of the opinion that it is better for them or people to be engaged in hawking than being criminals and indulging in nefarious activities.

From the above, it is observed that there is a seeming discontent from people on the hawking in the city. Even though hawkers continue to sell on the streets, AMA has been categorical about the fact that hawking is illegal and hence punishable by law. A cross-section of the public interviewed have in fact expressed their misgivings on the activities of the hawkers and called on the authorities to besides the occasional raiding and relocation exercise, try and find a lasting solution to the problem. This notwithstanding, the hawking activity has become a substantial part of the informal economy providing some form of economic support to unemployed persons and relatively 'poor persons' in the city, there is a general consensus among the informants that hawking on the street is a bad venture.

6.4 Alternative Locations and Businesses

In cognizance of the bye-laws, AMA as noted embarked on the decongestion and relocation exercise to clear the city off hawkers. The relocation exercise was meant at moving all hawkers selling on the streets to the newly constructed Odawna pedestrian market at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle (avenue) of Accra.

6.5 Reasons for relocating Hawkers to the Odawna Pedestrian Market

The authorities, according to the research highlighted the fact that there was the need to remove the hawkers from the streets to allow for the free flow of the heavy vehicular traffic that was typical of Accra. Indeed hawkers had virtually taken over pavements of the central business district (CBD) and portions of the road especially around Tudu around Kinbu area of the CBD (see Map, Fig 4.1). As a result of this situation people and vehicles were competing for space and thus making movement difficult. Another reason which informed the relocation exercise was to avoid the accidents on the streets which were on the ascendancy and also to demolish unauthorised structures constructed by squatters/hawkers on waterways to help reduce the recurrent flooding in the city. This was in light of the fact so many unauthorised structures and choked drains had blocked waterways resulting in recurrent floods and subsequent loss of lives and property every year.

The AMA therefore indicated that they incur more cost in trying to clear the choked drains and filth that had engulfed the city of which the hawkers as a result of their activities partly generate significant quantities. Indeed, unhygienic environments as a result of activities of street hawkers were focussed in Quito, Ecuador. Swanson (2007, 713) for example argues that, “*indigenous street vendors are blamed as the principal cause for a host of morally suspect and unsightly problems, including litter and public hygiene concerns*”. In similarity to these concerns raised, the AMA thus pointed out that a decongestion was necessary not only to reduce accidents but to help channel money that would have been used in clearing filth and de-silting drains into other areas for the development of the city to enhance the modernisation of the capital city agenda.

The hawkers have acknowledged that it is because of the problems that come with the hawking activity that has informed the actions of the city authorities to relocate them. Thus their activities are influencing the decisions and policies of the AMA as an institution which obviously also have livelihood outcome implications. The hawkers saw the relocation exercise as a step in the right direction but still were reluctant to move. Their continued presence in these public spaces was due to the fact that they had no other job and place to go and hence their constant disregard to the constant harassment and raiding by the *abaayei*. They see the street as a locale with possibilities where they can derive a livelihood to survive and as such do not want to move.

The hawkers indeed lamented that getting a shed or space to sell in the market was very expensive. For them, getting the money to go to the AMA to pay for a permit and subsequent acquisition of a shed was very problematic. That is, they lacked the financial capital in the form of savings or money to acquire the sheds in the market. This according to the hawkers stifles their efforts at making a living. Most of the hawkers interviewed at the Nkrumah avenue (circle) *trotro* station also contend that it was difficult to acquire a shed at the market even if you have the money to do so unless you have someone at the AMA who will have to push your name through after picking up the registration form to apply for the shed. Compounding the problem according to them was the concern that potential buyers and customers will not come to the market to buy if they relocate. As a result, daily sales will decrease and hence a reduction in profit. This concern was expressed amongst almost all the hawkers that were still selling on the street and those in around the Nkrumah avenue (circle) *trotro* station just directly opposite the Odawna market along the Odaw River (see Fig 4.1).

Hence, aside the financial capital constraints, the structures (both human and physical), also do play a part in posing limitations to the activities of the hawkers. This is because the human structures as in the sense of the officials demand bribes from the hawkers to allocate the sheds and also other hawkers refuse to relocate; whilst the existing physical structures does not serve to attract buyers to the market (see livelihoods framework & structuration). Thus, the situation is a form of ‘game’ theory where other hawkers who are still selling on the street and enjoying patronage will influence those in the market to come out on the streets to also sell. This is in reference to the fact that, since buyers will not come to the market to buy goods but purchase on the street, then eventually those selling in the market will eventually be forced to come out of the market to access the patronage on the street.

The AMA official however rebuffed the claims of the hawkers as untrue. When asked whether the market was spacious enough to accommodate the teeming numbers of hawkers in the city, he was of the opinion that: *"I wouldn't even want to answer, I want you to go there and see for yourself. It is Big!!! I think the majority of the people (hawkers) should go there. Even not only the Odawna market, I'm aware of several markets dotted around the metropolis that are left unoccupied. So if people really want to trade in our markets and they contact the AMA, surely they will get places to trade in. For now, I can't give you an exact capacity level but it is very spacious to accommodate several of them"* (Field Survey 2010). From the interview, the accusations and counter accusations show the level of tension that exists as a result of the relocation exercise. A visit to the market revealed many unoccupied sheds in the *Tuabodom* area of the market (see Fig 6.3). But the hawkers argue that these are sheds that have been acquired by people who have abandoned them and returned to the streets. Hence, in the face of the challenges prevailing in the market, the hawkers adopt livelihood strategies such as abandoning the market and going back to the streets so as to be able to make the profits that they envisage.

Fig 6.3 Abandoned Sheds (*Tuabodom area, Odawna Pedestrian Market, Accra*)



Source: Field Survey (2010)

Thus the rationale underlying the relocation exercise as noted earlier was to address the problems that confronted the city of Accra as result of the activities of the street hawkers. In cognizance of the problems enumerated above, there was therefore the need to relocate hawkers to the constructed market to reduce the cost that the AMA incurred as a result of their activities. Further, drains that were de-silted, the removal of unauthorised structures like kiosks and buildings as part of the decongestion and the relocation exercise also facilitated the free flow of water which had reduced the occurrence of floods in the city. The AMA official indeed emphasized that with the removal of unauthorised structures in especially areas under the catchment of the AMA they were able to mitigate the flooding situation in the city of Accra.

In spite of the illegality of hawking in the city, the AMA faced fierce resistance from the hawkers and the politicization of the relocation exercise. This is in cognizance of the fact that hawkers have developed strong attachments to selling on the streets as a place that they do not want to move. Secondly, the streets and pavements present many opportunities to the hawkers in terms of making more sales in comparison to the market. The influence of political actors (both political parties in government and in opposition) using the hawking problem to win political votes and the lack of commitment on their part also compounds the problem. For example, political parties normally in opposition normally empathize with the hawkers regarding their problems and sometimes offer promises to help them if voted into power. When they win some electoral votes from the hawkers and come into power they begin to be reluctant and indeed

often accuse the previous government as causing the problems. Hence they are often reluctant to address the challenges as promised before assuming power. Nevertheless, the AMA official interviewed noted that it was obvious that there was a need for a decongestion and relocation exercise to address the problems enumerated.

Hence, the decongestion and relocation exercise was carried out in the face of the challenges. Indeed the activities of the hawkers have influenced the policies and actions of the AMA as an institution (see Livelihood framework according to Tony Lloyd-Jones in Rakodi 2002). Thus, the AMA as an institution or a social structure carried out the exercise and stationed their task force (*abaayei*) strategically around the city just to ensure that the hawkers did not return which has livelihood outcome implications for the hawkers. There was the need to let the *legal structures* (see structuration theory) prevailing to work. This the authorities do at a great cost as they have to pay daily allowances to the *abaayei* just to motivate them to prevent the hawkers from coming back.

6.6 Challenges of the Relocation of Street Hawkers

The construction of the Odawna market and the relocation exercise even though was successful; it did not go without challenges. The challenges still persist in the efforts of the AMA to keep the hawkers off the streets and pavements as well as ensure that they stay in the market and not return to the streets. This section highlights the problems/challenges the authorities, hawkers and the general public face as a result of the relocation exercise.

6.7 Problems/Challenges facing the Accra Metropolitan Assembly

A major challenge facing the AMA authorities is preventing hawkers from selling on the streets. In spite of the fact that hawking in the city is illegal there is no commitment at enforcing this law. Human institutions or social structures put in place to enforce these laws are inefficient and relaxed. Hawkers are still seen selling on the major streets of the city and also on pavements sometimes in the presence of the task force (*abaayei*). The AMA indicated further that what was compounding the problem was the fact that the public patronize and purchase from these hawkers on the street encouraging them to stay. Hawkers verbally abuse city authorities and *abaayei* whenever they try to sack them from the streets. The AMA official interviewed complained that "...some even want to attack the task force. So mostly we go with armed

policemen, and the financial cost; when you go out with the men, you need to pay them to stay on the job for it to be done. So it comes with a financial cost which we could have even used for other development projects. We need to build schools, provide social amenities and other things for residents. So we used part of that to decongest. Hence it comes as a great cost to us..." (Field Survey 2010).

The interview highlights how other development projects agenda are being sacrificed just to make the relocation exercise a success. It confirms how the issue of hawkers is central to the development agenda of the AMA. Further, the sale of items and continued presence of the hawkers in the glare of the *abaayei* emphasizes the duality of structure (Giddens 1984; Rose 1998). This is in reference to the fact that inefficiency and laxity of the AMA and *abaayei* at enforcing the law has created the avenue or platform for the hawkers to operate. The AMA and its task force thus lags when it comes to authoritatively constraining the hawkers (see Hagerstrand 1970). Besides, the hawkers being active human agents also adopt strategies to outwit the authorities to be able to sell. Both the human and social capital endowments of the hawkers play out to elude the authorities. For instance hawkers selling on the pavements become more mobile than stationary moving from one end to the other selling their items holding them in their hands so as to run when the *abaayei* are pursuing them. Apart from selling the items whilst holding them in their hands, the hawkers constantly look out for each other so as to raise an alarm whenever the *abaayei* emerge to be able to run and dodge them and hence exhibiting some form of collaboration amongst them.

Managing the waste and filth also come as cost to the AMA. This is in regard to the fact that the cleaners and waste management companies charge exorbitant prices to clear the filth and waste. The hawkers also accuse the authorities and the *abaayei* of corruption and extorting monies from them. For example a hawker interviewed in the market said: *"...even with the sheds in the market, when we went to the AMA to collect the permits for the sheds, we those selling on the streets did not even get the permits for the sheds. Those who had big money paid bribes to the authorities to acquire the sheds. That is those with big shops. ... So I did not get a shed, this one I currently occupy is for my brother's wife. That is why many of our colleagues are still on the streets. Those who own big shops with money came and bribed and acquired the sheds; and even with that they are not occupying them. So most of us here do not really own them"* (Female hawker, age 35yrs; Field Survey 2010).

The female hawkers alleged during the interview and in the media that the *abaayei* sexually abuse and sometimes ask for sexual favours from them. This often happens especially at times when they are trying to retrieve their seized items or when negotiating for a place on the pavement or market. The issue of both physical and sexual abuse have also been noted amongst female vendors in Johannesburg. For example, Pick *et al.* (2002) report that besides verbal abuse, significant proportion of female vendors in Johannesburg have complained about sexual harassment and indeed being offered money for sex or touched in a way that had made them uncomfortable. A female hawker interviewed at the Odawna market for instance had this to say: *"I was chatting with my colleagues when the abaayei people came and seized my items. As a result I went to AMA several times for about a week, day and night trying to retrieve my items. I spent all the money on me in trying to retrieve my goods. Fortunately, I met this man at the AMA who said he would help me but he was interested in me and wanted to marry me in addition to his wife since my husband was late. So I agreed to the proposal and he got some money to bribe some officials to be able to get my items. If I hadn't agreed to his proposal, I wouldn't have gotten my items back. So I had to deceive him by agreeing that I will marry him. So after I got goods back, I wasn't even picking up his phone calls again..."* (Female hawker, age 35yrs; Field Survey 2010).

This interview shows how some of the hawkers adopt strategies and have to endure sexual overtures from people in their bid to eke out a living. A member of the AMA task force (*abaayei*) interviewed however claims the accusations are false. He is of the view that the hawkers as result of the force being put on them to move make those claims to discredit them so as to derail their efforts as well as win public sympathy. The AMA official even though similarly dismissed the claims of the hawkers, did not discount the possibility of the claims of the hawkers being true. The hawkers have now adopted strategies to outwit the *abaayei*. Those who sell on the pavements do not display the items on the ground anymore but hold them in the hand to be able to run away whenever the *abaayei* are coming.

During the process of the research, I observed one of the raids around the 37 military hospital roundabout areas whilst in traffic. The hawkers were seen running in all directions whilst shouting to their colleagues to run when the *abaayei* emerged with their patrol vehicle. After the task force left the scene they returned to continue with their selling. Many fell down with their goods whilst the goods/items of others were seized. Some, in fact sustained injuries

such as bruises and sprains in their attempt to run away. Those selling on the street constantly look out for each other so as to run away when they see the task force (*abaayei*).

Thus, the occasional raids and presence of the task force do not deter the hawkers from plying their trade. The issue of keeping the hawkers off the streets and pavements is indeed a very problematic issue noted during the research that the AMA was grappling with. In the light of both physical and social constraints, the hawkers as noted in the foregoing are not passive but active actors (Gregory 1981; Thompson 1978). The streets and pavements have become places of limitations for them regarding the plying of their trade as result of the *abaayei* and police. Thus the hawkers are endowed with physical capital as in being athletic and able to run away with their items. They are also endowed with social capital as they constantly lookout for each other so as to evade the task force when they are coming as noted earlier. Hence, the hawkers have become innovative in the face of the limiting effects of the social and legal structures prevailing.

6.8 Challenges facing Hawkers

The hawkers also enumerated a plethora of problems and challenges facing them as a result of the relocation exercise. For those in the market for example, they were not particularly happy with the high gated-wall that had been constructed around the market to prevent moving vehicles from accidentally running into the market. The wall is also to prevent encroachment by drivers and the lorry stations around the market. They complained about the fact that the wall had covered them and thus obstructed the view of pedestrians and passers-by who were potential buyers. They were of the contention that people were not aware there was a market for hawkers behind the walls. Similarly, they indicated that the road coming into the market was very narrow. This situation made people unable to move freely as human bodies rub and impede movement. As a result, it created a good environment for pick-pockets to operate very well in market which further deters potential buyers from the market.

The hawkers also registered their pleasure about the fact that nothing was being done in the form of advertisement to create the awareness that there was market of that sort. The big billboard showing the pedestrian market had the advertisement of the “Mobile Telephone Network” (MTN) boldly advertised on it with the name of the market written in very small fonts at the top of the billboard (see Fig. 4). The hawkers lamented that constant appeals to the authorities to make the walls short with metal bars to allow for clear visibility as well as

adequate advertisement for them has fallen on deaf ears. They further mourned about the fact that in spite of their appeals, they pay high daily tolls to the authorities.

Fig 6.4: Billboard showing Odawna pedestrian market (*Nkrumah Circle, Accra*)



Source: Field Survey (2010)

They also opined that there were no drains and garbage bins in the market. The hawkers noted that the gutter constructed along the wall was not only choked with garbage but had been blocked due to weeds growing in it thereby impeding the free flow of water (see Fig 6.5). The “Zoomlion” waste management company which is in charge of clearing garbage in the market had at the time of the research stopped doing so due to the inability of the city authorities to pay them monies owed the company. This situation often results in flooding in the market whenever it rains. The accumulated garbage also emits some stench in the market. At the time of the research, patches of flooded water were seen everywhere in the market (see Fig 6.6) and in fact the stench that emerged from the garbage that had accumulated in the market was very strong.

Fig 6.5: Gutter choked with weeds & grasses in Odawna Pedestrian market, Accra



Fig 6.6 Patches of flooded water in Odawna Pedestrian market, Accra



Source: Field Survey (2010)

There is no electricity in the market. The hawkers have to close their shops when it is getting dark in the evening. However this is actually the time that potential buyers might have closed from work and in fact coming to purchase some items for the house. Hence there is no lighting system in the market. The issue of constant burglary was also a major challenge. Thieves constantly harass hawkers and buyers alike. A male hawker interviewed in the market revealed that he had lost up to about 3 mobile phones to thieves. Criminals constantly confiscate peoples' mobile phones and break into locked sheds to steal items. A hawker interviewed in the market had this to say about criminals in the market: "*there are too many thieves here. They steal from us. People don't want to come here because of the thieves. This is because when they come the thieves steal from them. They pick their phones or snatch their bags*" (Male hawker, 27yrs; Field Survey 2010).

The interview shows the appalling security situation at the market as a result of the presence of criminals. This does not only create some state of insecurity for the hawkers themselves but serves as a discouraging factor demoralizing people from coming into the market to buy. This is against the background that no rational potential buyer will like to risk losing his/her mobile phone or wallet. Hence, whilst the hawkers see the situation as stifling their efforts at making a livelihood, potential buyers and the public see the market as a place of danger for them. This goes in a long way to worsen the low patronage the market was experiencing.

From the discussion, the concerns raised highlight the physical capital or structural constraints in the market that hampers the activities of the hawkers. However, the market structures create a good environment for the pickpockets and other criminals to operate whilst serving as a place of insecurity for buyers. This is because there is low protection for the buyers regarding the potential stealing of their personal belongings in the market. Apart from the institutions or social structures as in the case of the AMA and Market Association not doing enough to address their problems, the physical structures in the market also impede the free movement of not only the hawkers but buyers who come to the Market. Thus, in the midst of these limitations, criminals and pickpockets as noted conceive of the market as a place full of opportunities. This is because the structures prevailing enable them to carry out their nefarious activities unnoticed. The market structures in fact help them to operate and steal people's items.

Another major challenge that was identified was the fact that many of their colleague hawkers did not want to relocate to the market. Some of them have refused to comply with the directive of the authorities to move from the streets and pavements. The situation is even bad as many of those who have acquired sheds in the market have adopted a livelihood strategy by which they have abandoned their sheds and left the market to sell on the streets. This according to them was occasioned by the fact that their colleagues had refused to come into the market and also due partly to the issue of people not coming into the market to buy and hence their resort to returning to the streets and pavements as a livelihood strategy.

A very important challenge that was also enumerated but was not captured in a similar study of street vendors in Accra by Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) was the issue of politicization of the relocation exercise. A market executive interviewed noted that problems encountered in the market was partly due to the politicization of the whole relocation exercise. He was of the contention that government was not committed to addressing the problems due to the issue of canvassing of political votes from the hawkers which had generated much public and political debate in the media. *" They have also politicized the market-(both NPP and NDC)¹⁷; this government accuses the other of building the market, so the government is not making efforts to develop the market and improve on the conditions here. There should be no politicization of the market, it is a state property"* (Market Assoc. Executive, Field Survey 2010).

17 The NPP and NDC are the 2 main political parties in Ghana. The NDC is the current ruling government having taken over from the NPP government which initiated the relocation exercise during the 2008 general elections.

This showed that there was lack of commitment on the part of politicians at helping address the hawking situation in the city and the country at large. Political actors, who are often the persons in authority and hence have the power, use the hawking situation to score political points. It is in this light that the relocation has particularly generated heated debate on radio and other social spaces. Thus the lukewarm approach to the concerns of the hawkers by the political structures that be, in fact enhances the limitations that the market as a physical structure presents.

The hawkers interviewed on the streets and pavements also talked about constant harassment from *abaayei* making their work difficult. Besides selling under the scorching sun and the trauma of having to always be alert to see the *abaayei* when they are coming, the hawkers maintained that they sometimes do not even get their items back when they are seized by the authorities. They either cannot find them at the AMA offices or simply cannot afford the fines they are always asked to pay to get their items back. The actions of the AMA and *abaayei* affect the livelihood outcomes of the hawkers. This is in light of the fact that the raids and seizure of their items often come as a *shock* to them (see livelihoods framework). This renders them *vulnerable* as those who are not able to cope sometimes fall out of business. For some, they do often venture to other businesses or adopt counter livelihood strategies with alerts (social capital) or becoming more mobile than stationary (human capital) to elude authorities so as to survive.

The hawkers also complained about physical and sexual abuse from the Police and *abaayei*. Even though the *abaayei* and city authorities have vehemently denied the allegations of sexual abuse, the female hawkers did not in fact mince words when they revealed that they constantly experience sexual overtures from some of the *abaayei* and city authorities. A hawker at the market narrating her ordeal of physical abuse had this to say:

"Some police came to sack us from the pavements. A policeman kicked a stool that I was sitting on to sell and it hit against my knee. The knee got swollen with blood clot. That time I went home and cried. That was just the same time I lost my husband and I was just trying to pull myself together and start a living for myself and my children. Since then, I have told myself that even when they say we should go and sell by the road, I will not go. When the other police came, they were peacefully asking us to go back when this policeman came with the intention of injuring us. So that one has even touched my heart such that when I see anyone saying that he/she wants to go back to the streets, I often take up the initiative to advice the person to stay

and that the good Lord will provide food for us to eat" (Female hawker, age 38yrs; Field Survey 2010).

From the interview it is seen that many of the hawkers partly, as a result of the ordeals they go through are often willing to relocate to the market but are unable to do so because they do not have any shed to go and occupy. Efforts to acquire or pay for the sheds are often saddled with frustrations and disappointments. This is against the background that, whilst some of the hawkers do not get their names through at all even though they pay for the registration forms, others sometimes have to pay bribes to get their names through to be allocated a shed. Indeed some of them, especially the females amongst them sometimes endure sexual overtures from some of the corrupt officials in charge of the allocation which further emphasizes the vulnerability of the hawkers.

In relation to the issue of abuse, the hawkers were of the opinion that shop owners also verbally and physically abuse them. They stressed their disgust and frustration at the way pedestrians and drivers shout and insult them when they try to sell their items. Shop owners also sack them to go to the market and stop selling in front of their shops. This is in light of the fact that the formal shop owners have their shops registered and thus pay tax to the government meanwhile these hawkers on the streets and pavements with exception of those in the market do not. The issue of verbal abuse particularly from shop owners have also been amply observed by Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) in their work on street vendors in Accra and similarly observed in Quito, Seoul and Dhaka (see Swanson 2007; Bhowmik 2005; Pick *et al.* 2002). Even though the hawkers agreed that they sometimes bother shop owners by selling to buyers who would have otherwise entered the shop, they do often insult back out of anger. For them the drive to survive no matter the situation in the city and the hope that God will turn their fate around is what keeps them going. So, as much as they think the formal shop-owners and public alike abuse them, they also do acknowledge that they also do serve as a nuisance with the way they operate.

It is evident from the research that the relocation of the street hawkers has brought with it problems and challenges to hawkers. As revealed in the research, the challenges cut across from other actors to the hawkers who have actually agreed to move to the market as well as to those still selling on the pavements and streets. The politicization of the relocation exercise, lack of patronage of the Odawna pedestrian market among others has exacerbated the problems, making it difficult for the hawkers to sustain their livelihood. With an increase in urban poverty and

unemployment, there is the tendency for the situation to deteriorate. Indeed, in the face of the harassment the hawkers encounter in their interaction with the social structures and other actors, they also react. Due to competition for space to enjoy patronage of their items, other actors like the shop-owners often also act to stifle the efforts of the hawkers. Hence, the hawkers as noted often respond to the abuse meted out by the other actors by insulting back. They are often able to cope out of endurance and patience.

6.9 Challenges facing the Public

The general public have also complained about problems and challenges as a result of the relocation exercise. Besides expressing their inability to get items needed with relative ease from the streets, they cannot find hawkers they have established rapport with as a result of regularly purchasing from them. Consequently, they do not get the quality goods and discounts that they often enjoy from the hawkers they usually buy from hitherto the relocation exercise. They said that they cannot get petty items for the home when they close from work late and are unable to go to the market.

Even though drivers and pedestrians have particularly expressed joy with the way one can now move freely on the road and pavements with ease in the city, they complained about the fact that it is difficult to just go to the Odawna market to buy one small piece of item. Besides, members of the public interviewed contended that, the market was new to them and as such they were not used to going there to buy. To the public, items sold by those on the street were comparatively cheaper than those in the market. Indeed, it was observed that things in the market were comparatively cheaper on the streets than in the market. For example, a Brut deodorant spray that I bought in the market cost me GH¢5.50pesewas (US\$3.73) whilst the same item cost between GH¢4.50pesewas (US\$3.05) and GH¢5.00 (US\$3.39) depending on your bargaining power. The relatively higher prices in the market could be attributed to the fact that those in the market paid daily tolls whilst those on the street do not. As a result they would have to increase the prices of their items in order to break even.

Another reason cited by members of the public interviewed for not patronizing the market was the fact that the market was inundated with pick-pockets and criminals. The informants were of the view that one risked being picked or losing his/her phone should anyone go to the market. So for them, in spite of heeding to the plea from the AMA authorities to stop

buying from hawkers on the street, they would prefer to still buy from them. The economic structures prevailing do not make it attractive for the buyers to move to the market and patronize the goods. This is in reference to the fact that prices of items in the market were higher in comparative terms to that of items sold on the street.

In relation to the concerns above, the market itself was not readily accessible as the public interviewed sought to emphasize unlike the streets or pavements where you could easily purchase an item in the comfort of your car. The market as both an economic and physical structure is not only poorly designed and beset with challenges but is perceived as not being readily accessible. The high walls and gate of the market which makes the sheds and sellers invisible from the outside does not make it an attractive structure that has the potential of wooing buyers into it but rather looks like a place housing banished people. This is in itself a discouraging factor which deters people from patronizing the market. The lack of patronage in turn may have negative livelihood outcomes. For those who are unable to device livelihood strategies to adapt or cope they may become vulnerable with implications for survival.

The research thus shows that all the stakeholders have lauded the decongestion and relocation exercise which indeed saw other metropolitan assemblies replicating it across the country. However, it still remains a fact that the exercise has brought with it problems and challenges which has impacted on their livelihood of street hawking. The next section will look at the impact of the relocation the on hawking.

6.10 Socio-economic Impact of the Relocation on Street Hawkers

The relocation of the street hawkers to the newly constructed Odawna pedestrian market enumerated has had both negative and positive impacts on the livelihood of the hawkers. Indeed hawkers interviewed in both the Odawna market and those still selling on the streets and pavements were unequivocal about the fact the decongestion and relocation greatly affected the hawking activity which was their main source of livelihood. This section seeks to bring to light the livelihood impact of the decongestion and relocation exercise by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA).

6.10.1 Impact on Hawkers in the Odawna Market

In spite of the hawkers alluding to the fact that the relocation exercise did positively affect them, the 13 hawkers (*10 primary informants and 3 key informants*) interviewed at the Odawna market were unanimous regarding the negative effect of the relocation on their livelihood.

Both the hawkers and market association executives interviewed stressed that, economically the sale of their items had reduced. Unlike the many sales that they used to make when they were on the street, patronage of their items was low in the market. A female hawker interviewed in the market was of the view that: *“yes the relocation has affected me! It is not like selling by the roadside. People don't come in to buy. So sales have gone down. Like when people come inside, there wouldn't have been any problem. In the evenings like this I have to go with the items myself to sell on the street. So it has affected my business greatly. Because the amount of money we make from sales in a day on the streets, we don't get that again. Things you want to buy for children, you can't and also many expenses you can't make them”* (Female hawker, age 44yrs; Field Survey 2010).

The interview shows the extent of the effect of the relocation exercise. It illustrates the frustration of the hawkers at their inability to make much money because of the low sales that they make in the market. They complained that people do not come into the market to buy their items. They conceded that profits had reduced in the light of the low sales that they now make in a day as result of their relocation to the market. Consequently, many who took loans to start their business indicated that repaying the loans was difficult because of the low sales and profits that they were making. Thus the relocation exercise has come as a *shock* to them and their business. In this regard therefore, their livelihood is under threat here as a result of their inability to cope.

Socially, the hawkers noted that because of the low profits that they make, taking care of their families and children was difficult. Some cannot even marry or travel to see their families because they do not have money. This according to them affects them psychologically as they cannot live up to their socially expected responsibilities of catering for their families. One of the market executives concedes that: *“I have lost money, I have been asked to move from my rented room because I don't make enough sales to cater for my basic needs. Socially, I can't even go to my hometown to greet them and also the girl I want to marry has refused to marry me because I can't give her money and perform the marriage rites. So it has affected me psychologically. I*

can't go to Mampong (hometown), because as a man, they will expect something (money) from me. But I don't have money, because I don't make enough money here. So the AMA should force the public to come here and buy things" (Market Association Executive; Field Survey 2010).

The interview reveals the hawkers' sentiments at the way sales and profits have reduced due to the relocation which has in turn affected their ability to survive. The impact it is noted even though cuts across the gender divide and among all the hawkers, it is felt more in the market. This is in light of the fact that they sell comparatively heavy and costly items which do not sell faster unlike on the street where the sales move faster due to the lighter and less costly nature of the goods. For example goods like sachet water, canned drinks, newspapers, sweets and chewing gum often sold on the street but with low prices will comparatively sell faster than heavy big travelling bags, shoes, wax prints and cartons of caked soap often sold in the market which have higher price tags. Hence the hawkers have constantly implored upon the AMA authorities to bring back those who have returned to the street and also pressurize the public to patronize the market.

Also, some of the hawkers lamented the physical injuries they have sustained as a result of physical abuse from the *abaayei* and Police during the relocation exercise. A female hawker brought to light the fact that she still feels pains in her leg after a police kicked her in the knee during the relocation exercise. When asked whether the relocation has affected her in any other way apart from her business, she said: *"Yes my leg!! Sometimes I feel some sharp pains in my knee and so I have to apply very strong Robb (Chinese strong liniment) to ease the sharp pain"* (Female Hawker, age 35yrs; Field Survey 2010).

The interview extract depicts that besides the impact on their livelihood and physical injuries sustained, psycho-social effects also accompanied the relocation exercise. Indeed considering the physical exertion and energy that is involved in the hawking activity, the physical injuries sustained from the actions of *social institutions or structures* like the *abaayei* and police have rendered most of them incapacitated. This has had negative *livelihood outcomes* for the hawkers as result of their inability to cope or strategize. Male hawkers for instance have lost their masculinity as a result of their inability to get married or fulfil their financial obligations to their families and as such often relegated to the background or often ignored during family gatherings. Thus, the impact of the relocation is all encompassing.

In spite of the negative effects of the relocation enumerated, others were of the contention that it positively impacted on them. Some of the hawkers argued that because of their relocation to the market, their health had greatly improved. They pointed out that they now sit under a shade provided by the shed erected. They indicated that they do not have to endure the heat of the scorching sun all day as they previously did when they were selling on the street. In fact, their health had normalized and that they do not get tired anymore as they sit at one place and do not have to run or move from one place to the other unlike on the street. For them, money that would have been channelled into buying drugs and painkillers or going to the hospital to seek treatment would now be used for other financial commitments. The relocation provided positive livelihood outcomes for them health wise. Indeed, the market had become a *place* of convenience for them in comparison to the conditions hitherto experienced on the streets and pavements.

Even though of some of the hawkers acknowledged that they do not sell much in comparison to selling on the streets and pavements, they are of the conviction that with time God will intervene. The hawkers hence base their hope on the divine intervention of God to let sales increase by bringing people to the market. It is thus very common to see hawkers normally having morning devotion in the form of prayers in front of their sheds for God's intervention in the morning before they commence business for the day to bring them many sales. This religious dimension to the problem is perhaps borne out of the belief that it is God who blesses humans and as such by acknowledging and seeking his face in the form of prayers your business will flourish.

The AMA official interviewed held a different view in contrast to the sentiments of the hawkers. He posited that the market was doing well and the hawkers were indeed happy. He argued that the market had even doubled because the hawkers get people to buy their items. For him, this was a clear indication that there was a high demand for what they were selling in the first place, so they are better off. He noted that the AMA had even acquired umbrellas to provide shade for the newly relocated foodstuffs sellers who had just moved to the market from the Novotel lorry station in the Accra CBD. He said that *"those who didn't get the sheds, that is the new extension, we gave umbrellas. So when you go there, all of them; those who are in the open space have umbrellas which we provided them. Some also got theirs on their own any way..."* (Field Survey 2010).

A follow up visit to the market extension where the newly arrived hawkers from the Novotel lorry station were located revealed umbrellas dotted all over. A chat with some of the hawkers however revealed that the umbrellas were provided by the 'Tigo' mobile telephony network company. Indeed most of the umbrellas observed had the blue colour of the 'Tigo' mobile telephony network company with "Tigo" inscribed on them. In spite of the contradictions as shown in the interviews, the sale of foodstuffs had the potential to whip up demand for items in the market. This is against the backdrop that potential buyers passing through the market to the extension to purchase foodstuffs and vegetables will eventually see that there is a market there. The hawkers expressed hope that the arrival of the foodstuffs and vegetables sellers will invariably increase the demand for their items. Thus the institutional policy or resolve to move the Novotel lorry station vegetable sellers has indeed the potential of reviving the dull economic activity in the market.

From the research, it is observed that the socio-economic impact of the relocation on the hawkers cannot be underestimated. The impact on their livelihood most especially affected survival in the face of increasing poverty levels and unemployment which in a way has led to their engagement in hawking in the first place. Besides the inability of some of the hawkers to acquire a shed in the market, their continued presence on the street it is observed was due to the fact that they will make less profits due to lack of patronage in the market. Thus the hawkers are willing to relocate if they are assured of ready market for their items. The quest for market in terms of demand is therefore crucial as to whether the hawkers will move or not and also due to whether one possesses the physical capital and endurance to do business on the street.

6.10.2 Impact of the relocation across the gender and age divide and types of goods sold

The varying impact of the relocation exercise across the gender and age divide cannot be discounted. As much as the impact of the exercise was across board, it was shown during the research that the impact was felt more by the females than males. Whilst the socio-cultural structures prevailing disadvantaged females, their bio-physical make up does not facilitate their ability to be able to endure the hawking activity which is stressful and exhausting in nature. The males unlike the females are physically strong, resilient and able to run and psychologically strong to be able to withstand the challenges of the relocation exercise. Further, females are vulnerable to both physical and sexual abuse. For example, in the interview extracts in sections

6.7 and 6.10.1, many of the females interviewed recount the ordeals and abuse of all sorts that they have been through. Aside the foregoing, many of them lamented about the fact that they do not get money to take care of their children and other basic necessities in the home because of the relocation exercise. Thus the female hawkers often fall short in physical and human capital and as such are unable to devise livelihood strategies taking into account the agency that humans possess as an asset. The unfavourable livelihood outcomes that they experience as a result of the shock from the relocation makes them vulnerable. Hence for the females, just like other hawkers, they see the relocation exercise as a constraint that threatens their livelihood and indeed their survival.

On the part of the males, irrespective of the physical and human capital that they possess which makes them capable of coping with the shocks, they sometimes diversify through their agency by venturing for example into occupations or the sale of items designated as the preserve of females (see Agadjanian 2002; Overå 2007). Because of the dexterity with which the male hawkers cope with the shock of the relocation exercise, their vulnerability is always minimal. Nevertheless, many of the male hawkers did not mince words regarding the negative impact on them. Some have alluded to the fact that they go through psychological trauma because they cannot afford to pay their rent, they do not have money to get married and as such considered misfits in the society and indeed unable to take care of their families (see interview extract on page 124).

It was also observed during the research that those who were very young below the age of 25 years who were very new in the hawking business were very vulnerable and experienced the effect of the relocation more than the elderly ones of age 25 years and above. This was in reference to the fact that the elderly sellers who might have been engaged as hawkers would have accumulated much money and experience to be able to cope with the shock than the young hawkers. This because the young hawkers do not often earn much as result of the light and less profit making items they sell as well as the few years of hawking activity. They thus lack the financial capital to be able to sustain their business even though they may be endowed with physical capital in terms of the energy and strength and social capital that might be at their disposal. Their ability to cope is dependent on how they diversify in the sale of different goods in line with the trends and also to accumulate money from their sales to diversify or venture into other businesses.

It is seen that the impact of the relocation also cuts across the age and sex divide as well as the goods sold. Their ability to cope and vulnerability however depends on the livelihood outcomes which in themselves are influenced by the capital assets that the hawkers possess and their ability to exploit the agency they are endowed with as humans to their advantage.

6.11 Measures/Efforts at tackling challenges of the relocation exercise

The challenges enumerated have not only stalled the successful removal of hawkers from the streets but have affected peoples' source of livelihood. This is against the fact that many poor urban dwellers in Accra derive their livelihood from the informal sector of which street hawking is their main source of income. In the light of these challenges, so many measures have been suggested at tackling them. This section highlights the efforts and measures that have been taken by the AMA at tackling the challenges enumerated as well as suggestions from the other stakeholders (hawkers-both in the market/streets and the public).

6.11.1 Measures/Efforts being undertaken by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA)

The AMA as the main authority in charge of the administration of the Accra metropolitan area was solely responsible for the relocation exercise. Consequently, some measures and efforts have been enumerated by the AMA at dealing with the problems and challenges being experienced. Some of these are highlighted below.

As part of the measures directed at preventing the hawkers from going back to sell on the street, is the positioning of *abaayei* and police personnel at strategic points across the city especially in the CBD area where the intensity of the hawking activity is high. The presence of the task force and police is to deter the hawkers from coming back to the streets. In spite of the presence of the *abaayei*, the hawkers have adopted a strategy of handling the goods or items in their hands and walking from one place to the other to sell just to elude them. This is especially evident on the pavements around Tudu (Kinbu area; see map) of the Accra CBD. In this regard, the AMA have resorted to increasing the numbers of *abaayei* on the streets in order to effectively enforce the law stipulating the fact that hawkers are not allowed to sell on the streets and pavements of the city. These strategies can be seen as an institutional measure aimed at empowering social institutions or structures like the task force to be able to enforce the authoritative power they are endowed with (see Hagerstrand 1970).

The AMA official interviewed noted that because of clashes that often erupt during the process of evicting hawkers from the streets and their locations; they have adopted other means to deal with the situation. This the AMA does by employing diplomatic means and deception to take control of designated areas. The official particularly cited the case of hawkers at the Novotel lorry park, which is around the Kinbu area, where they resisted the call to vacate the area and relocate to the Odawna pedestrian market. He indicated that, the AMA and its task force therefore went to the location at mid-night when there was nobody at the place and took control of the area. He narrated that: "...the hawkers were prepared for whatever force that the AMA was bringing. They were prepared! But somehow we thank God; at the time we went there in the mid-night they were all asleep. A lot of them left there. We only met a handful of the people there. So it was much-much easier relocating them. We just got there and asked the few who were there to come out. Not even a single one could stand up against the AMA..." (Field Survey 2010). As a result of this strategy, clashes with the hawkers that could have marred the relocation exercise had been averted.

Another effort that is being undertaken by the AMA to help solve the street hawking problem is awareness creation. The official was of the contention that, the AMA was aiming at educating the hawkers, public and squatters to see the dangers of the hawking activity and its problems and hence the need to relocate. The *abaayei* interviewed particularly appealed to the public to stop buying from the hawkers. To him, if the public stopped buying from the hawkers on the streets, it would discourage them from selling on the street. There was thus the call for all the stakeholders to try and heed to the pleas of the AMA and help make the relocation exercise a success.

The strategies adopted by the AMA reflect the *recursiveness* of social structure and social action as highlighted in Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. As observed, the resolve by the hawkers to violently resist the attempts to relocate them has necessitated the approach taken by the AMA. Thus, as much as social institutions or structures influence social action, social action in turn influences the policies and in fact actions of the structures that be as exemplified by the hawkers and AMA circumstance.

Further, it was observed by the AMA that rural-urban migration was partly accounting for the hawking situation. This is against the fact that most unemployed youth who migrate to the city in search of better jobs often do not find the jobs that they envisaged before they moved. Thus they find themselves engaging in hawking to make a living. In the light of this therefore, the AMA Official and *abaayei* interviewed suggested that efforts should be made by the government to provide skills training in the various districts across the country to provide people with employable skills to stem or reduce in-migration to the capital. The official particularly emphasized the fact that the *Kayayei* (head porters) mostly from the north of the country are not the ones involved in the hawking as people perceive, but they come from across the country. Hence there was the need to direct efforts at equipping the youth with the necessary skills to acquire jobs. In relation to the issue of rural-urban migration and hence hawking in the city, it was also suggested that measures should be put in place to provide social amenities and other social services in rural areas. This was to make available the things that people need in rural areas in order to prevent people from coming to the city to access or enjoy those kinds of facilities. It was noted that if these necessities are present in the communities, people will not see the need to travel to the city and eventually end up as hawkers as a result of economic hardship.

From the foregoing, it is observed that the AMA takes cognizance of the sensitive nature of the relocation exercise. Indeed, it reckons the fact that people are always prepared to resist eviction. However because of the confusion and media publicity as well as criticism often surrounding the relocation exercise, they have often resolved to resort to other unconventional strategies just to forestall clashes with the hawkers. The authorities are constantly weighing other options to help find lasting solutions to the problem. It is against this backdrop that the AMA recently proposed the prosecution of people who buy from street hawkers. Indeed according to the Mayor of Accra, a new bye-law prohibiting people from buying on the streets have been sent to the Attorney-General's office and waiting for endorsement. This bye-law will allow the AMA to prosecute offenders and in effect discourage people from selling on the street. Hence the AMA as an institution has taken cognizance of the actions often taken by the hawkers as active human agents. These actions informed some of the measures being taken or considered to help address the challenges.

Other measures also mentioned included re-allocating abandoned sheds to people who were in need as well as ensuring that people do not take more than one shed to the disadvantage of others. Even though the re-allocation of abandoned sheds involves some legal issues, the official stressed that the AMA was going to exhaust all protocols just to ensure that people use the market. He also advised against the politicization of issues surrounding the relocation exercise as it often frustrates the efforts of the AMA at solving the hawking problem in the city. Thus getting the hawkers to move to the market and in fact encouraging people not to also buy from them is very challenging. The AMA recognizes this, but is very committed to achieving the goals of the relocation exercise; that is clearing the city of Accra off street hawkers but with a human face.

6.11.2 Suggested Solutions/Measures at tackling the challenges of the relocation exercise from the Hawkers

In cognizance of the challenges and problems that confront them as a result of the relocation, the hawkers have also mentioned some solutions or measures that could help address their circumstance. The hawkers in the market and on the street have both offered suggestions as to how to help tackle the challenges that face them to help improve on their livelihood. The following section explores the views of the hawkers.

6.11.2.1 Hawkers in the market

The views of the hawkers in the Odawna market regarding measures at mitigating the challenges facing them indeed did not deviate much from that of the AMA. In consonance with the AMA they raised concerns about the politicization of the relocation exercise and in fact the market. They are of the view that the NDC and NPP political parties are always accusing each other of being responsible for the problems of the market and hence nothing pragmatic being done in a way of addressing their problems. The hawkers thus suggested that there should be political commitment at solving the problems of hawking and the relocation instead of using it to win political points. They advised the powers that be to eschew the politicking and tackle the problems facing the market.

Similarly, the hawkers were unanimous in the call for the authorities to reduce the height of the fence wall and also an advertisement of the market. To them the fence wall blocked the view of the public thereby making it difficult for them to see that there was a market inside. Further, it was suggested that AMA should do something in the form of creating the awareness of a hawkers market in the city. The hawkers indicated that the big billboard mounted to show the market should have the name of the market boldly written instead of the MTN mobile telephony network advert which was being displayed on the board (see Fig 6.4).

Also, it was recommended by the hawkers interviewed in the market that, sheds that were abandoned should be re-allocated. Hawkers still selling on the street should be frightened to come back with threats of forfeiting sheds or court action for those who have abandoned the market. If they refuse to do so, sheds should be given out to others who are interested in selling in the market. In relation to this, they requested that the AMA institute some measures to punish people who buy from those selling on the streets. If people are forced to come to the market to buy instead of the street by instituting spot fines and prosecution for offenders it will discourage their counterparts from selling on the streets.

The hawkers at the Odawna market were further of the contention that the AMA should reduce the amount paid as daily tolls. This was against the backdrop that sales in the market were low and hence they did not make much profit. This they hoped will further reduce the financial burden on them because of the low sales. They opined that as much as they pay these daily tolls, efforts should be made to regularly clear the garbage that had accumulated in the market. The drains in the market should be de-silted and a big waste container provided to collect the garbage. This will reduce the stench in the market as a result of the garbage which in itself discourages people from coming into the market to purchase their goods.

Lastly, with regards to the issue of criminals and thieves in the market, they stressed the need for adequate security in the market. In fact almost all the hawkers interviewed indicated that since the AMA authorities takes daily tolls from them; it was their responsibility to provide security in the market to ward off the thieves in the market. They recommended that the authorities hire the services of private security companies to be in charge of security in the market. The hawkers observed that if people were assured that they will not lose their phones or belongings when they come into the market, it will further boost the chances of people patronizing the market.

It is observed that the suggestions of the hawkers interviewed are geared towards measures at tackling challenges that confront them in the market. That is, efforts should be made to tackle the constraints that they face in the market as a physical and economic structure. They believed that it was because of these challenges among other things that did not make the market an attractive place to do business considering the low sales that they make. It is these push factors that encourage people to abandon their sheds and return to sell in the streets. The hawkers argue that there is more the authorities can do to improve the market. In this light the call was unanimous for their counterparts to come back into the market and appealed to the public to stop buying from the streets and come into the market.

6.11.2.2 Hawkers on the street

The hawkers on the street did not also mince words about the challenges that face them in selling their goods or items in the light of the relocation exercise. They have actually expressed their desire to move into the market. Considering the challenges however, they also suggested the following measures at tackling them.

The hawkers on the street were unequivocal about the fact that their presence in the streets was due to poverty. For them the economic hardship had made life unbearable for them and as such had to make a living by selling on the street. They thus called on the government to try and reduce the poverty situation in the country. They suggested that the government could assist them with loans to enter into other profit making ventures or acquire employable skills to be able to make a living for themselves.

They also called on the government to assist them to acquire the sheds in the market since they were more than willing to relocate. They expressed their discomfort at the way the *abaayei* constantly harass them. The hawkers are of the opinion that, for those who could not afford the prices of the sheds, they should be allowed to hold the things in their hands and sell whilst walking around and not sit at one spot on the pavements to allow for free movement of pedestrians. This they believe will also help them in their quest to survive instead of the authorities sacking them from the streets with nowhere to go.

From the study, the hawkers on the street are willing to relocate but cannot afford the fees charged to acquire a shed. This is because they lack the financial capital to be able to do so. Indeed they have expressed their dislike for the constant harassment from the *abaayei*. It is partly in the light of their inability to get a shed that is why they find themselves on the street. Hence the alternative is to assist these people get the sheds at low or no costs or better still equip them with skills to acquire income making jobs just to keep them off the streets. All these suggestions also reflect some of the measures that were enumerated by the AMA official and their counterparts in market at addressing the challenges associated with the relocation exercise.

6.11.2.3 Opinion of the public at tackling the challenges of the relocation street hawkers

The members of the public have also expressed their concern about the challenges emanating from the relocation of the street hawkers. In cognizance of this, they also cited with the some of the suggestions of both the AMA and hawkers as to how to tackle the challenges brought by the relocation.

In spite of the fact that people living in Accra also do engage in hawking, the issue of mitigating rural-urban migration particularly was topical amongst the public interviewed. Indeed by growing up and living in the urban crowded and chaotic environment, it provided advantages for an individual who is a hawker as he or she will be familiar with the urban environment than the newly arrived rural dweller. This is in reference to the fact that the urban dweller turned hawker will be used to the complex and chaotic environment of the city than to the newly arrived hawker who is used to the silent, less crowded and stressful rural life and as such unfamiliar with the city.

The public were of the opinion that the government should provide jobs and skills training in the city to reduce the high rates of unemployment and indeed also at the rural areas to stem the outmigration of the youth to the cities. For some of the public interviewed, they argued that since agricultural production was the main stay of most of the people in the rural areas, they suggested that the sector could be improved through the provision of agricultural inputs and extension services. Production according to them could be boosted further by providing ready market for agricultural produce at competitive prices. This they noted will encourage the youth not to only venture into agriculture but also stay in the rural areas and hence a reduction in people selling on the streets to make a living in the city.

Also, the public noted there was the need for the authorities to stop if they take daily tolls from the hawkers. Their argument was that when the authorities do so, the hawkers; most especially those on the streets or pavements may have the misconception that it is their right to sell there. Thus, they should be made to move irrespective of the resistance that they may put up. There was the need to exercise the authoritative power they had as an institution. Similarly, they were of the view that another measure that the AMA could take to address the street hawking menace was to arrest, seize and prosecute hawkers still selling on the street. They suggested that a moderate fee of GH¢20.00 (US\$13.50) should be served as a spot fine. When the culprits pay this amount on 2 or 3 occasions, they will be discouraged from selling on the street. They entreated the public to also desist from buying from hawkers selling on the streets and pavements. They urged the AMA to take the initiative to sensitize the public on the dangers of people selling on the streets and the fact that these people sometimes sell expired goods which could affect their health as well.

From the foregoing suggestions from the AMA, the hawkers and general public interviewed it is evident that there are problems and challenges associated with the relocation of the hawkers. In this wise the AMA has constantly in tandem with the suggestions from the hawkers themselves, the general public been devising measures to tackle these challenges. In spite of the fact that the AMA recognizes that the hawkers play an important role in the socio-economic welfare of the citizens in the city, it is determined to make the relocation exercise a success. The AMA was also aware that their actions could have implications for the livelihood outcomes of the hawkers as in people's businesses collapsing for those who cannot cope and as such for example may engage in illegal or criminal ventures. But for those who can adapt, they do enjoy economic and health benefits as noted earlier. The AMA however is committed to not undermining the livelihoods of the hawkers and as such exacerbating the poverty situation in the city. In this regard, the AMA in the face of the challenges is putting the necessary measures in place to deal with them to ensure the socio-economic development of Accra and Ghana as a whole.

Chapter Seven

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Summary

Many people in the effort to find alternative livelihoods in the face of unfavourable development policies over the years in developing countries (Petierse 2010) engage in the informal sector. This has resulted in the proliferation of informal economic activities in their quest to eke a living (Myers 2005; Ofori 2007). Teltscher (1994) alludes to the fact that small scale economic activities in the informal sector are central to the national economies of many developing countries.

In Ghana, the informal sector is an important component of the economic sector providing employment to many people and contributing to economic growth and development (see the Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation (2009). In fact whilst anecdotal information emphasizes the crucial role of the informal sector to economic growth in the country, Appiah-Kubi (2007) estimates that the informal sector contributes within the range of 20% - 40% to the economy of Ghana. Indeed the informal sector is an important source of employment to many people in developing countries and has seen many people mostly youth in urban areas being engaged in hawking as a livelihood (Bhowmik 2005; Austin 1994). It has been observed in Ghana that there has been an increment in labour force participation in the informal sector between 1987 and 1999 increasing from about 79% to 86% further emphasizing its centrality to the national economy (the Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation 2009).

With reference to the study, the theoretical perspective is based on the livelihoods framework which has been used in tandem with the structuration theory and the place concept to explain the dynamics of street hawking in Accra. The qualitative data for the research was collected through the use of in-depth interviews from the city of Accra; specifically the Odawna market, the streets and pavements in around the Accra CBD and the Kwame Nkrumah Circle (avenue) *trotro* (mini buses) station. Observations were done at strategic locations around the city where the hawking was intense to gain further insights into the dynamics of the activity.

In all, the primary data for the research was gathered from 28 informants. 23 of these informants were primary informants. The remaining 5 were mainly key informants of which the AMA official was part. Further, the qualitative research data gathered have also been supported with secondary data consisting of official statistical data from the Ghana Statistical Service, information from the AMA, internet sources and information from published literature in the subject area. In cognizance of the objectives of the study, the following findings and conclusions have been made.

7.1.2 Typology of Street Hawkers and Dynamics of Hawking Activity

7.1.2.1 Types of Street Hawkers in Accra

As part of the study, three types of hawking were identified namely: itinerant hawkers, semi-stationary hawkers and stationary (see also Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). Whilst the itinerant hawkers were those who were selling their goods on the street by moving between cars caught up in slow moving traffic, the semi-stationary hawkers were identified as those who were selling their goods whilst sitting on the pavements and overhead bridges. They are semi-stationary because they occasionally change their location to enjoy demand for their goods or avoid harassment from *abaayei* (AMA task force). The last category of hawkers is the stationary hawkers found mainly in the Odawna market. They are located permanently within the confines of the market.

7.1.2.2 Composition/Profiles and dynamics of Street Hawking

The youth were mostly engaged in the street hawking activity. Indeed most of the youth who were unmarried between the ages of 15-25 years and of both sexes were found on the streets whilst persons above the age of 25 years were found mostly on the pavements and Odawna market. The 20 hawkers from the streets, market and pavements had little or no education. Even though both male and females were engaged in the hawking activity, the males were seen to be more dominant especially on the streets. This was attributed to the fact that the males were strong and resilient in the hawking considering the fact that the activity itself was tedious and laborious. In fact the stressful nature of selling on the street was amply emphasized by the hawkers in the study. It was noted that besides the stress that they endure, they also suffer abuse of all forms

from fellow hawkers, pedestrians, public, drivers, *abaayei*, and shop-owners among others. They also suffer from the scorching sun, exhaust fumes from cars, thieves, as well as low sales and profit in the market. Hence even though the hawkers were endowed with human and physical capital, they were lagging qualitatively in terms of formal education and technical skills and thus their resort to the informal activity of hawking or selling on the street to eke out a living.

The hawkers revealed that in spite of all these challenges that they face, the urge to move on with the trade is based on the fact that God will one day turn their fortunes around for things to get better. In the Odawna market however, most of the hawkers interviewed were married. The reason for the striking difference in marital status between those on the streets and the hawkers in the market and pavements was due to the fact that they were much older and had been selling for quite a long time and as such had stable incomes as a result of the heavy goods that they mostly sold which generated higher incomes than the lighter items sold on the street. Thus, the hawkers in the market were matured enough and economically stable to marry unlike those who sold on the streets. It was pointed out that many of these hawkers were people from the rural areas of the country who had migrated to the city in pursuit of employment opportunities. The AMA official interviewed as well as observations carried out during the research revealed however that, contrary to popular belief that the hawking was done by *Kayayeis* (female head porters) mostly from northern Ghana, it was engaged by people from all over the country. Thus, most of the hawkers were persons from across the country but with majority from southern Ghana especially the *Akan* (especially *Akwapem* and *Ashantis*) who are stereotypically business oriented and hence their dominance normally in the sales sector in Ghana.

The study also revealed that there were so many actors involved in the hawking activity. These consisted of the hawkers themselves, shop-owners, the public (potential buyers), and the authorities including the *abaayei*. All these actors interact in one way or the other to facilitate or inhibit the hawking activity and hence some form of social network. Whilst the study showed that one did not necessarily need initial capital in the form of money or permission to engage in hawking, most of the hawkers indicated that they had links with shop-owners (wholesalers or retailers) who sometimes gave them goods on credit to sell indicating some form of social network that exist. They are normally expected to pay back after the sales.

The release of goods however is based on the mutual trust that has been built between the hawkers and the shop-owners over a long period of interaction and familiarity. Persons who were new in the business do often get some goods to sell. However, a known hawker will normally have to stand as surety to at least make for instances where there is non-repayment of the goods given out. Goods or items sold varied according to seasons or occasions. Goods sold during Christmas vary from what is sold on other occasions. During the period of the research, items sold ranged from national flags to football jerseys and football paraphernalia. This was as a result of the ongoing world cup football tournament in South Africa. In cognizance of this, the hawkers have some human agency as they become inventive by adapting to break even through livelihood strategies in the sale of items as the seasons and trends in the business change over time. It is observed further that the hawkers have some social networks that they establish amongst themselves and with other actors. As such, they exploit the social capital that ensues as a result of the social networks to facilitate their trade and in the acquisition and enjoyment of some privileges like discounted prices of goods.

It was observed during the study that the itinerant hawking activity was more physical in nature. It involved running and selling between cars in traffic normally at major road and traffic light intersections. Indeed the faulty traffic lights, many road intersections and slow moving vehicular traffic which are characteristic of Accra often serve to facilitate hawking on the street. Hence the physical structure (physiology and resilience of hawkers, traffic lights and nature of road) and environmental factors prevailing enhance the hawking activity. Most of the goods that were sold were lighter in weight and sold quickly but usually generated less profit in comparison with goods mostly sold in the Odawna market. In spite of the less profit the lighter items generate, selling many helps the hawkers to earn more money. The lighter items or goods however were mostly sold on the streets because they made movement and running easier for the hawkers in their quest to sell more and also evade *abaayei* (AMA task force) anytime they raid them. Further, in spite the social network and support from other hawkers it was revealed that there are often conflicts also amongst them as they compete to make the most sales and profits.

There is also some form of hierarchical transition in the hawking activity. The study highlights the transition from the sale of small less profit making items or goods to much profit making items. Most of the hawkers stressed that hawking for them was temporary. They were of the view that they were hawking to get money to start a more lucrative business or learn a

vocation. It was pointed out however during the study that the transition was dependent on long periods of selling, perseverance and accumulation of enough money to be able to move to a more lucrative economic venture. That is, the transition was dependent on the livelihood outcomes, vulnerability, resilience and human agency of the hawkers.

7.2 The 'Perceptions/Views' of Hawking Activity as seen by 'Others'

The AMA was unequivocal on their stand about hawking in the city. The AMA bye-law has outlawed hawking in the city. This has prompted unannounced raids and seizure of items to deter hawkers from selling on the streets. However this has proven futile because of problems and challenges such as evasion by the hawkers who adopt unconventional tactics to outwit the task force, bribery and corruption on the part of officials, continuous patronage by the public among others.

The public also expressed mixed feelings about hawking in the city. In fact whilst many called for stringent measures to deal with the street hawking situation, others however held different views. They contended that they benefited a lot from the hawkers. This was because they had ready access to goods they needed at home whilst in traffic at cheaper prices. This for them was time saving. Hence, the hawkers provided an alternative to those who could not afford basic necessities because of their cost in shops. In relation to the foregoing, pedestrians lamented during the research about the impulse buying that they do and the occasional conflicts that they have as a result of the harassment meted out to them by the hawkers. For passengers in traffic, they have to endure the trauma of not venturing to look outside through the window as a hawker may misinterpret that you want to buy something and thus rush to you and disturb you in his or her bid to get you to buy. Drivers of both *trotro* and private cars did not also mince words in expressing how difficult it was to drive on the road with hawkers all over. Thus, the call was also unanimous among members of the public for the removal of hawkers from the street.

The hawkers themselves (those in the market, street and pavements) acknowledged that selling on the street was illegal in the city. For those on the streets and pavements, their continued presence at their respective locations was due to the fact that they earned more money from selling on the street than to selling in the market whilst others contended that they could not afford the money being charged by the authorities in order to get a shed in the market. Others are of the contention that they could not even get the sheds even though they had the money to pay

for the sheds because shop-owners had gone to the AMA to acquire the sheds at their expense. The AMA official in contrast was of the opinion that the market was spacious enough to accommodate the teeming numbers of hawkers. Since they must make a living according to the hawkers, they had no option than to sell on the streets. In general therefore, there was discontent among people about hawking in the city of Accra.

In the light of the foregoing, the market had become a place of discomfort, disorganization of urban space, a meeting place, place of opportunities and a place of danger for the various actors. For example whilst the AMA saw the activity of hawking as an urban misnomer, some members of the public perceived it as an alternative place where the poor could acquire goods needed for sustenance. Similarly other members of the public perceive the street where the hawkers sell as a place of danger, harassment and abuse whilst the hawkers themselves see it as a meeting place, place of collaboration and conflict as well as a place inundated with danger and constraints which stifle their progress at making it in life.

7.3 Reasons for Relocating the Hawkers

Several reasons were enumerated as informing the relocation exercise. The relocation exercise was in response to the problems and challenges that came with hawking in the city. Besides the dangers the hawkers were exposed to by selling on the streets and pavements, their activities generated a lot of filth, heavy vehicular traffic, human congestion and accidents in the city. Considering the fact that hawkers and unauthorised structures had virtually taken over parts of the street system, there was therefore the need to remove the hawkers from the street to allow for free flow of vehicular traffic. The AMA indicated that they incurred a lot of cost in clearing the filth and de-silting the drains. Thus, monies that would have been channelled into other development projects were being used up in clearing the garbage.

The hawkers also do take cognizance of the problems and challenges that emerge due to their activities but were reluctant to move because they were of the conviction that buyers will not come to the market to purchase their goods. Their return to the streets to sell according to them was in response to the challenges and problems. In this light the return to the streets was out of human agency and as a livelihood strategy. This was in view of the fact that the hawkers besides recognizing that the street was a place of danger also saw it as a place full of opportunities to which they could exploit to make the most sales and profits. The continuous

raiding and constant insistence that they stay in the market has affected their businesses greatly and in fact their ability to take care of their families. In this regard, they viewed the market as a physical structure with constraints and a place with limited opportunities regarding their business.

7.4 Challenges of the Relocation of the Street Hawkers

These identified challenges still persist even though the AMA concedes it was making efforts to keep hawkers off the streets. Indeed a major challenge confronting the AMA in the face of the relocation exercise is preventing the hawkers from returning and selling on the streets and pavements. This is in reference to the fact that hawkers besides becoming innovative with strategies to outwit the authorities verbally abuse and indeed make allegations against the *abaayei* in their bid to remove them from the street. The AMA authorities face allegations of sexual abuse and corruption which sometimes demoralize their efforts at keeping hawkers away from the streets. Further, managing the waste and filth partly as result of the influx of so many people into Accra and the activities of hawkers who live mostly in squatter settlement in the city was becoming unbearable for the AMA. Thus the challenge of removing and preventing hawkers from returning to the streets and pavements was something that the AMA was grappling with.

The hawkers also experienced some challenges as a result of the relocation exercise. The hawkers were particularly critical of the height of the gated-wall which was constructed for security reasons, to prevent cars from accidentally running into the market and encroachment from the lorry and *trotro* (mini bus) stations around the area. To them this was a physical constraint to them which stifled their business and as such argued that the wall was so high that people could not see that there was a market behind the walls. They also complained that apart from the narrow road leading into the market which made movement difficult, the advertisement of a hawkers market was not enough to create the awareness needed to increase patronage.

The issue of no drains and garbage bins was also identified as a challenge facing them in the market. Similarly, there was no electricity and adequate security in the market. As a result, criminals had invaded the market stealing mobile phones and properties of hawkers and customers. Indeed, the market had become a place of danger for buyers and a place of discomfort for the sellers. The issue of the politicization of the market did not go unmentioned. The hawkers bemoaned the politicization of the market by politicians which made the tackling of issues

concerning the market difficult. Indeed, politicians it was noted used the challenges emanating from the market to score political points to get electoral votes.

The public also highlighted the challenges they faced as a result of the relocation exercise during the research. In view of the fact that they benefited from the cheap goods that they get from the hawkers, they expressed their frustration at their inability to get items they needed with ease and the fact that they could no longer locate hawkers they had established good rapport with to enjoy discount prices. They further complained that it was difficult to go to the market to buy one item and also the fact that the market was new to them.

Another challenge which was discouraging the public from patronizing the market was due to the fact that, the market was inundated with criminals and pick-pockets. Many vehicles travelling from other parts of the country to Accra have their terminals around the market. Hence the area is a meeting *place* for many people and hence the higher presence and operation of 'criminals' and thus the insecurity in the Odawna pedestrian market. Hence, for some members of the public as noted earlier, they view the market and the area around it as a place of danger. In reference to this, heeding to the plea of the AMA to stop buying from the hawkers was not in the offing as they would not risk losing their phones and belongings by going to the market. Thus they will prefer to buy from the itinerant hawkers mostly found on the streets from the comfort of their cars.

7.5 Socio-economic Impact of the Relocation Exercise

The relocation exercise has had significant impacts on the socio-economic wellbeing of hawkers. Even though the hawkers interviewed allude to fact that the relocation has been positive in some ways, they were very emphatic about the enormous effect the exercise has had on their businesses and livelihood.

Indeed the hawkers acknowledged that their health had improved as a result of the relocation exercise. They argued that they did not experience the scorching sun that they used to endure hitherto their relocation. Consequently, the body pains and severe headaches they used to experience had reduced considerably as they now sit under shade and do not have to be moving around with their goods. However, they were explicit about the low sales and subsequent reduced profits that they make as a result of their relocation to the market. In this light, it had become difficult for them to be able to perform some of their social responsibilities and hence

the subsequent abandoning of sheds in the market and the return to the streets. In light of these circumstances that they find themselves, it has affected them psychologically as they cannot live up to their socially expected roles. Against this background, hawkers in order to take advantage of the already low patronage diversify in the sale of many items whilst others specialize in the sale of certain goods to enjoy patronage.

The hawkers also complained of physical injuries that they sustained during the relocation exercise. This was as a result of physical abuse that they received from the Police and *abaayei* during the process of removing them from the street and pavements. Because of regular raids from *abaayei*, the hawkers have also adopted strategies to evade them. First of all hawkers in the market in their bid to break even often go out at certain times of the day especially in the evenings to sell their items. Those who do not have sheds in the market and still ply their trade on the streets and pavements hold their items in their hands moving from one place to the other to sell whilst looking out for each other to raise an alarm when the *abaayei* are coming.

With regards to contrast to the sentiments of the hawkers noted in the foregoing however, the AMA official interviewed during the research in contrast was of the conviction that the market was doing well and that the hawkers were satisfied. This according to him was due to the fact that people were patronizing the market and as such they were better off than when they were on the streets.

7.6 Alternative Businesses/Ventures and Locations

In cognizance of the challenges and impacts that the hawkers experienced there was the predisposition to venture into areas. Firstly, if some of the challenges enumerated were not addressed some could out of frustration indulge in nefarious activities such as engaging in sex trade, armed robbery, internet fraud and other social vices. They could resort to or operate some form of 'black' marketing by dealing in smuggled, stolen, banned and expired goods. People who are mostly potential buyers often do impulse buying as well as patronize these goods. Hence any form of impulse buying for example that will have been directed to the hawkers in the market will be enjoyed by those selling on the street thereby making the market unattractive to do business. This situation does not only encourage hawkers to continue to stay on the street but could have social consequences on the security and wellbeing of people in the city regarding the stolen, banned and smuggled goods that they may sell on the streets.

Secondly, another viable venture according to the hawkers was to learn a trade to acquire skills, engage in market gardening or be provided with loans to start up businesses. Thirdly, the hawkers were of the view that the authorities could give out some of the sheds in the market to them for free or build another market for those who could not afford the sheds at the Odawna. Alternatively, the hawkers especially on the pavements asked that the authorities allow them to hold the items in their hands and stand whilst selling instead of sitting at one location on the pavements which impeded movement. They suggested that these were options that could be explored. Aside the foregoing, they had no alternative than to sell on the streets since they had to survive.

Alternatively, if the street hawking activity was entirely banned and removed from the streets, buyers will most likely resort to buying from neighbourhood enterprises or small provision shops that normally operate from small wooden kiosks or from people's garages along residential pavements and avenues. If not the only way is for buyers to go through the inconvenience of having to move to shops or alternatively to the Odawna market to purchase their goods.

7.7 Efforts at tackling challenges of the relocation exercise

In reference to the challenges emerging from the relocation exercise, the AMA had enumerated efforts and measures geared at tackling the challenges that emerged from the exercise. As part of the measures to deter the hawkers who were adopting new ways to elude the *abaayei*, the AMA had decided to increase the numbers of the task force (*abaayei*) and to position them at strategic locations where the hawking activity was intense. Their presence was complimented with some police personnel to prevent them from selling on the streets and pavements. In the light of clashes that often erupt between the hawkers and *abaayei* during the process of evicting, the AMA has resorted to them unaware. This includes strategies like taking possession of locations at certain odd times in the day like in the night when they hawkers have left the place to their various homes.

Another measure that was being considered by the AMA was the instituting of a new bye-law making it illegal for the public to buy from hawkers on the street. The motive of the bye-law under consideration at the Attorney-General's office was to prosecute offending members of the public who flout the directive.

A call was further made to the government and politicians to eschew the politicization of the relocation exercise and also to help stem rural-urban migration in the country as a measure to help tackle the street hawking problem. Similarly, it was suggested that the youth should be equipped with employable skills so as to enable them engage in other income making ventures to discourage them from hawking. Lastly, another measure that was being considered was to re-allocate abandoned sheds in the market to other hawkers who were in need. This move was to make sure that the sheds in the market were being used to the fullest.

The hawkers on their part recommended that the authorities should put stringent measures in place to punish people who purchase from the hawkers on the street. Further, it was recommended that the height of the market wall should be reduced to enhance its visibility from outside. In this regard, the hawkers urged the authorities to do massive advertisement about the market to create the awareness of a hawkers market in the city. This they believe will help increase the patronage in the market and subsequently improve sales and profit.

The hawkers in the market also appealed to the authorities to reduce the amount collected as daily tolls in the light of the low sales that they make as a way to compensate for the low sales in the market. They were of the view that efforts should also be made to de-silt the gutter by the wall of the market, construct drains and provide garbage bins in the market to manage the flooding and filth situation in the market. Similarly, they requested that electricity and adequate security be provided in the market so as to help ward off criminals from the market. The hawkers opined that if these measures were pursued earnestly, the fortunes of selling in the market would be improved and hence the motivation to stay in the market.

Further, the hawkers on the streets and pavements have expressed their desire to move to the market and as such also made suggestions as to how the authorities could help improve their situation. They urged the government to help improve the poverty situation in the country. They suggested that the government could help them with loans through micro-credit schemes to help them move into other income earning ventures or assist them acquire employable skills. Similarly, they called on the government and AMA authorities to assist them acquire some of the sheds in the market. For those who could not afford the cost of acquiring a shed in the market, they should be allowed to hold the items in their hands and sell whilst standing as they do on the pavements to allow for free movement of pedestrians. Hence, they were ready to move should the authorities help them.

The members of the public interviewed also made suggestions during the research as to how to help tackle the challenges that emerged as a result of the relocation exercise. Similarly, they suggested the skill training of the youth to stem the rural-urban migration which had partly accounted for the hawking situation in the city. The public suggested an improvement in the agriculture sector and the provision of ready market for agriculture produce would help stem the out-migration from rural areas to urban centres in the country. The public also charged the authorities to seize and prosecute hawkers who were still selling on the street. They suggested that a moderate spot fee of GH¢20.00 (US\$13.50) be charged as fines to deter people from selling on the streets.

The measures that were being considered by the AMA and the suggestions from the hawkers and public suggests that the relocation exercise had undoubtedly brought with it challenges and problems and indeed impacted on the ability of people to make a living. The hawkers in the light of these challenges and legislation which serve as constraints to them have out of human agency also adopted livelihood strategies to survive. They have been able to exploit the human, physical and social capital that they are endowed with to overcome the physical and social structures that constrain or limit their activities. In the light of the fact that many urban poor in Accra find themselves selling on the streets, there is the need to constantly come out with measures to help tackle these challenges whilst not undermining the ability of people to make a living. Thus there is the need for the AMA and the government to holistically look at the options available to improve on the socio-economic wellbeing of the hawkers and the citizens in the city of Accra and indeed the whole country at large.

7.8 Conclusions

Poverty is very endemic in sub-Saharan Africa of which Ghana is no exception. Indeed Ghana has on the average chucked some progress in poverty reduction. This is as a result of interventions such as the Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative (HIPC), the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy II among others which have helped the channelling of funds solely for poverty reduction. This notwithstanding, urban poverty is still rife in Ghana. The poverty situation is due partly to the unemployment situation that has engulfed the country. In the face of unemployment and poverty in Accra however, the city still serves as an area for people such as hawkers to eke out a living.

From the research, it is revealed in reference to my objectives and research questions that the underlying reasons why people sell on streets and pavements are mainly due to poverty, unemployment and limited job opportunities. The hawking activity it is revealed involves many people of varying ages and both sexes but dominated mostly by the youth. The research has revealed further that in the quest of hawkers to make a living through selling on the street, many challenges have emerged including causing vehicular traffic, accidents, filth and harassment of people.

The hawking activity has been designated as illegal in the city. Subsequently, the relocation exercise initiated along with the demolition of unauthorised structures has undoubtedly affected the hawkers socio-economically, psychologically and their livelihood of selling on the street as highlighted by the research. This situation amplified in the foregoing has resulted in people abandoning the sheds in the market and returning to the streets whilst others have adopted unconventional means of selling on the pavements even with the presence of the *abaayei*.

What is surprising from the research is that many of the hawkers even though acknowledge the problems and challenges that emerge due to their activities, they still overlook the directive to relocate and the fact that it was illegal to sell on the streets. Revealing also was the fact that in spite of the confrontations and passions that surrounded the relocation exercise, many of the hawkers interviewed, especially those in the market lauded the efforts of the AMA at moving them to the market and that it was a step in the right direction.

In conclusion therefore, even though the relocation and decongestion exercise carried out by the AMA succeeded in moving a large chunk of the hawkers into the market, its main goal of totally getting rid of hawkers from the street has not been successful. It is worthy to note that no low-income country has managed to entirely solve the hawking problem in bigger cities. However, this should not be a yardstick on the part of the authorities to rest on their 'oars' doing nothing. This is because of the fact that the market itself still needs some improvements. Besides, hawking itself has become a major economic activity which is ever present in many of the cities along the West African coast and many developing countries and as such difficult to deal with. Similarly, the AMA task force (*abaayei*) found on the streets and pavements have not also been able to deter the hawkers from returning to sell on the streets. This could be attributed to the fact that the activity is deeply ingrained in the psyche of the public that it has become part of their

social setting or organization and hence the continued patronage of their items. In the nutshell therefore, there is still the need to holistically reconsider the alternatives available as well as the strategies involved in warding off the hawkers from the street. This could be done whilst addressing the challenges enumerated as confronting the hawkers and other actors on the one hand and the authorities on the other due to the relocation exercise if the total clearance of hawkers off the street that is being envisaged is to be realized.

7.9 Recommendations

In respect of the findings of the research I will like to make the following recommendations:

In order to help tackle the challenges facing the market, the AMA authorities should try and liaise with the Hawkers Market Association executives to identify the pertinent issues confronting the market and the hawkers so as to address them. This will help make the market attractive and thus encourage the hawkers to stay instead of returning to the streets. In relation to this, it is recommended that politicians should eschew the politicization of issues concerning the relocation exercise and the market for electoral votes. Challenges emerging from the relocation exercise should be seen as matters of national concern and as such concerted efforts should be made to address them devoid of politics.

In reference to the public purchasing from hawkers on the street, it is recommended that legislation should be passed to prosecute persons who violate the law by buying from the hawkers on the street. The bye-law proposed by the AMA to punish members of the public who purchase from hawkers on the street is thus laudable. The Attorney-General's office should expedite action on the passage of the legislation to discourage people from buying on the street. This will go a long way to encourage hawkers to stay in the market as people will come in to patronize their items. In relation to this, the AMA should adopt stringent measures to enforce the bye-law which prohibits selling on the streets and pavements in the city. Moderate spot fines as suggested earlier could be instituted to discourage the hawkers from selling on the street. When hawkers who violate are made to pay fines on two or three occasions out of their meagre daily sales, they will become frustrated and will return or permanently move to the market.

Unemployment in the country is high. As a result many people from around the country besides the unemployed urban dwellers migrate to the urban centres in search of greener pastures. Because of non-existent jobs in the city, many find themselves being engaged in street hawking to eke out a living. In this regard, the government should make efforts to equip the unemployed youth most especially with employable skills through skill training. The Youth Leadership Training Institutes established by the National Youth Council and technical institutes that abound in the country should be resourced to come out with training modules to train these unemployed youth selling on the streets as hawkers. The National Youth Employment Programme could make provisions to absorb some of these hawkers in their target areas to reduce their numbers on the streets if not stem the activity.

Similarly, it is suggested that the authorities should resource the hawkers with credit facilities in the form of loans to enable them venture into other income making ventures. For those who have acquired skills, the government could assist them to establish their own businesses. The government could also provide free agricultural extension services and ready market at competitive prices for the agricultural produce from rural areas. This will make farming more attractive and as such discourage people from having to move to the city to engage as hawkers and other jobs like *kayayei*.

When these recommendations are taken into consideration in tandem with both suggestions from the hawkers and public as well as measures under consideration by the AMA with support from government, the challenges could be tackled for the socio-economic welfare of all the stakeholders involved and the country as a whole.

7.10 Limitations of the Study

In chapter three (section 3.7) several methodological shortcomings were enumerated regarding this study. This section thus seeks to highlight briefly the limitations that might have in a way influenced the quality of the data gathered and the inferences that have been made.

- First and foremost the study is concentrated on a few of the hawkers in Accra. Hence the findings and conclusions made are not ‘representative’ of all the hawkers in the Accra and the country at large even though it can be said with certainty that almost all hawkers and their activities across exhibit similar characteristics.

- Secondly, there were several other relocation and decongestion exercises carried out in other cities across the country and as such the methods and approach used might be different from that used in Accra.
- Further, considering the tensions and passions surrounding the exercise and the activities of investigative journalists operating under cover made many of hawkers scared of granting interviews. This was because they feared that this could be a ploy to identify people by the authorities to victimize them. As a result of this situation, the hawkers might have withheld some information that would have further enriched the findings if they were revealed. Also, some of the hawkers might have given favourable responses regarding the relocation process because they might have thought I was coming from or recruited by the AMA but disguising myself.
- It is also envisaged that if quantitative methods were used along with the qualitative methodology (interviews and observations) used in this study, it would have been more revealing and indeed brought to light broader patterns and dynamics regarding hawking in the city. Also, the quantitative methodology used alongside the qualitative would have considerably reduced some of the biases that might have emerged as a result of the qualitative methods.
- Lastly, by being an educated young male researcher interviewing persons both of my age range and elderly persons might have also influenced the responses, experiences and sentiments of the hawkers interviewed.

7.11 Areas for further research

- The study focused generally on the socio-economic impact of the relocation and decongestion on the livelihood of hawkers. In this regard, a longitudinal study of the hawkers could be sanctioned to see whether they change locations around the city in response to changing sales or trends. This will throw more light on the activities and dynamics of hawkers over time.
- Research could also be conducted across the country to determine the impact of other relocation exercises on hawkers and the varying and peculiar coping livelihood strategies of hawkers in the different locations across the country so as to develop a comprehensive strategy to tackle the hawking problem.

- There is also the need to further conduct in-depth interviews with the most adaptive hawkers as in those who have been able to cope with their business booming in the face of the relocation exercise.
- My focus in this research was extensively on the impact of the relocation exercise on the hawkers from the worldview of the hawkers; there is the need to research extensively into the perspective or orientation of buyers regarding street hawking in general. This will highlight their perceptions and serve as a way of adequately tackling the problem since the public who constitute the buyers are the people who mostly patronize the goods of the hawkers.

References:

- Abrams, C. (1964). "Housing in the Modern World: Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World" in Potter, R. B. & Lloyd-Evans, S. (1998). "The City in the Developing World". Addison Wesley Longman Limited: UK.
- Accra Metropolitan Assembly (1995) "Accra Metropolitan Assembly Bye-Laws, 1995". Local Government Bulletin, <http://www.ama.gov.gh/resources/docs/byelaws1995.pdf>, accessed 5.01.11 18:23.
- Adekoya, (1978). "Theories of population movement in metropolitan areas". In Yunusa, M., (1988). "Reconnaissance Study of Socio-Economic Base of Street Trading in Samaru". Socio-Econ Plann. Sci Vol. 22, No. 2, pp 103-108, 1988.
- Adepoju, A. (2002). "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration", International Migration Vol. 40 (2) 2002, Blackwell Publishers: USA.
- Adepoju, A. (1984). "Illegals and Expulsion in Africa: The Nigerian Experience", International Migration Review, Vol. 18, No. 3, Special Issue: Irregular Migration: An International Perspective (autumn, 1984), pp. 426-436; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2545878>, accessed: 17.08.2010 14:51.
- Afolayan, A. A. (1988). "Immigration and Expulsion of ECOWAS Aliens in Nigeria", International Migration Review, Vol. 22, No. 1 (spring, 1988), pp. 4-27; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2546394>, accessed: 03/02/2010 11:43.
- Afukaar, F. K. & Antwi, P. et al. (2003). "Pattern of Road Traffic Injuries in Ghana: Implications for Control." Injury Control and Safety Promotion Vol. 10(No. 1-1): 69-76.
- Agadjanian, V. (2002). "Men Doing "Women's Work": Masculinity and Gender Relations Among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique". Journal of Men's Studies 10.3 (Spring 2002): 329.
- Agnew, J. (1987). "Place and Politics" in Castree, N. (2009). "Place: Connections and Boundaries in an Interdependent World"; in Clifford, N. J., Holloway, S.L., Rice, S. P. & Valentine G. (eds)(2009). "Key Concepts in Geography", Second Edition. Sage:London.
- Agnello, F. & Moller, J. "Cambodia: Women Micro Entrepreneurs and their Business Needs", Urban Research Group, November 2003 (Draft Report); in Bhowmik, S. K. (2005). "Street Vendors in Asia: A Review." Economic and Political Weekly: 2256-2264.
- Ahmed, Qazi Saif Uddin (2000). "Role of Dhaka City Corporation in Urban Food Security". Paper presented at The Regional Seminar on Feeding Asian Cities, November 27-30, 2000, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Aliyu, A. A. (2006). "Child Labour in Zaria." Annals of African Medicine Vol. 5(No. 2): 97-100.

- Aitken, S. & Valentine, G. (2006) (eds). "Approaches to Human Geography". Sage: London
- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). "Migration from and to Ghana: A Background Paper", Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, working Paper C4, University of Sussex, Brighton.
- Anarfi, J. K. (1982). "International Labour Migration in West Africa: A Case Study of the Ghanaian Migrants in Lagos, Nigeria". Accra: Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana-Legon.
- Anjaria, S. J. (2006) "Street Hawkers and Public Space in Mumbai". Economic and Political Weekly.
- Ankomah, K. (2005). "Poor planning of Accra is affecting cost of doing business". Feature article, Public Agenda; http://www.ghanaweb.com/public_agenda/article.php?ID=3080, accessed 02.02.11 10.26.
- Appiah-Kubi, K. (2007). "Poverty Reduction, GPRS and the Informal Sector in Ghana"; in The Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation (2009). "Private Sector Demand for Youth Labour in Ghana and Senegal: Ghana and Senegal Findings". World Bank with support from Department for Work and Pensions (DWP).
- Archer, M. (1996). "Social integration and system integration: developing the distinction". Sociology 30(4) 679-700; in Rose, J. (1998). "Evaluating the contribution of structuration theory to the information systems discipline", paper presented at the 6th European Conference on Information Systems, Aix-en-Provence; <http://folk.uio.no/patrickr/refdoc/ECIS1998-Rose.pdf>, accessed 12.01.11 at 10.21.
- Asiedu, A. & Agyei-Mensah, S. (2008). "Traders on the run: Activities of street vendors in the Accra Metropolitan Area, Ghana". Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography 62: 191-202.
- Austin, R. (1994). "An Honest Living": Street Vendors, Municipal Regulation, and the Black Public Sphere". Yale Law Journal Vol. 103.
- Awumbila, M. & Ardafio-Schandorf, E. (2008). "Gendered poverty, migration and livelihood strategies of female porters in Accra, Ghana". Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography 62: 171-179.
- Awusabo-Asare, K. & Tanle, A. (2008). "Eking a living: Women entrepreneurs and poverty reduction strategies: The case of palm kernel oil in the Central Region of Ghana". Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography 62: 149-160.

Baah-Boateng W. & Turkson, F. E. (2005). "Employment"; in the Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation (2009). "Private Sector Demand for Youth Labour in Ghana and Senegal: Ghana and Senegal Findings". World Bank with support from Department for Work and Pensions (DWP).

Babbie, E. (2005). "The Basics of Social Research". 3rd edition. USA: Wadsworth.

Barley, S. R. & Tolbert, P. S. (1997). "Institutionalization and Structuration: Studying the Links between Action and Institution". Articles & Chapters. Paper 130, Cornell University ILR School Digital Commons@ILR; <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/articles/130> accessed 21.02.11 17.05.

Baxter, J. & Eyles, J. (1997). "Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing "Rigour" in Interview Analysis". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 22, 505-25.

Beavon, K. S. & Rogerson, C.M. (1986). "The Council vs the Common People: the Case of Street Trading in Johannesburg." Geoforum Vol. 17(No. 2): 201-216.

Bentil, N. L. (2009). "Hawkers dare Accra Metropolitan Assembly". Daily Graphic: Metro Page. Accra, Daily Graphic. Monday Aug. 10, 2009. <http://bentil.blogspot.com/2009/08/hawkers-dare-accra-metropolitan.html>, accessed 25.02.10 20:59.

Bhowmik, S. K. & More, N. (2001). "Coping with Urban Poverty: Ex-Textile Mill Workers in Central Mumbai". Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 36, No. 52 (Dec. 29, 2001 - Jan. 4, 2002), pp. 4822-4827; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/4411531.pdf>, accessed 19.03.2011 10.12.

Bhowmik, S. K. (2005). "Street Vendors in Asia: A Review." Economic and Political Weekly: 2256-2264.

Birch, M., Mauthner, T. & Jessop, J. (2002). "Introduction"; in Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). "Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing". Second Edition. Sage Publishers.

Blankson S. N. A. (2006). "Address Delivered by the Mayor of Accra"; in Ofori, B. O. (2007). "The Urban Street Commons Problem: Spatial Regulation of Informal Economic Units in Accra". College of Arts and Sciences. Ohio, Ohio University. Master of Science: 115.

Boadi, K. O. & Kuitunen, M. (2005) "Environment, Wealth, Inequality and the Burden of Disease in the Accra Metropolitan Area, Ghana". International Journal of Environmental Health Research June 2005; 15(3): 193 – 206.

Bromley, R.D.F (1998). "Informal commerce: Expansion and exclusion in the historic centre of the Latin America city". International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 22:2, 245-263.

- Browne, K. (2005). "Snowball sampling: using social networks to research non-heterosexual women". International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 8 (1), 47-60.
- Caldwell, J.C. (1969). "African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns". Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Carney, D. (1998). "Implementing sustainable rural livelihoods approach"; in Rakodi, C. and T. Lloyd-Jones (2002). "Urban livelihoods: a people-centred approach to reducing poverty". London, Earthscan, pp 4-22
- Castree, N. (2009). "Place: Connections and Boundaries in an interdependent world"; in Clifford, N. J. et al. (eds.) (2009). Key Concepts in Geography; Second Edition. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Chambers, R. & Conway R. (1992). "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century". IDS Discussion Paper, No. 296.
- Chouinard, V. (1996). "Structure and Agency: Contested Concepts in Human Geography"; in Earle, C., Mathewson, K. & Kenzer, M. S. (eds)(1996). "Concepts in Human Geography". Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Clifford, N. J. & Valentine, G. (eds.) (2003). "Key Methods in Geography". Sage: London.
- Crang, M. & Cook, I. (2007). "Doing Ethnographies". London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Crang, M. (2003). "Qualitative Methods: touchy, feely, look-see? in Gatrell, A. C & Elliot, J. S. (2009). "Geographies of Health: An Introduction". Second Edition; Blackwell Publishers.
- Cresswell, T. (1996). "In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression". Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Crosby, A. W. (1995). "The Past and Present of Environmental History". The American Historical Review, Vol. 100, No. 4 (Oct., 1995), pp. 1177-1189; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2168206.pdf?acceptTC=true>, accessed 15.01.11 14.17.
- Cross, J. (2000). "Street vendors, modernity and postmodernity: Conflict and compromise in the global economy". The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy; 2000; 20, 1/2; ABI/INFORM Global, pg. 29.
- Cross, J. (1998). "Co-optation, Competition, and Resistance: State and Street Vendors in Mexico City". Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 25, No. 2, The Urban Informal Sector (Mar., 1998),pp. 41-61. Sage Publishers, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2634061>, accessed 27.03.2011 07:13.
- Daily Graphic (2009). "Accra Metropolitan Assembly Clears Hawkers". Daily Graphic, Tue. 30 June, 2009. Accra, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/224712/accra-metropolitan-assembly-clears-hawkers.html>, accessed 20.02.2010 13:08.

Daily Graphic (2007). "Floods Hit Accra". General News of Tuesday, 27 March, 2007, Accra. <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=121511> accessed 20.02.2010 21.07.

Davis, J. (2008). "Selling Wares on the Streets of Accra: A Case Study of Street Hawkers in Ghana's Capital". Focus on Geography, Vol. 51 no. 3, <http://media.web.britanica.com/ebSCO/pdf/35/35897771.Pdf> accessed on 20.02.10 12:49.

Davies, G. & Dwyer, C. (2007). "Qualitative methods: are you enchanted or are you alienated?" Progress in Human Geography, 31; 257-266.

Darko, A. (undated). "My City Accra". <http://www.ammadarko.de/Dokumente/Accra.Pdf>, accessed 20.02.2010 at 13:02.

De Haan, A. (1999). "Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration – A Critical Review of the Migration Literature". Journal of Development Studies 36(2): 1-47.

De Haan, L. & Zoomers, A. (2005). "Exploring the Frontier of Livelihoods Research". Development and Change 36(1): 27-47 (2005); Institute of Social Studies 2005: Blackwell Publishing, UK.

Dickson, K.B. & Benneh, G. (1998). "A New Geography of Ghana". Longman, London.

Dickson, K. B. (1969). "Historical Geography of Ghana". Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Dowling, R. (2000). "Power, Subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research"; In Hay, I. (ed.) "Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography", Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 23-36.

Duh, S. (2004) "The Menace of Street Hawking"; in the Daily Graphic, 4th September, 2004 & <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=65407>, accessed on 11.12.2009 17.01.

Dunn, K. (2000). "Interviewing"; In Hay, I. (ed.) "Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography", Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 50-82.

Dyck, I. & Kearns, R. A. (2006). "Structuration Theory: Agency, Structure and Everyday Life"; in Aitken, S. & Valentine, G. (2006) (eds). "Approaches to Human Geography". Sage: London

Ellis, F. (2000). "Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries". Oxford: Oxford University Press.

England, K. (1994). "Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research". The Professional Geographer 46 (1), 80-9; <http://www.praxis-epress.org/CGR/18-England.pdf>, accessed 06.05.11 at 15.41.

- Entikin, N. J. & Tepple, J. H. (2006). "Humanism and Democratic Place-Making"; in Aitken, S. & Valentine, G. (2006) (eds). "Approaches to Human Geography". Sage: London
- Entikin, J. N. (1976). "Contemporary Humanism in Geography". Annals of the Association of American Geographers 66: 615-32.
- Ezzy, D. (2002). "Qualitative Analysis: Practice and Innovation". Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin.
- Gatrell, A. C & Elliot, J. S. (2009). "Geographies of Health: An Introduction". Second Edition; Blackwell Publishers.
- Ghana Statistical Service (2007). "Pattern and Trends of Poverty, 1991-2006". Ghana Statistical Service, P. O. Box GP1098, Accra.
- Ghana Statistical Service (2002). "2000 Population and Housing Census Special Report on Urban Localities". Ghana Statistical Service, P. O. Box GP1098, Accra.
- Giddens, A. (1984). "The Constitution of Society: An Outline of the Theory of Structuration". Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1983). "Comments on the theory of structuration"; in Dyck, I. & Kearns, R. A. (2006). "Structuration Theory: Agency, Structure and Everyday Life"; in Aitken, S. & Valentine, G. (2006) (eds). "Approaches to Human Geography". Sage: London
- Government of Ghana (2005b). "The Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana for the 2006 Financial Year. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Accra.
- Grant, R. & Yankson, P. (2003). "City Profile: Accra". Cities, Vol. 20 No. 1, 65-74.
- Gregory, D. (1994). "Geographical Imaginations". Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Gregory, D. (1981). "Human Agency and Human Geography". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1981), pp. 1-18; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/621969.pdf>, accessed 21.02.11 at 21.09.
- Hagerstrand, T. (1970). "What about people in regional science?" Papers of the Regional Science Association 24: 7-21.
- Hall, S. (1992). "New Ethnicities", in Moser, S. (2008). "Personality: a new positionality?" Area Vol. 40 No. 3, pp. 383-392.
- Hart, K. (1994). "African enterprise and the informal economy: An autobiographical note"; in Davis, J. (2008). "Selling Wares on the Streets of Accra: A Case Study of Street Hawkers in Ghana's Capital". Focus on Geography, Vol. 51 no. 3, <http://media.web.britanica.com/ebSCO/pdf/35/35897771.Pdf> accessed on 20.02.10 at 12:49.

Hartsock, N. (1987). "Rethinking modernism: minority vs. majority theories". Culture Critique 7 (The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse II), 187-206.

Heidegger, (1958). "An ontological consideration of a place"; in Peet, R. (1998). "Modern Geographical Thought". Blackwell Publishers.

Henn, M., Weinstein, M. & Foard, N. (2006). "A Short Introduction to Social Research". London: Sage.

Holloway, L. & Hubbard, P. (2001). "People and Places: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life". Harlow: Printice Hall.

Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. (eds.)(2004)."Key Thinkers on Space and Place". Sage: London.

Illy, H. F. (1986). "Regulation and evasion: Street-vendors in Manila". Policy Sciences 19:61-81 (1986).

International Labour Office (ILO) (1972). "Employment, incomes and equality: A strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya"; in Teltscher, S. (1994). "Small Trade and the World Economy: Informal Vendors in Quito, Ecuador". Economic Geography, Vol. 70, No. 2, Global-Local Relations (Apr., 1994), pp. 167-187, Clark University, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/143653> accessed on 19.03.2010 11:18.

Iyenda, G. (2005). "Street enterprises, urban livelihoods and poverty in Kinshasa". Environment and Urbanization 2005 17: 55. <http://eau.sagepub.com/content/17/2/55.full.pdf+html>, accessed 07.05.11 at 17.05.

Kasanga, K. & Avis, M. R. (1988). "Internal migration and urbanization in developing countries: Findings from a study of Ghana". University of Reading: Department of Land Management and Development.

Kearns, A.R. (2000). "Being There: Research through observing and participating"; In Hay, I.(ed.) Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp.103-121.

Kearns, R. A. (1993). "Place and Health: Towards a Reformed Medical Geography". The Professional Geographer, 45: 139–147.

Kearns, R. A. & Joseph, A. E. (1993): "Space in its place: developing the link in Medical Geography". Sac. Sri. Med. Vol. 37, No. 6, pp. 711-717, 1993.

Kitchin, R. & Tate, N.J (2000). Conducting Research in Human Geography. Harlow, England.

Knox, P. & Pinch, S. (2000). "Urban Geography: An Introduction". 4th edition; Pearson Education Limited: England.

- Koo, D., A. Aragon, V. Moscoso, M. Gudiel, L. Bietti, N. Carrillo, J. Chojoj, B. Gordillo, F. Cano, D. N. Cameron, J. G. Wells, N. H. Beans & R. V. Tauxet (1996). "Epidemic cholera in Guatemala, 1993: transmission of a newly introduced epidemic strain by street vendors". Epidemiol. Infect. (1996), 116, 121-126; Cambridge University Press.
- Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). "Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing". Second Edition. Sage Publishers.
- LeBeau, D. & Mufune, P. (2004). "The Influence of Poverty on the Epidemiology of HIV/AIDS and its Subsequent Reinforcement of Poverty among Economically Marginalized Families in Northern Namibia". In: Mulinge, M. & P. Mufune (eds.) "Debt Relief Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation". Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa/SAUSSC.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). "The Production of Space". Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ley, D. (1974). "The Blank Inner City as Frontier Outpost: Image and Behaviour of a Philadelphia Neighbourhood". Monograph series 7. Washington DC, Association of American Geographers; Arnold: London.
- Lincoln Y. & Guba, E. (1985). "Naturalistic Inquiry"; in Gatrell, A. C & Elliot, J. S. (2009). "Geographies of Health: An Introduction". Second Edition; Blackwell Publishers.
- Linn, J. F. (1983). "Cities in the Developing World: Policies for their Efficient and Equitable Growth". Oxford University Press, New York.
- Lloyd-Jones, T. (2001). "The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the Department for International Development" in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (2002). "Urban livelihoods: a people-centred approach to reducing poverty". London, Earthscan, pp 4-22.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, B.G. (2006). "Designing Qualitative Research", (4th edition). London, United Kingdom: Sage Publications Ltd
- Manuh, T. (ed.) (2005). "At home in the world? International migration and development in contemporary Ghana and West Africa". Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- McDowell, L. (1992). "Doing Gender: Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography". Transactions of the Institute of Geographers, 17:399-416.
- McGee, T.G. & Yeung, Y. M. (1977). "Hawkers in South East Asia: Planning for the Bazaar Economy" I.D.R.C. Ottawa (1977).
- McMunn, A., Bartley, M. & Kuh, D. (2006). "Women's health in mid-life: Life course social roles and agency as quality". Social Science & Medicine, 63 (6), 1561-1572.

- Meagher, K. (1995). "Crisis, informalization and the urban informal sector in sub-Saharan Africa"; in Overå, R. (2007). "When men do women's work: structural adjustment, unemployment and changing gender relations in the informal economy of Accra, Ghana". The Journal of Modern African Studies **45**(04): 539-563.
- Meier, B. (2005). "Friendship and Social Peace among Northern Migrants in Accra/Ghana". Legon Journal of Sociology Vol. 2 No. 1:55-80.
- Mikkelsen, B. (2007). "Methods for Development Work and Research. A new Guide for Practitioners". London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Mitullah, W. V. (2003). "Street Vending in African Cities: A Synthesis of Empirical Findings from Kenya, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa". Background Paper for the 2005 World Development Report, 16th August, 2003; http://www.wiego.org/papers/2005/unifem/24_Mitullah_Streetvending_African_Cities.pdf, 24.02.11 18.27.
- Modern Ghana (2007). "First Phase of Pedestrian Shopping Mall Cost ₵ 20 billion". Modern Ghana. February 06, 2007. http://www.modernghana.com/GhanaHome/NewsArchive/news_details.asp?id=VFZSSmVrMXFVVE09&menu_id=1&sub_menu_id=0, accessed 25.02.10 20.05.
- Mohammad, R (2001). "'Insiders' and/or 'outsiders': positionality, theory and praxis"; in Limb, M. & Dwyer, C. (eds.) (2001). "Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates". Arnold: London.
- Mullings, B (1999). "Insider or Outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. Geoforum 30 (1999) 337-350.
- Myers, A. G. (2005). "Disposable Cities: Garbage, Governance and Sustainable Development in Urban Africa (Re-Materialising Cultural Geography)". Hampshire & Burlington: Ashgate.
- Narayan, D. (1997). "Voices of the Poor: Poverty and Social Capital in Tanzania"; in Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (2002). "Urban livelihoods: a people-centred approach to reducing poverty". London, Earthscan, pp 4-22.
- North, D.C. (1993). "Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Obasi, I. N. (2008). "The State, Globalization and the Survival of the Urban Informal Sector in Botswana: The Challenge of Public Policy." Africa Development (CODESRIA) Vol. XXXIII (No. 3): 55-80.

O'Connell, J. D. & Layder, D. (1994). "Methods, Sex and Madness"; in Dowling, R. (2000). "Power, Subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research"; In Hay, I. (ed.) "Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography", Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 23-36.

Ofori, B. O. (2007). "The Urban Street Commons Problem: Spatial Regulation of Informal Economic Units in Accra". College of Arts and Sciences. Ohio, Ohio University. Master of Science: 115.

Overå, R. (2007). "When men do women's work: structural adjustment, unemployment and changing gender relations in the informal economy of Accra, Ghana". The Journal of Modern African Studies 45(04): 539-563.

Owusu, G., Agyei-Mensah, S. & Lund, R. (2008). "Slums of hope and slums of despair: Mobility and livelihoods in Nima, Accra". Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography 62: 180-190.

Peet, R. (1998). "Modern Geographical Thought". Blackwell Publishers.

Pieterse, N. J. (2010). "Development Theory". Second Edition. Sage: London.

Pick, W. M., M. H. Ross & Y. Dada (2002). "The reproductive and occupational health of women street vendors in Johannesburg, South Africa". Social Science & Medicine 54 (2002) 193–204.

Portes, A., Castells M. & Benton A. L. (1989). "Conclusion: The policy Implications of Informality", pp. 298-311; in Cross, J. (2000). "Street vendors, modernity and postmodernity: Conflict and compromise in the global economy". The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy; 2000; 20, 1/2; ABI/INFORM Global, pg. 29.

Potter, R. B. & Lloyd-Evans, S. (1998). "The City in the Developing World". Addison Wesley Longman Limited: UK.

Rakodi, C. & Lloyd-Jones, T. (2002). "Urban livelihoods: a people-centred approach to reducing poverty". London, Earthscan, pp 4-22.

Relph, E. (1976). "Place and Placeness". London: Pion.

Rhoda, R. (1980). "Migration and Employment of Educated Youth in Ghana". International Migration Review, Vol. 14, No. 1 (spring, 1980), pp. 53-76: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2545061>, accessed 14/09/2010 at 12:18.

Rose, J. (1998). "Evaluating the contribution of structuration theory to the information systems discipline", paper presented at the 6th European Conference on Information Systems, Aix-en-Provence; <http://folk.uio.no/patrickr/refdoc/ECIS1998-Rose.pdf>, accessed 12.01.11 at 10.21.

Saks, M. & Allsop, J. (eds.) (2007). "Researching Health: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods". London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sack, R. (1997). "Homo Geographicus: A framework for Action, Awareness and Moral Concern". Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Seamon, D. (1979). "A Geography of a Life World". London: Croom Helm; in Clifford, N. J. & Valentine, G. (2003). "Key Methods in Geography". London: Sage.

Scoones, I. (1998). "Sustainable rural livelihoods: a framework for analysis". IDS working paper, 72. Brighton: IDS.

Scoones, I. (2009). "Livelihoods perspectives and rural development". Journal of Peasant Studies, 36: 1,171 — 196; Routledge: London, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03066150902820503>, accessed 14.11.11 17.02.

Stones, R. (2005). "Structuration Theory". Palgrave: Macmillan.

Swaminathan, M. (1991). "Understanding the informal sector: A survey". WIDER WP 95, Finland.

Swanson, K. (2007). "Revanchist Urbanism Heads South: The Regulation of Indigenous Beggars and Street Vendors in Ecuador". Antipode, 39/4 pg. 708-728.

Teltscher, S. (1994). "Small Trade and the World Economy: Informal Vendors in Quito, Ecuador". Economic Geography, Vol. 70, No. 2, Global-Local Relations (Apr., 1994), pp. 167-187, Clark University, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/143653> accessed on 19.03.2010 11:18.

The Youth Employment Network & International Youth Foundation (2009). "Private Sector Demand for Youth Labour in Ghana and Senegal: Ghana and Senegal Findings". World Bank with support from Department for Work and Pensions (DWP).

Thompson, J.B. (1989). "The Theory of Structuration"; In Held, D. & Thompson, J.B. (eds.) "Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1978). "The Poverty of Theory". New York: Monthly Review Press; in Peet, R. (1998). "Modern Geographical Thought". Blackwell Publishers.

Thrift, N. (2003). "Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Geography" in Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. (eds.) (2004). "Key Thinkers on Space and Place". Sage: London.

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1977). "Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience". Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

UN-HABITAT (2010). "State of the World's Cities 2010/2011: Bridging the Urban Divide". Earthscan.

UN-Habitat (2004). "The State of the World's Cities 2004/2005: Globalization and Urban Culture, London & Sterling". Earthscan.

Wogan, P. (2004). "Magical Writing in Salasaca: literacy and power in highland Ecuador"; in Crang, M. & Cook, I. (2007). "Doing Ethnographies". London: Sage Publication Ltd.

Xaba, J. & Horn, P. *et al.* (2002). "The Employment Sector 2002/10". The Informal Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa. Geneva, ILO.

Yankson, P. W.K. (2000b). "Houses and Residential Neighborhood as Work Places in Urban Areas: the case of selected Low-income Residential Areas in Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), Ghana". Singapore Journal of Geography, Vol. 21 No 200-214.

Yunusa, M. B. (1988). "Reconnaissance Study of Socio-Economic Base of Street Trading in Samaru". Socio-Econ Plann. Sci, vol. 22(No. 2): 103-108.

Zaami, M. (2010). "Gendered Strategies among Migrants from Northern Ghana in Accra: the case of Madina". Unpublished thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the award of a Master of Philosophy in Resources and Human Adaptations, University of Bergen (spring 2010).

Internet References:

<http://www.ammadarko.de/Dokumente/Accra.pdf>, accessed on 20.02.10 at 13:02

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/ministry.profile.php?ID=33> accessed 14.02.2011 at 15:12

<http://www.modernghana.com/news/264758/1/ama-demolition-squad-faces-resistance.html> accessed 16/03/2011 at 16:32

<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200808/19780.asp> accessed 22.03.2011 at 20:36

“AMA Folds up Sleeves for Decongestion”

<http://www.ghanadistricts.com/districts1on1/ama/index.php?arrow=nws&read=2902> accessed 1.04.10 at 23:15

http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=22®ion_type=2 accessed 20.09.2011 at 15:17

ghanadistricts.com

<http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/201009/52304.ap> accessed 16/09/2010 at 10:15

<http://www.modernghana.com/news/123247/1/first-phase-of-pedestrian-shopping-mall-cost-20-bi.html> accessed on 17/09/2010 13:19

<http://www.modernghana.com/news2/122546/1/mixed-response-from-traders-to-new-pedestrian-mall.html>, accessed on 17/09/2010 13:22

http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?section=1&newsid=3957 accessed on 17/09/2010 13:22

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=181216> accessed 2010-05-03 at 18:12

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=200172> accessed 26.12.10 at 15:33

<http://www.modernghana.com/news/180153/1/kasoa-carnage-death-toll-increases.html> accessed 03/01/11 at 14:34

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=205482>, accessed 11.04.11 at 14:08

Appendix

Appendix I

The Socio-Economic Impacts of the Relocation of Street Hawkers from the Accra Central Business District to the Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra, Ghana.

Department of Geography
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim Norway.

This research is for purely academic purposes. Your responses are highly appreciated and will be treated with all the confidentiality required, Thank you.

(Interview Guide for AMA Authorities)

1. What is the AMA's view/opinion on hawking in the city? (*why consistent/varying views for the whole of AMA*)
2. Why do you think people sell on the streets?
3. Who are these people?
4. What are the reasons behind the decongestion and relocation of street hawkers in the city?
5. What are the problems and challenges the AMA is facing as a result of the decongestion/relocation exercise?
6. What is the AMA doing to tackle the problem of those still selling on the streets and those returning to the streets from the market?
7. Do you think the Odawna market is spacious to accommodate the teeming numbers of hawkers?
If yes...what is the capacity?
If no, what is the AMA doing to tackle the problem of inadequate space?

8. What are the requirements and procedure for acquiring a shed in the market?
9. What strategies have been adopted (or being undertaken) by the AMA to help solve the frequent clashes between guards, police and the street hawkers as a result of the relocation7decongestion exercise?
10. What is the impact of the relocation exercise on the hawkers? (*Psycho-social & economic impacts-livelihoods*)
11. What is the socio-economic contribution of street hawkers to the city and country as a whole?
12. Besides, the decongestion and relocation of the street hawkers what can be done to help find a lasting solution to the problems emanating from the relocation exercise and street hawkers in general?
13. Do you have any other opinion, view or concern about the street hawkers? (*economy, disturb social order/environment, safety, dignity/modernization of the city*)

Thank you.

Appendix II

The Socio-Economic Impacts of the Relocation of Street Hawkers from the Accra Central Business District to the Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra, Ghana.

Department of Geography

Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim Norway.

This research is for purely academic purposes. Your responses are highly appreciated and will be treated with all the confidentiality required, thank you.

(Interview Guide for Hawkers in the Market)

Section A: Background Information

1. Sex: a. Male b. Female

2. Age (in completed years).....

3. Highest level of education attained.

- 1. No education
- 2. Primary
- 3. Middle/JSS
- 4. Secondary/SSS
- 5. Higher
- 6. Other, (specify).....

4. What is your marital status?

- 1. Never married
- 2. Currently married
- 3. Divorced
- 4. Separated
- 5. Widowed
- 6. Consensual union

5. In which region and town did you grow up?

- 1. Western 4. Volta 7. Brong Ahafo 10. Upper West
- 2. Central 5. Eastern 8. Northern
- 3. Gt. Accra 6. Ashanti 9. Upper East

Town.....

Section B: Objectives

6. What do you sell?

.....

7. Do you sell for somebody or it is your own business?(*combination?*)

.....

8. Do you sell the same items the whole day; what is the pattern of sale of items?

9. For how long have you been selling as a hawker?

10. Where were you selling before the relocation?

.....

11. What do you think is the reason why AMA is decongesting and relocating street hawkers to the market?

12. Did you move here willingly or you were forced here?

13. Why did you agree to sell in the market but not on the street like the others?

14. How did you acquire the shed; what is the procedure?

15. Has the relocation exercise affected your business?

a. Yes--strongly e. Not at all.....

b. Yes—partly f. May be.....

c. Yes—sometimes g. Not sure.....

d. yes---always-----Explain for your answer above.

16. Besides the effect on your business, has the relocation exercise affected you in any other way?

17. What are the most important problems and challenges you face in the newly constructed market?

18. What do you suggest can be done by the authorities to help tackle these concerns raised?
(business concerns, employment opportunities, credit facilities etc)

19. What is your opinion on the whole relocation exercise?

Thank You.

Appendix III

The Socio-Economic Impacts of the Relocation of Street Hawkers from the Accra Central Business District to the Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra, Ghana.

Department of Geography
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim Norway.

This research is for purely academic purposes. Your responses are highly appreciated and will be treated with all the confidentiality required, thank you.

(Interview Schedule for Hawkers on the street)

Section A: Background Information

1. Sex: a. Male b. Female

2. Age (in completed years).....

3. Highest level of education attained.

7. No education

8. Primary

9. Middle/JSS

10. Secondary/SSS

11. Higher

12. Other, (specify).....

13.

4. Are you fending for yourself or providing for household sustenance?

5. In which region and town did you grow up?

4. Western

4. Volta

7. Brong Ahafo

10. Upper West

5. Central

5. Eastern

8. Northern

6. Gt. Accra

6. Ashanti

9. Upper East

Town.....

Section B: Objectives

6. What do you sell?

.....

7. Do you sell for somebody or it is your own business? (*Combination?*)

8. For how long have you been selling as a street hawker? (*do you intend stopping soon?*)

9. Do you sell the same items the whole day; what is the pattern of the sale of items?

.....

10. Did you move here to sell willingly or you were forced here to avoid AMA guards? (*or u think there are more sales here than any place hence being strategic/because you are not haunted by the authorities?*)

11. Why do you sell on the street but not in the market?

12. What do you think is the reason why AMA is decongesting and relocating street hawkers to the market?

13. Has the regular raids by AMA guards and police due to the relocation exercise affected your business?

a. Yes--strongly e. Not at all.....

b. Yes—partly f. May be.....

c. Yes—sometimes g. Not sure.....

d. yes---always

14. If yes, how.....Explain?

15. If No, why....explain?

16. Besides the effect on your business, has the relocation exercise affected you in any other way?

17. What are the benefits of selling on the street to selling in the market?

18. What are the most important problems and challenges you face as a result of selling on the streets in compared to selling in the market?

19. What do you suggest can be done by the authorities to help tackle these concerns raised?

20. What is your opinion on the whole relocation exercise? (*impact on employment, credit facilities etc*)

Thank you.

Appendix IV

The Socio-Economic Impacts of the Relocation of Street Hawkers from the Accra Central Business District to the Odawna Pedestrian Market-Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra, Ghana.

Department of Geography
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim Norway.

This research is for purely academic purposes. Your responses are highly appreciated and will be treated with all the confidentiality required.

(Interview Guide for the Public)

Section A: Background Information

1. Sex: a. Male b. Female
2. Age (in completed years).....
3. Highest level of education attained.
 14. No education
 15. Primary
 16. Middle/JSS
 17. Secondary/SSS
 18. Higher
 19. Other, (specify).....
4. What is your marital status?
 7. Never married
 8. Currently married
 9. Divorced
 10. Separated
 11. Widowed
 12. Consensual union
5. What is your view on street hawking in the city?
6. Why do you think people sell on the streets?

7. Who are these people?

8. How do you view the relocation and decongestion exercise of the AMA?

(Explain reason for answer above)

9. Do you prefer buying from the hawkers on the street or market?.....Explain why?

10. Are there any types of goods that you specifically buy from the streets? (or you just do impulse buying or less priced goods?)

11. Do you think the decongestion and the relocation exercise is the best way to solve the problem of hawkers on the street?

12. Explain reasons for the response in question 8 above

13. Why do you think the street hawkers are refusing to relocate to the newly constructed market?

14. Do you support the decongestion and relocation exercise or you sympathize with the hawkers and think they should sell on the street?.....*Give explanation for your response.*

15. What do you think is the impact of the relocation exercise on the socio-economic wellbeing of the hawkers? (*reduced sales/revenue, improved psycho-social well-being, reducing stress, frustration of "being on the run"?*)

16. What do you suggest can be done by the

i. **Authorities,**

ii. **the Public** and

iii. **all Stakeholders** to help tackle the problem of street hawkers in Accra?

Thank you.