

# **THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN OF STREET VENDORS IN GHANA**

**PARDIKOR MADJITEY**

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**THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN OF  
STREET VENDORS IN GHANA**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

**Philosophiae Doctor**

**[Adult and Community Education and Training]**

Faculty of Education

University of Pretoria

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**Dr. M.G. Steyn**

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**Pretoria**

**September 2014**

## DECLARATION

I Pardikor Madjitey, declare that this thesis entitled *The socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana* which I hereby submit for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in Adult and Community Education and Training, is my own work and had not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

---

Pardikor Madjitey

30 September 2014

## CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

This is to testify that I: Dr. C.G.A. Smith, (Ph.D. English NWU) edited the following thesis paying particular attention to the language used. No words were added or removed that would affect the meaning.

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Date:.....

*Smith*  
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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memories of my late parents  
Mr. Robert Kwabena Madjitey & Mrs. Rebecca Esi Madjitey  
who made it possible for me to embark on my educational journey.

...and to my departed siblings Pardiki Madjitey, Narh Madjitey  
& Narteh Madjitey for sharing a part of my life.

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May God bless you.

## ABSTRACT

### **The socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana.**

By

Pardikor Madjitey

Supervisor : Dr. M.G. Steyn  
Co-supervisor : Prof. G.D. Kamper  
Department : Early Childhood Education  
Degree : Philosophiae Doctor

This thesis presents the outcomes of a study on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana. For many children in Ghana, the reality of childhood and a sound education is compromised by premature involvement in economic activities in order to augment the meagre incomes of their parents and guardians to survive.

The research inquiry is guided by the main research question: What are the social and educational challenges in the development of the children of street vendors in Ghana? The study, specifically sought to explore the nature and prevalence of children of street vendors in Ghana; how the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development; how life on the street affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors and what the implications of the findings are for stakeholders and policy makers in addressing the street child phenomenon.

The study was conducted according to the qualitative research approach, guided by the interpretivist paradigm. A case study research design was utilized in investigating six street vendors and their six children who live and do their business on the streets for their stories and viewpoints as to how they experience the life on the street. I

used in-depth interview, and observations to explore participants' understanding and interpretation of the phenomenon. The theoretical frameworks of Bronfenbrenner and Piaget facilitated data collection and reinforced the findings.

Analysis revealed that children are on the street with their parents as a result of socio-economic problems (such as economic stagnation, urbanization, rural-to-urban migration, inadequate housing, high birth rates, and the absence of government assistance programmes) which have plagued the country for many years. Anecdotal evidence pointed out that children engaging in work is prevalent in Ghana and often constrains the choices and freedom of children and their human rights and socio-economic welfare. Findings further revealed that the extended families play an important role in supporting and maintaining family ties.

It is argued that, when government provides social safety nets for poor families, especially for those in the urban informal sector the likelihood that they will engage their children in, street trade and vending will minimize.

## LIST OF KEY WORDS

- Street vendors
- Street children
- Childhood
- Child right
- Child labour
- Poverty
- Development
- Socio-educational
- Single-headed households
- Extended family

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BECE	-	Basic Education Certificate of Examination
CBO	-	Community Based Organizations
CAS	-	Catholic Action for Street Children
CGS	-	Capitation Grant Scheme
CRC	-	The Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSC	-	Consortium for Street Children
CREATE	-	Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity
EC	-	European Commission
EFA	-	Education for All
ERP	-	Economic Recovery Programme
fCUBE	-	Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education
GAAS	-	Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GER	-	Gross Enrolment Ratio GER
GES	-	Ghana Education Service
GLSS	-	Ghana Living Standards Surveys
GoG	-	Government of Ghana
GSS	-	Ghana Statistical Service
HIV/AIDS	-	Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
JHS	-	Junior High School
JSS	-	Junior Secondary School
LDC	-	Least Developed Countries
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDGs	-	The Millennium Development Goals
MOE	-	Ministry of Education
MOEYS	-	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
MOWAC	-	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
NER	-	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGOs	-	Non Governmental Organizations
OVC	-	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PAMSCAD	-	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment
PVO	-	Private Voluntary Organization
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SHS	-	Senior High School
SSA	-	sub-Saharan Africa
SSS	-	Senior Secondary School
STDs	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UN	-	United Nations
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education
USDL	-	United States Department of Labour
WB	-	World Bank

## CHAPTER 1 ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Many children in Ghana are engaged in work, because of the socio-economic situation of their families. For these children, a normal childhood and a sound education are compromised by premature involvement in economic activities in order to survive (Bruscino, 2001; Beveridge, 2005:47; Windborne, 2006:166). It is estimated that more than 218 million children worldwide are engaged in employment (UNICEF, 2010) which often involves heavy and hazardous work. Child labour practices violate international conventions which aim to protect children from economic exploitation and from engaging in work that interferes with their schooling, thus causing a situation which may be damaging to their health and development (Daiute, 2008; Marks, 2012:11). Children of street vendors can be categorised as economically active children.

Children of street vendors face enormous socio-educational challenges which often arise from the socio-economic status of their parents. The parents are unable to provide for the various social and educational needs of their children, thereby forcing them onto the streets to make a living. According to Bruscino (2001) children vending on the streets in Ghana is not a matter of choice, but rather of necessity. With almost thirty percent of Ghanaians living below the poverty line, many parents are compelled to depend on their children for the extra income needed for survival. Canagarajah and Coulombe (1997:8) caution that as long as the threat of poverty lingers in a household, parents will send their children to work which would adversely affect the education and development of the children. This corroborates Windborne's (2006:166) assertion that most often these children are found on the street selling or working instead of attending school, not only for their own upkeep, but also to support their parents by supplementing the household income. The socio-educational and economic implications are destructive, negative and harmful to the development of these children. According to Pittman and Chase-Landsdale (2001:200), children growing up in impoverished communities face multiple social, emotional, educational

and economic obstacles in life; their situation is characterised by severe and chronic poverty within the family and the neighbourhood which manifests in crime and violence, inadequate schooling, no recreational activities and peers who may be young parents or are part of gangs. Thus, children of street vendors in Ghana face several challenges and obstacles as a result of growing up in impoverished communities.

Street life impacts every aspect of the developing child's life. The educational, social-emotional, mental health and development of children are at risk as they mature on the street without recreational, educational, and vocational opportunities (Densley & Joss 2000). Densley and Joss (2000) further divulge that these children are deprived of a humane childhood as constant exposure to the street-life environment and its associated lifestyles adversely affect the child in totality. Children living on the streets are exposed to societal threats: they may experience abuse, are subjected to harassment and arrests, stand a chance to be brutalized by older street children and adults and are often victims of family violence (Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9; Seccombe, 2002; Nunes, 2010:695). Widely viewed as delinquent and guilty of deviant behaviour, these children are stigmatised (Nunes, 2010:709), and subjected to cruel and inhumane treatment and human rights violations (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008:128; Densley & Joss, 2000:222; Umar, 2009:172; Windborne, 2006).

Samson and Cherrier (2009:9) identify the following children as being particularly "at risk" and vulnerable: children engaged in labour, begging children, street children, orphans, and children with disabilities. My study focuses on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors aged seven to eleven. These children also fall within all the categories of children considered as "at risk" and vulnerable in their development. These children, according to Piaget (1973), have reached the stage where they start thinking logically and reasoning on their own, but are easily influenced.

## 1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Given the challenges and vulnerability of children of street vendors as described above, this study sought to explore how they develop socially and educationally. Available statistics show that one in four children works in Ghana in either a labour market or household enterprise, while one out of five children goes to school and works (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997:27; GSS, 2011; USDL, 2008). According to the Ghana Statistical Service, "...out of the estimated 4.7 million children aged seven to fourteen years, an estimated 612,388 children (13%) are economically active..." (GSS, 2008:5) as a result of socio-economic problems. The GSS further points out that some evidence shows that in Ghana, children as young as five years are working (GSS, 2008). According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) it is estimated that as many as 40,000 children are living on the streets in the cities and towns in Ghana. In Accra there are more than 21,140 working children, according to estimates by the Catholic Action for Street Children (CASC, 2010). A lack of statistical data and studies on children of street vendors hamper the provision of accurate data on the subject matter.

While working on my masters' dissertation on the topic, "Providing Bookkeeping Skills for Petty Traders of the TseAddo Community in the La Sub Metro Area of the Greater Accra Region", I realised that most of the children of the petty traders and street vendors I worked with were assisting their parents with their trading activities, consequently neglecting their school attendance. The parents of these children have their shops, stalls, kiosks, and containers close to the main road or just around the corner, enabling the children to take some of the items to the roadside to sell when the traffic is congested.

The children of these vendors are socially, economically, educationally and emotionally vulnerable, which could impact negatively on their development. Many eventually become part of the vicious cycle of poverty and illiteracy. A lot of research has been carried out on street children and streetism in many parts of the world (CASC, 2009; Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008; Densley & Joss, 2000; Hollingsworth, 2012; Samson & Cherrier, 2009; Seccombe, 2002; Nunes, 2010; Umar, 2009; Windborne,

2006). However, it appears that this category of children, that is, children of street vendors who continually find themselves on the streets in the company of their parents, have not been properly classified and investigated and may consequently have been neglected. These children are not the so called 'street children', but they spend most of their time on the streets. It is noteworthy that these children are in constant contact with their parents, unlike the street children who have no or little contact with their parents. It is the aim of this research study to investigate how these children develop socially and educationally. Scientific information on the development of these children may be useful to parents, schools and government departments such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, as well as Departments of Social Welfare and Community Development.

### **1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Street vending became an integral part of the socio-economic structure of Ghana's economy as a result of a combination of political and socio-economic conditions (Mutillah, 2003:4; Barwa, 1995:3-4; Zapata, Contreras & Kruger, 2010; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:48; Folsom, 2006:76; Ibhawoh, 1999:160; Windborne, 2006:158) Many Ghanaians have no other alternative but to enter the informal sector, thereby engaging in street vending, petty trading and hawking, and taking their children along with them.

Even though the majority of children of street vendors are enrolled in schools, they spend most of their time selling on the streets for their parents (Balegamire, 1999:248; Windborne, 2006:166). Akyeampong (2009:193) confirms that most of these children work and attend school at the same time in order to supplement family income or for their own survival, and they consequently often turn up late at school. As children spend the greater part of their time working, their interest in school is diverted (Fafchampsy, 2009:10; Miller, 2005:32), rendering regular school attendance nearly impossible. Even some of those that do attend become so tired from working that they cannot concentrate in the classroom, let alone do their homework, and they therefore abandon education prematurely (Bruscino, 2001; Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010:14).

The social life and circumstances on the street could also impact negatively on the social development of children of street vendors because they are exploited and exposed to abuse and activities inappropriate to their age. The stigmatisation of these children leads to a growing rejection from society and results in experiences of low self-esteem, which commonly evolve into antisocial behaviour as a defensive reaction to a situation of social devaluation. All these aspects form a complex and problematic environment for their social integration (Nunes, 2010:709).

### **1.3.1 Research questions**

The main research question for this study reads as follows:

What are the social and educational challenges in the development of children of street vendors?

The following served as secondary research questions:

- 1) What is the nature and prevalence of children of street vendors in Ghana?
- 2) How do the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development?
- 3) How does life on the street affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors?
- 4) What recommendations from the findings of this study can be made to mitigate the socio-educational problems that children of street vendors experience in their development?

### **1.3.2 Aims of the study**

The aims of this study are:

- To investigate the social and educational challenges in the development of children of street vendors.
- To explore the nature and prevalence of children of street vendors in Ghana.
- To investigate how the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development.

- To investigate how life on the street affects the socio-educational development of children of street vendors.
- To make recommendations from the findings of the study that may mitigate the socio-educational problems that children of street vendors experience in their development.

### **1.3.3 Basic assumptions of the study**

Children of street vendors experience poor health, hunger, abuse and neglect (Brooks, 2008:119).

Children of street vendors are socially, educationally, physically, morally and emotionally vulnerable.

Children of street vendors are subject to a variety of social vices and dangers in life.

The high dropout rate and regular absence of children of street vendors from school will affect their growth and cognitive development.

Poverty is regarded as the main reason for school disruption of children of street vendors, and is moreover considered to be a major factor in the impediment of enrolment and retention in Ghanaian schools (Ananga, 2011; Braimah & King, 2006).

The majority of children of street vendors need interventions and support regarding their education and socialisation as well as their growth and development.

## **1.4 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS**

### **1.4.1 Children/Childhood**

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) states that a child denotes every human being under the age of eighteen years (UNICEF-CRC, 1989:2). Childhood is assumed to be a time for education, socialisation and play (Desai, 2010). Children influence and are influenced by family members and other people (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:18). In relation to this study, children or childhood will focus on children

between the ages of seven and eleven, that is children which are at the concrete operational stage of Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Byrnes, 2001; Case, 1973; Kolb, 1984; Piaget, 1980; Watson, 2002: 27).

#### **1.4.2 Child labourer**

A child labourer is defined as an economically active child who is being exploited. According to Edmonds (2007) most working children in developing countries are supporting their family at home or the family business. In general, the minimum age of employment is at least 15 years of age or the minimum age of completion of compulsory schooling (Edmonds, 2007). In this study, the concept child labourer will refer to a child between the ages of seven and eleven who is working on the street with his or her parents or guardians.

#### **1.4.3 Street vending/vendor**

A street vendor is broadly defined as a self-employed worker in the informal sector who trades in goods or services at public places without having a permanent structure. Street vendors may occupy space on the pavements, sidewalks, alleyways or they may be mobile by moving from place to place with their loads on their head or on wheelbarrows. They usually sell their wares to passengers in moving vehicles or have their stalls, kiosks, shops or containers located by the road side (Bhowmik, 2001; Mitullah, 2003:7-8). They position themselves along major roads and streets at strategic points with heavy human traffic, near shopping malls or at areas where they can be reached by pedestrians and motorists (Mitullah, 2003:7-8). Street vendors deal in a number of activities and trade in a variety of commodities (Macharia, 2007; Mitullah, 2003:7-8). Some street vendors live and sleep in and around their stalls or kiosks or even containers.

#### **1.4.4 Children of street vendors vs. street children**

There are two major categories of street children. UNICEF refers to "children of the street" as children with no real home to go to. These are children living permanently

on the street without any adult supervision. Densley and Joss (2000:218) refer to the other group as “children on the street” which are children who work on the street, have positive relationships and regular contact with family and are loyal to their families (Densley & Joss, 2000:218). Most attend school and return home at the end of the day. This group constitutes the majority of street children in some countries including Ghana, comprising about 70% of the collective group (Densley & Joss, 2000:218). Children of street vendors are children who dwell in the street together with their parents, relatives or guardians. These families normally sleep in and around their stalls, kiosks and containers.

#### **1.4.5 Social development**

Schaffer (in Sanson *et al.*, 2004:145) define social development as the behaviour patterns, feelings, attitudes and concepts children exhibit in relation to other people, including the way that these various features change over time. Watson (2002:2) states that although developmental change occurs throughout the life span, most change occurs during childhood during which the child has to internalise social norms and behaviour required to operate in the social world, such as family, school, neighbourhood and work life.

Although socialization starts at home, Van der Hoek (2005:27) points out that the home and the family are not the only place where children act and function, but as part of the socialisation process they also attend school, interact and play in the street, visit the homes of their friends, join social clubs and go for excursions, to mention but a few (Van der Hoek, 2005). Children of street vendors need to cultivate friendships, join social groups, have role models and confidants – which is unfortunately not normally the case. Their busy schedules leave them with no time and space to explore such opportunities and adventures, and these activities moreover have cost implications.

### **1.4.6 Educational development**

Education is a process of transfer of knowledge and skills for future survival in life (Rust, 2003:111). For the purpose of this study, education as a concept will refer to the process of transferring knowledge and skills by parents, peers, on the street and at school. This study will explore how life on the street affects the educational development of participants.

### **1.4.7 Structural Adjustment Programme**

A Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) can be defined as the process by which key institutions and policies are reconstructed with the objective of advancing economic growth and improving economic efficiency in an economically distressed country (Ibhawoh, 1999:159). SAP aims at putting the stagnating economy of a country back on the road of sustainable growth, when the country is confronted with a major socio-economic crisis (Ibhawoh, 1999:159).

## **1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW**

To contextualise this study, a brief historical background and relevant information on Ghana as well as factors that existed in Ghana before, during and after independence, will be presented.

### **1.5.1 The educational challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana**

Although education is crucial and important to the development of children, not all have access as a result of their socio-economic situation. Most children of street vendors work and go to school at the same time. Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010:14) and Cline, Crafter, de Abreu and O'Dell (2009:29) argue that children who work and attend school simultaneously have little energy or time for their homework or studies, nor do they have time for play, rest and recreation. The severity of work poses a risk to these children's physical, psychological and intellectual health and development. They lose the opportunity for education as their engagement in street-

networking activities poses a risk to a sound education (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008:128; Densley & Joss, 2000; Umar, 2009:172).

These children go to school very late, exhausted and stressed physically and emotionally and unable to concentrate in class; they usually sleep in class for the greater part of the period (Bruscino, 2001). They look unkempt and improperly dressed and may be despised by their teachers and/or ridiculed by their classmates, because of their poor academic performance and learning disabilities and the way they appear (Elbedour, Onwuegbuzie, Caridine, & Abu-Saad, 2002).

The education and developmental well-being of these children are compromised as they continue to assist their parents on the street. Exposure of these children to life on the street may lead to poor adjustment, aggressive and antisocial behaviour, conduct disorders, communication difficulties, poor self-concept, learning disabilities, poor academic outcomes, and high school-dropout rates (Elbedour *et al.*, 2002:255; Densley & Joss, 2000:217; Lewin, 2009). According to Densley and Joss (2000) a vicious cycle is created when the child who has made his livelihood on the street, consequently suffers the effects of the lack of education. The same child who may later become a parent, is ill-equipped to find employment as an adult and may be inclined to send his child to the street (Densley & Joss, 2000). They finally lament that for the child born on the street, life holds very little promise.

### **1.5.2 The social challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana**

Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010:10), Densley and Joss (2000:222) and Cline *et al.*, (2009:29) argue that children's right to education and to play and socialise is undermined when they are made to work. As Edmonds (2007) puts it, a day has a fixed number of hours, therefore time spent working by children reduces the time they will have available for other activities, such as studying and playing.

Since these children spend the greater part of their time on the street, they become exposed to violence, child labour, social vices, street fighting, pollution of different sorts and all kinds of street-networking activities (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008:125).

Children of street vendors are exposed to dangers such as sexual abuse, juvenile delinquency, premature parenthood and prostitution; they are additionally susceptible to Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV-AIDS) and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (Umar, 2009:172) and become easy targets to occult operators (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008:129; Umar, 2009:172).

Being on the street, these children find themselves in a situation that increases their vulnerability; they are viewed negatively and are stigmatized and discriminated against by the very society that created the situation in the first place. They are prevented from unlocking their potential, and therefore denied negotiating power (Densley & Joss, 2000; Nunes, 2010; Samson & Cherrier, 2009:xxi-xxii).

### **1.5.3 The health and emotional challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana**

Life on the street has adverse health consequences. Children working on the streets have to deal with heavy labour and/or the use of dangerous tools and gadgets whilst excessively long working hours obviously expose them to serious health issues (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010). Poor hygiene and safety standards, poor diets, gastro-intestinal diseases and lack of access to medical services for children and their working parents, lack of shelter, occupational hazards and accidents, postural problems and carrying heavy objects are some of the problems associated with being on the street (Hernandez, Zetina, Tapia, Ortiz & Soto, 1996:170; Densley & Joss, 2000:217). Children are exposed to environmental pollution in the streets (Hernandez *et al.*, 1996: 170), some use and depend on substances and alcoholic beverages and they contract various types of infectious diseases (Densley & Joss, 2000:217). The effects of stress also affect their health (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010) leading to social-emotional and mental health problems like mood disorders and depression, suicide, phobias, posttraumatic stress disorder, conduct and anti-social personality disorders, psychoactive substance-use disorders and sleep and eating disorders (Densley & Joss, 2000:217).

Nutritional deficiency affects normal physical growth in terms of height and weight (Densley & Joss, 2000:221). Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010: 22) argue that although many of the health risks which working children are exposed to have an immediate effect on them, several other ailments may only manifest at a later stage in life. Densley and Joss (2000:217) as well as White, Leavy and Masters (2003:380) agree that any of the above-mentioned factors can and do have long-lasting consequences if the child lives to adulthood.

#### **1.5.4 Family crisis and single parents**

Umar (2009) postulates that the majority of children of street vendors are forced to work as a result of economic hardship and parental irresponsibility. The socio-economic situation at home worsens when women are single heads of households without adequate, basic necessities of life. Children have to be withdrawn from school (as some of the fathers shirk their responsibilities) (Umar, 2009:171-172) to supplement family income by joining the already congested market-space of the informal sector (Barwa, 1995:22).

#### **1.5.5 Abuse and neglect of children of street vendors**

Children working on the streets suffer a great deal as a result of their circumstances (Desai, 2010). They are neglected by authorities and the public, they are likely to suffer abuse, are exploited, and they experience violence and accidents. They are easily lured into the vices on the street because of their vulnerability (Desai, 2010). For instance, girls may be compelled to offer sex for food and for protection, exposing them to a high risk of STDs, HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy (Umar, 2009). The predicament of these children constitutes a violation of their basic human rights.

Rights of Children should receive attention. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, U.N. General Assembly 1989) is made up of a Preamble and 54 Articles which state the rights of children and the responsibilities of the State to ensure that those rights are enforced to protect the children. The "...convention outlines social,

economic, cultural, civil, and political rights assured via binding processes of implementing and monitoring by ratifying states” (Daiute, 2008:702).

Article 25 of the constitution of Ghana also states that: “...all persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realization of that right, basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all; secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education” (Ghanaweb, 2013). For the purpose of this study, the concept Rights of Children will refer to all the rights of the child as enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and in the constitution of Ghana.

Peer relationships and influence – The word peer denotes children of approximately the same age and general level of development (Tyler, 1982). Peer relations refer to social behaviours or acts carried out among peers, varying in intensity from superficial relations that may develop in a classroom to the more intense relations of the neighbourhood gang (Tyler, 1982). Tyler (1982) further states that as an individual moves through middle childhood, certain areas of development such as aggression, morality and conformity are especially vulnerable to peer influence. In relation to this study, the word peer will refer to the other street children that are in constant contact with the children of street vendors as a result of their continuous presence on the street.

### **1.5.6 Street life of children of street vendors**

Children of street vendors live with their parents in overcrowded and impoverished home environments, unsafe neighbourhoods, slums, kiosks, containers, and on pavements of shops. Balegamire (1999) notes that these children lack proper hygiene and sanitation, portable drinking water, proper health care, recreational facilities, proper clothing and good transportation systems. Researchers such as Seccombe (2002), Bruscano (2001) and Densley and Joss (2000:217) assert that these children are moreover exposed to various environmental hazards and

dangerous practices which affect their moral and social development, economic independence as well as personal safety. Balegamire (1999) raises specific concerns regarding these children's health when he mentions that most of them buy and consume food prepared in unhygienic conditions on the street, since they do not have any place to cook and cannot afford to eat from restaurants. They are prone to the consequences of inadequate diets, under-feeding, malnutrition, hunger and diseases (Balegamire, 1999). They bath outside in the open just before daybreak because they cannot afford to pay for the public conveniences provided. Some even go for days without taking a bath or cleaning themselves. At night they sleep in kiosks and on verandas in front of shops and stores, exposing themselves to thefts, abuses and all kinds of diseases.

Exposure of these children to life on the street may lead to poor adjustment, aggressive and antisocial behaviour, conduct disorders, communication difficulties, adjustment problems, poor self-concept and low self-esteem (Elbedour *et al.*, 2002:255; Densley & Joss, 2000:217). They are sometimes severely mistreated and traumatized which may cause them to become disruptive (Bruscino, 2001). As a result they experience developmental problems and a decline in their well-being which pose a major challenge to the developing child's sense of trust, security, and confidence (Elbedour *et al.*, 2002).

### **1.5.7 Factors leading to the proliferation of street vending in Ghana**

#### **1.5.7.1 Economic climate**

Prior to independence, Ghana was considered as one of the most affluent and prolific countries in Africa playing an integral role in international trade (Hilson & Potter, 2005:103). According to White and Killick (2001), the drive for higher service provision that followed independence faltered in the 1970s. Development strategies pursued since independence failed to yield the desired results and threw the country into economic distress (Barwa, 1995:3; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:48).

The government thus embarked on Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, in an attempt to revive the failing economy (Hilson & Potter, 2005:103). According to Hilson and Potter (2005:103), policies associated with SAPs were criticized for deepening poverty within the country's subsistence economy. The World Bank (2001) confirms that the impact of economic reform ("structural adjustment") on the poor was devastating; the poor suffered as they were not protected during the period of structural adjustment. With no reliable social welfare systems, millions of poor people, especially those in the urban centres, became destitute in the already overcrowded cities and towns (Folson, 2006:76; Ibhawoh, 1999:160; Mitullah, 2003:4; Windborne, 2006:158). The majority of them entered the informal sector as petty traders and street vendors. Woodworth (2000) posits that the informal sector has become the means by which the poor masses attempt to cope with life's vicissitudes and cater for their children, surviving one day at a time.

#### 1.5.7.2 The political climate

Ghana was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to attain independence from the British in 1957 (Obeng-Odoom, 2010:393). Ghana's gained independence under favourable circumstances as it was endowed with physical resources, prosperous and sizable traditional and educated classes, and a tradition of anti-colonial activism (Morrison, 2004:421-422). Ghana's political independence was stable under the first civilian government (Teye, 1988:336) until the ruling party turned autocratic (Morrison, 2004:422), which led to the first military coup d'état in 1966 followed by a cycle of military interventions in this model postcolonial state.

Unfortunately, politicians and their cronies and multiple political structures became increasingly corrupt (Allen, 1995:305) as corruption and embezzlement became distinct features of both political and economic life (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47). Furthermore, instead of relying on support from the populace, the ruling parties rather used force to hang on to power resulting in political conflict becoming increasingly violent (Allen, 1995:303, 305).

Many Ghanaians found it difficult to cope with the overall effects of the political conditions and adjustments taking place. Some individuals who could not bear the brunt of the situation, but nevertheless wished to share in the benefits aligned themselves with political parties as “faithful party supporters”. The majority sought refuge by joining the ever-growing informal sector as petty traders and street vendors.

#### 1.5.7.3 Educational situation

When Ghana became independent in 1957 it possessed some of the best educational indicators in sub-Saharan Africa (Rolleston, 2009:197) with an estimated enrolment rate of 75 percent of children aged 6 to 14 years (Ginsburg, Adams, Clayton, Mantilla, Sylvester & Wang, 2002:28). By the mid-1970s growth in participation had stalled, and a series of events (both political and economic) had derailed attempts by government to ensure that every Ghanaian child received a full cycle of basic education (Little, 2010:1). Government’s investment in education reduced drastically during the economic downturn, plunging the entire educational system into a crisis (Ginsburg *et al.*, 2002:28) with Ghana experiencing a decline in primary enrolment rate of 10 percent (White & Killick, 2001:77).

The Education Reform Programme introduced in 1987/88 which reduced the length of pre-tertiary education from 17 years to 12 years (Folson, 2006:78), placed special emphasis on vocational education, science, technology and creativity (World Education Encyclopaedia, 2002:509). Due to difficulties in the implementation of the reform, only 50% of primary school children managed to transit to the Junior Secondary School (JSS) and a mere 20% of them eventually got to the Senior Secondary School (SSS) level, according to Braimah and King (2006:25). The majority of children of school going age therefore had to quit the formal school system to either join the informal apprenticeship system, or enter the informal sector to trade (Braimah & King, 2006:25).

The government later formulated another reform policy in the education sector entitled Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (fCUBE). However, embedded in the fCUBE are indirect costs, such as children's school uniforms, shoes, stationery, school bags and transportation (Akyeampong, 2009:175; Ananga, 2011:6; Boas & Hatloy, 2008:19; Rolleston, 2009:197; Windborne, 2006:166). Street vendors who cannot afford to bear these costs sometimes withdraw their children from school so that they may work to generate income to support the costs of schooling.

#### 1.5.7.4 Urbanization/Industrialization/migration

The ever-increasing rural/urban migration in West Africa, including Ghana where the bulk of the urban dwellers are made up of migrants from rural areas and other small peri-urban towns, also led to the widespread emergence of small scale merchants (street vendors, petty traders, hawkers, porters) in the urban areas. These vendors trade in various items and perform other menial jobs (Brimah & King, 2006: 24). The majority of these migrants end up on the streets as they cannot find any jobs in the formal sector. Those already on the streets also start families; sadly these families usually have single parents.

#### 1.5.7.5 Overpopulation

White and Killick (2001) maintain that African towns are expanding almost twice as fast as the total population, and the provision of amenities, such as housing, roads, energy supply, water and sanitation fail to keep up with the population growth. In addition, lack of employment and the increasing cost of living have led to the creation of slums and ghettos with their attendant socio-economic and political problems (White & Killick, 2001).

In Ghana, for instance, many people (especially from the northern part) migrated from the rural areas to the cities in search of greener pastures due to poverty, drought, famine and civil war (Folson, 2006). As the urban centres became overpopulated

and overcrowded, facilities and utilities were not upgraded rendering them unable to cater for the growing numbers. This situation has led to many people in urban areas, such as Accra and Kumasi (the second largest city in Ghana), staying in kiosks and containers, with some sleeping on the verandas of offices and in front of shops, on sidewalks or on abandoned building sites.

#### 1.5.7.6 Unemployment

The economy of Ghana is not growing fast enough to provide decent employment to especially the growing youth population (Brammah & King, 2006). Of the 45% of the total work force in Ghana, only a third (35%) work in the formal sector while 68% work in the informal sectors (Brammah & King, 2006). The retrenchment policies of SAPs resulted in high levels of unemployment which led to the majority of the urban unemployed joining the informal sector (Barwa, 1995; Ibhawoh, 1999; Hilson & Potter, 2005).

#### **1.5.8 Effect of poverty on children of street vendors**

According to Beveridge (2005:47) poverty affects all aspects of life, including housing, nutrition and health as well as education, and has resulted in the demand for families to engage their children in economic activities to supplement the household income. In their study, Ajiboye and Oladiti (2008:129) found that the majority of children working on the street stay with their parents. Kitaura (2009: 615) and Umar (2009:171) posit that families that are not economically sound engage their children in work to supplement the household earnings, and these children are sometimes discouraged by their parents to attend school. Boas and Hatloy (2008:4) clarify that in most cases these children are not necessarily pushed to work because of exploitation, but because work is seen as the best alternative survival strategy available.

A study by Boas and Hatloy (2008) reveal that most working children would not like to continue with what they are currently doing, they would rather like to attend and

complete school, grow up to become responsible citizens, get married, find other kinds of employment or economic activities or embark on new coping strategies (Boas & Hatloy, 2008). Dwelling and working on the street is temporary and not a life-long career; it is a situation people find themselves in as they struggle to make a living in the urban centre (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:17).

Densley and Joss (2000) caution that while most street working children report the desire to return and remain in school to have a better life in future, the longer they stay on the street, the greater the likelihood of them becoming truant and exhibiting signs of cognitive and emotional dysfunction, which could be detrimental to their educational attainment. They are likely to lose the ability to use their intellectual capacities to change their situation and also to positively affect their families, their communities, the nation and the world (Densley & Joss, 2000:221).

## **1.6 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS**

This research study adopted Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological systems (1979) and Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973) as the theoretical and conceptual frameworks respectively.

### **1.6.1 Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (1979)**

This theory is relevant to my topic because it looks at the position of the child at various levels of systems as well as how they impact on the development of the child. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory examines a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form the child's environment. Thus, children are shaped not only by their personal attributes, but also by the ever-widening environments wherein they develop (Bogenschneider, 1996:129). Bronfenbrenner's theory positions the child at the centre of multiple circles of influence, emphasising that only by considering these interrelationship structures that influences the child, can a child's development be adequately addressed (Freeman, 2011:829). These multiple circles of influence can be distinguished as the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem.

### 1.6.1.1 Microsystem

The microsystem is the first level of the ecological system and consists of the interaction between the developing child and other individuals within his immediate environment, such as the parents (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). In this case we refer to those interactions and relationships closest to the developing person, such as family, peers, and the school. The microsystem in this study focuses on children of street vendors and their immediate environment which includes family, school and peers (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291).

### 1.6.1.2 Mesosystem

The mesosystem which is the second level of the ecological system, is made up of the interrelations among the influences closest to the developing person, such as the relationships between parents or between parents and schools. Mesosystems encompass the connections between two or more microsystems, each involving the developing person (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). Thus, the mesosystem in this study encompasses interactions between the children of street vendors and the children of street vendor's family, the marketplace, school and peer group (Bronfenbrenner, 1976:6).

### 1.6.1.3 Exosystem

The third level which is the exosystem, is an extension of the mesosystem involving the concrete social structures, both formal and informal, that impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings containing the child, and which as a result influence and even determine what goes on there (Bronfenbrenner, 1976:6). For this study, the exosystem consists of the larger social settings, such as the surrounding community that impacts the child indirectly through his/her parents (Bronfenbrenner, 1976).

#### 1.6.1.4 Macrosystem

The fourth level, the macrosystem, is the most distant from the individual and consists of political systems, economic conditions, cultural values and laws, all of which permeate through into the inner levels to influence the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1976:6). The circles of more distant people, events and institutions, including cultural beliefs and ideals that most indirectly impact on the individual, are part of his macrosystem (Freeman, 2011:829). In this study, the macrosystem embraces the broader social and cultural interactions and modifications that influence the child.

#### 1.6.1.5 Chronosystem

The chronosystem incorporate the time dimension of Bronfenbrenner's model, including the succession of ecological systems over the life course and the impact of social change on the ecological systems (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). Social change may affect individual development through all of these ecological systems (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291).

According to Bronfenbrenner (in Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004: 289), changing relations between the developing child and his or her changing context are the basic processes involved in human development. The social world (e.g. family, school, work life, or even the broader societal system) and the child provide developmental options and set up mutual constraints that delimit the next set of steps possible for developmental change (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

### **1.6.2 Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973)**

Piaget's theory is developmental in nature, emphasising developmental stages at which learning occurs. He proposes that individuals use a scheme, consisting of physical or mental actions, which are repeated in order to attain goals or solve problems (Piaget, 1973). According to Piaget, learning occurs in stages and confronting discrepant ideas (ideas that do not fit into someone's scheme) are essential for knowledge growth (Piaget, 1980).

Piaget explains that a person understands which information fits into his/her established view of the world, and when information does not fit, the person must re-examine and adjust his/her thinking to accommodate the new information (Piaget, 1980). Central to Piaget's theory is how the individual adapts to an ever-changing world (Gratch & Landers, 1971:359). Broadly speaking, Piaget regards the intellectual development of the child as a process of constructing a succession of systems of action, each more flexible and abstract than the preceding ones (Gratch & Landers, 1971:359). Learning is different in each stage of Piaget's developmental theory, but children at all stages are responsible for their own learning through equilibration.

#### 1.6.2.1 Piaget's four stages of cognitive development

Piaget's theory describes four stages, namely sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational and formal operational (Kolb, 1984:23-25; Case, 1973:20-23). The sensorimotor stage occurs between birth and 2 years. During this stage the child experiences the world through his/her senses and actions such as touching and looking. In the preoperational stage (2-6 years) the child is able to represent the world with words and images, but he/she is still not able to use true logical reasoning. In the next stage, the concrete operational stage (7-11 years), the child begins to think more logically about actual objects and experiences and starts to make rational judgments about concrete or observable phenomena (Case, 1973:22; Kolb, 1984:24). The formal operational stage occurs from 12 years through to adulthood. During this stage children learn to use abstract reasoning (Case, 1973:20-23; Kolb, 1984:23-25).

#### 1.6.2.2 The concrete operational stage

For the purpose of this study I shall concentrate on children in Piaget's third stage of cognitive development, which is the concrete operational stage. What Piaget meant by *concrete* is that mental operations are possible as the child considers real-life situations, concrete instances of a problem, not hypothetical or highly theoretical problems (Watson, 2002).

Children in the concrete operational stage are able to take another's point of view and take into consideration more than one viewpoint at the same time, giving them the ability to solve increasingly complex problems (Gratch & Landers, 1971). Children at this stage are in the position to carry out operations on their environment and develop logical thought.

The majority of children of street vendors are deprived of the development stages as propounded by Piaget, because they are left alone on the street without any supervision and direction. Children in the concrete operational stage need guidance to be able to reason logically and organise thoughts coherently, which is crucial for development to the formal operational stage which involves abstract thinking or hypothetical concepts. Children of street vendors do not regularly attend school and even when they do, they are late and/or unable to do their homework because they have to work after school. They sleep in class because they are tired from household chores and working on the streets (Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009).

An environment must be created for the children to develop their full potential during the concrete operation stage and for that matter, all the other stages.

## **1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **1.7.1 Paradigmatic perspective**

A paradigm is defined as a broad framework of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which yield themselves to a particular world-view (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:47). There are three main paradigms, namely positivism, interpretivism and critical theory. In this study I work from an interpretive paradigm.

#### **1.7.1.1 Interpretivist paradigm**

This study adopted the interpretive paradigm of qualitative research. Interpretive researchers operate with the assumption that access to reality is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:59). The interpretive approach states that things should be studied in their

natural settings in an attempt to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings that people assign to them. For this research, the interviews of street vendors and their children and observations of the children were interpreted and investigated within their natural situations and circumstances. The ultimate aim of interpretivist research is to make available a perspective of a situation and to analyse the situation under study so as to provide an understanding into the way in which a particular group of people make sense of their situations or phenomena they encounter (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:60). I attempted to understand the phenomenon under study through the meanings that people assign to them, and while focusing on the complexity of human understanding as situations emerged.

#### 1.7.1.2 Qualitative research approach

This study utilised a qualitative approach to explore how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) qualitative researchers seek answers to questions that focus on how social experience is created and given meaning. Qualitative researchers study humans, participants and objects in their natural settings, attempting to understand or interpret the phenomena in terms of the meaning that people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:3). Qualitative methods produce information only on the particular cases studied; hence smaller but focused samples are more often needed, rather than large samples. A qualitative approach is appropriate for the process of investigating the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors as it is systematic, rigorous, contextual and flexible.

#### 1.7.2 Case study research design

This study employed a qualitative case study research design. It is important for every researcher to have a clear idea of what must be researched and how it should be done. Research designs always address certain key issues, such as who will be studied, how the participants will be selected, and what information will be gathered from or about them (Monette, Sullivan & De Jong, 2005:9).

Case studies involve a complete or partial detailed descriptive account of a particular individual's life, an organisation or an event (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:240-241). It involves understanding how the social world looks from the perspective of the person being studied as it provides a rich and detailed description of people's lives, experiences, and circumstances (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:240-241). Case studies allow people to speak in their own voices which make them a valuable source of data (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:240-241). The qualitative case study for this research comprises six children living in the street with their parents. I investigated six children with their parents; each individual presented his/her own case and told his/her own story of how he/she experienced the phenomenon. The qualitative case study permitted me to use varied sources and strategies in data collection and undoubtedly allowed for notable corroboration with existing knowledge and practice in education (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Merriam, 1988).

### **1.7.3 Phenomenological approach**

In phenomenological research, the researcher identifies the "essence" of human experiences concerning a phenomenon, as described by the participants in the study (Creswell, 2003:15). The researcher thus collects data from persons who have experienced the phenomenon and develops a composite description of the essence of the experience for all the individuals— what they experienced and how they experienced it (Creswell, Hanson, Plano, Clark & Morales, 2007:253).

This strategy helped me to determine, describe and understand the challenges experienced by children of street vendors as I dealt with a limited sample and was involved over a period of time, which allowed for the development of relationships of meaning (McBurney, 1998:173; Creswell, 2003:15; Van der Hoek, 2005). In this study I am interested in the phenomenon of the socio-educational challenges experienced by children of street vendors in Ghana.

### **1.7.4 Population**

A population refers to all the possible cases of the phenomenon which the researcher is interested in studying, and in selecting a good sample, he/she needs to clearly define the population from which the sample is drawn (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:131). In this study, my population consisted of six children of street vendors and six parents (one parent for each of the selected children) in Ghana.

### **1.7.5 Sampling**

Abrams (2010:541) acknowledges that sampling is crucial to the integrity of a qualitative study because it is strongly related to the richness of the data collected as well as to the breadth and scope of the conclusions that are drawn. Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:130-131) concur that the validity and accuracy of research results depend heavily on how samples are drawn.

A sample consists of one or more elements chosen from a population which facilitates a glimpse of the behaviour and attitudes of whole groups of people (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:130-131). Qualitative sampling is generally naturalistic, because it usually "...takes place in ordinary settings where people 'do' their lives" (Abrams, 2010: 539). A purposive sample, according to McBurney (1998:160), is a non-random sample that is chosen for some characteristic that it possesses which provides relevant data for a study. In purposive sampling, the researcher uses her judgment and prior knowledge to choose who will provide the best perspective on the phenomenon under investigation, and who will best serve the purposes of the study (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:148).

For the purpose of this study six children and their parents were selected purposefully from the Kaneshie Sub-Metropolitan Authority in the Greater Accra Region, the capital city of Ghana. The sub-metropolitan has a major market located near a dual carriage way with a traffic light intersection which allows vehicular flow from four directions. Children living with their parents in this particular location were purposefully selected because they experience a lot of vehicular and human traffic

which enables them to trade or do their business. The pavements are congested with stalls, kiosks and containers owned or rented by street vendors. This is where vending activities take place and also where the vendors normally shelter.

### **1.7.6 Participants**

I conducted and recorded in-depth interviews with six children between seven and eleven years living and working or selling in stalls, kiosks and containers along major roads at Kaneshie in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. These participants consisted of three girls and three boys from the Kaneshie submetro. I also conducted and recorded in-depth interviews with six parents (a parent of each of the selected children).

### **1.7.7 The role of the researcher**

Within the qualitative paradigm the researcher is an inextricable part of the research endeavour (Mantzoukas, 2004:1000). The researcher is not merely another individual in the research endeavour, but rather the central figure, the interpreter, the writer, the creator and constructor of the researched world (Mantzoukas, 2004:1000). I was chiefly responsible for the practical activities of research: sampling, data collection, data management, data analysis, and report on all findings on participants. I was mindful that my role dictated the progress of the study to a large extent and its success depended on the level of trust and acceptance that I reached with the participants (Chabilall, 2004:21).

### **1.7.8 Data collection strategies**

Qualitative data, according to Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston and St. Pierre (2007:27), encompass the "...rough materials researchers assemble from the world they are studying...", which include field notes, documents, transcriptions of interviews and interactions, artefacts, observation, focus groups, collection of extant texts, elicitation of texts and the creation or collection of images (Carter & Little,

2007:1318-1319; Freeman *et al.*, 2007:27). It constitutes the basic information from which conclusions will be drawn (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:9).

#### 1.7.8.1 Interviews

A qualitative research interview investigates human existence in detail, gives access to subjective experiences and allows researchers to describe intimate aspects of people's life worlds (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005:157). Interviews are instruments that provide the researcher with descriptions, narratives or texts which the researcher then interprets and reports on, according to his or her research interests (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005:164). An interview is a face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and interviewee during which the interviewer reads questions directly to a participant and records his or her answers (De Vos, 1998:299; Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:178, 172) with the purpose of understanding the interviewee's life experience or situation, as expressed in his or her own words (De Vos, 1998:299).

I conducted personal interviews with children of street vendors in Ghana and their parents. In personal interviews, according to McBurney (1998:157), the interviewer can establish rapport with the person being interviewed, direct the attention of the participants to the material, motivate them to answer the questions carefully (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005:164, McBurney, 1998:157) and give more accurate and complete information (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:181). I was able to notice when participants seemed to misunderstand a question and subsequently explain its meaning, as well as probe for more complete answers when a participant gave a brief answer or did not respond to the question (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005:164; McBurney, 1998:157; Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:181).

I conducted a standardized open-ended interviews where the exact form and content was predetermined and the same questions were repeated in the same order to all the participants (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:443-445). The interviews were semi-structured and questions were open-ended to allow for complete individualistic expression. In order to ensure that no aspect of the participant's views and opinions

was lost, I endeavoured to provide exact translations of the responses given by the children in their mother- tongue. Interviews were recorded on audio tape and notes were taken.

#### 1.7.8.2 Observations

Observations, according to McBurney (1998:129), involve recording on-going behaviour without attempting to influence it. Observations are made of the participants in their natural setting as they go about their everyday life in order to see how individuals experience and give meaning to what is happening to them (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:219-220).

In participant/observer research, the investigator or researcher becomes involved and takes part in the events and activities of people, groups or situations under scrutiny by observing them in their natural environment (Dane, 1990:158; McBurney, 1998:133; Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:221). Observations enabled me to keep a record of all behaviours of interest and the times at which they occurred (McBurney, 1998:133). McBurney (1998:144) states three important rules for observations: careful recording, use of a variety of types of measures and care for the privacy of participants.

#### 1.7.8.3 Field notes

McBurney (1998: 144) warns that all of the care expended on designing and conducting a study is wasted if the data are compromised by carelessness in recording and handling. Before the study begins, the researcher must have a plan for recording and handling the data, must be systematic in making field notes and needs to be selective in what is recorded (McBurney, 1998: 145).

Detailed, descriptive accounts of the observations made during a given period are called field notes (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:232). My field notes contained, among others, descriptions of the general physical and social setting that were observed, the people who were the focus of my observations, individual actions and

activities, and group behaviour (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:233). I used a notebook to document all of my field-work activities and all the important dates and interviews and observations of participants (McBurney, 1998: 140).

## **1.8 DATA ANALYSIS**

Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:9) note that data analysis unlocks the information hidden in the raw data and transforms it into something useful and meaningful. It refers to the process of deriving some meaning from observations made during a research project (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:369). Qualitative data analysis is a process followed by a researcher to analyse and summarise data in ways that make it possible to see any patterns that exist (McBurney, 1998: 53). I attempted to transform the raw data and extract meaning from it which enabled me to learn whether my ideas were confirmed or refuted by the empirical reality (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:369). I kept in mind the research questions that guided my study and which I endeavoured to answer, as well as the aims and objectives of the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:99 –100).

I analyzed the data personally to explain the qualitative value of information by using a coding system. The data collected were organised into meaningful categories and themes. Field notes gathered during observation was analysed and also presented in actual quotes to show the real effect of the vending activities on these children. Tape recorded interviews and conversations were transcribed to improve explanation of the data as gathered from the population of interest.

### **1.8.1 Trustworthiness**

Creswell and Miller (2000:124) define validity as how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena. Validity is generally understood by qualitative researchers as "...the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from data" (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 27). The qualitative research design tests

trustworthiness via credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Creswell & Miller, 2000:126; Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007:26).

According to Creswell and Miller (2000:124), qualitative researchers routinely employ member checking, triangulation, thick description, peer reviews, and external audits in establishing trustworthiness. As a qualitative researcher I engaged in one or more of these procedures as I reported results in my investigations (Creswell & Miller, 2000:124). I was guided by the following suggestions by Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:244-245) to ensure trustworthiness during observation:

- I was as thorough as possible in describing and interpreting situations.
- I carefully assessed my own desires, values, and expectations to see if they might bias my observations.
- I considered how the condition of the observer might influence observations and conclusions.
- I made audio recordings of interviews.

### **1.8.2 Delimitation of the study**

This research project was conducted around Kaneshie Market area of Accra Metropolitan Authority of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. The study focused on six participants chosen from children selling and working for their parents on the street. Target participants were children within the age category of 7 to 11 years. Three males and three females were selected.

### **1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2005:49) indicate that people are the subject of social research, and because people have rights and feelings, special considerations apply in social research. Ethics is the study of what is proper and improper behaviour, of moral duty and obligation (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:49). Ethics involves the responsibilities that researchers bear towards those who participate in research,

those who sponsor research and those who are potential beneficiaries of research (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:49).

In making sure that strategies for ethical issues were adhered to in the conduct of my research, I applied for ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria. The ethical guidelines and considerations stipulated for the conduct of research of this type, were strictly adhered to.

Respect for human rights, dignity and privacy, confidentiality, sensitivity of the research topic, research setting, gaining access, informed consent, non-deception, the absence of psychological or physical harm, and a commitment to collecting and presenting reliable and valid empirical materials (Peled & Leichtentritt, 2002:146; Fargas-Malet, McSherry, Larkin & Robinson, 2010) are ethical issues to be faced while conducting any form of research. These issues were also considered in my study.

## **1.10 LAYOUT OF THE STUDY**

The study is divided into seven chapters according to the following layout:

### **Chapter 1: Orientation and background**

Chapter 1 provides an orientation of the study which includes the background of the proposed research, critical research questions, clarification of concepts, theoretical framework, methodology, delimitations and limitations, significance and plan of study.

### **Chapter 2: The street vending phenomenon**

This chapter contains the review of literature relevant to street vending.

### **Chapter 3: The theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks**

This chapter discusses various frameworks that underpin the research study.

#### **Chapter 4: Research methodology**

This chapter provides the outlay and implementation of the proposed qualitative research methodology, selected research design, research participants and data collection methods that were followed during the empirical research of this study.

#### **Chapter 5: Data analysis**

This chapter contained the findings of the research and the explanation of these findings.

#### **Chapter 6: The data Interpretation**

Interpretations and discussions that emerged during the analysis of the results from the data are provided in this chapter.

#### **Chapter 7: Summary, conclusions and recommendations**

This chapter discusses the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE STREET VENDING PHENOMENON

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of chapter 2 is to review the literature pertaining to the topic and present some perspectives of current research and related debates. The focus is on related literature dealing with the street vending phenomenon and the factors that affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors. The idea is to cast light on the background of the topic and to provide a historical lens to view and share relevant information.

The literature review commences with a brief historical overview of Ghana, in order to reveal more on the setting as geographical information on the pertinent country also impacts the socio-educational aspects. The socioeconomic, political, educational and other related factors exerting an influence before, during and after independence in Ghana in 1957, also play a profound role as part of an endeavour to delineate circumstances of relevance to the educational development of these street vendors' children. Dwelling on viewpoints of researchers and statistics from the relevant sectors of the Ghanaian government, international bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), it is argued that the proliferation of street vending in Ghana can largely be attributed to the historical factors and events that prevailed in Ghana since independence (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Mitullah, 2003:7-8). More specifically, it is argued that the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the early 80s in Ghana impacted other sectors of the economy such as education, health, politics, housing, migration, urbanization, and employment, and created conditions which led to the proliferation of street trading in Ghana (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:126; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Ibhawoh, 1999:163; Mitullah, 2003:7-8; Skinner, 2008). The plight of children of street vendors in Ghana cannot be appropriately understood, without the scrutiny of Ghana's socio-economic make-up as well as reference to the adjustment programmes that have been the crux of all socio-economic and political activities in Ghana for almost three decades. Furthermore, the then unstable political climate, poor implementation of educational reforms, migration,

unemployment, and rapid unplanned urbanization further exacerbated the situation in the country leading to the emergence of informal street trading in Ghana (Mitullah, 2003:7-8; Skinner, 2008). The relevant information regarding Ghana's socio-economic dynamics is, therefore, discussed next.

## **2.2 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GHANA**

Ghana was the first African country south of the Sahara to gain independence from British colonial rule in 1957 (Obeng-Odoom, 2010:393). Formerly known as the Gold Coast, the Republic of Ghana is situated in the West Africa Region, bordered by the Gulf of Guinea in the south, Burkina Faso in the north, Ivory Coast in the west and Republic of Togo in the east (Millennium Development Goals MDGs Report, Republic of Ghana, 2010:3). The population of Ghana has grown very rapidly, from a figure of approximately seven million inhabitants at the time of independence (Enos, 1995) to about 24,658,823 as at 26 September 2010 as indicated in the Statistical Service of Ghana 2010 Census final Report (GSS, 2012). Ghana's population has thus increased by 30.4 % from 18,912,079 in 2000 to 2010 (GSS, 2012). According to Braimah and King (2006:24) Ghana's population is young and still growing.

Ghana spans an area of approximately 239 000 square kilometres (European Commission, 2005:6). Ghana is ecologically, divided naturally into a southern coastal plain around Accra and a central rainforest region around Kumasi, which are relatively developed and urbanized, and a rural northern savannah grassland with its poor resources and underdevelopment (Horton, 2001:2141-42). Ghana has a tropical climate which is warm and comparatively dry along the southeast coastal belt, is hot and humid in the southwest and hot and dry in northern part (Weissman, 1990:1625; MDG, 2010:3). These divisions according to Horton (2001:2142) caused a concentration of wealth in Accra and Kumasi. This shift in focus ascribed to climatic conditions resulted in the northern part suffering greater economic depravity and social neglect as compared to the south (Akyeampong, Djangmah, Oduro, Seidu & Hunt, 2007:xiii). As of a direct consequence, most of the population is concentrated in the southern part of Ghana namely; Ashanti, Greater Accra, Eastern and Western

regions. Around two thirds of Ghana's inhabitants live in rural communities (European Commission, 2005:6). Economically the north has been persistently neglected by the colonial rulers and subsequent governments (EC, 2005:6), which has resulted in the majority of the youth from the north, to migrate to the southern sector of the country in search of greener pastures.

Ghana is an ethno-linguistically diverse society, which has about 45 and 60 indigenous languages belonging to one of 13 major language groups, excluding regional dialects. (Agbemabiese, 2007:19; Ginsburg *et al.*, 2000:28) The English language became the official language due to British colonial presence for many years (Agbemabiese, 2007:19; Ginsburg *et al.*, 2000:28).

In global terms Ghana remains economically poor (Rolleston, 2009:196) and heavily dependent on international financial and technical support although well-endowed with human and natural resources (Andrzejewski, Reed & White, 2009:230; EC, 2005:8-9). According to Ghana National Development Planning Commission (NDPC 2010:8), the structure of the Ghanaian economy has not changed much over the decades. It continues to revolve around subsistence agriculture, which employs more than 60% of the total work force, consisting of mainly small scale peasant landholders; a negligible manufacturing sector and a burgeoning informal sector (MDG, 2010:3; EC, 2005:8,12).

After several years of military rule, Ghana adopted a new constitution in 1992 that initiated a multi-party system (EC, 2005:7). The current government is a presidential democracy with an elected parliament and independent judiciary (MDG, 2010:3; EC, 2005:7). Ghana is divided administratively into ten regions and 170 decentralized districts with Accra being the capital city of the country (Ghanaweb, 2014). The Accra Metropolitan Authority is divided in sub metros to allow for effective local government administration and participation.

Ghana faces a number of socio-economic challenges, for instance, agriculture is dependent on climatic factors and conditions. Recurrent droughts in the north,

deforestation and soil erosion affect agricultural activities severely in many parts of the country, while habitat destruction, overgrazing and unregulated poaching have also threatened wildlife populations. Furthermore, pollution of the water bodies and the inadequate supplies of water are issues of concern in the country (EC, 2005:9-10). The current socio-economic development strategy of Ghana is based on a 25-year development perspective set up in 1994 referred to as “Ghana: Vision 2020” with its primary aim to transform Ghana from low income status to middle income status within a decentralized democratic environment by 2020 (EC, 2005:13; MDG, 2010:69; NDPC 2010:2). The improvements envisaged for 2020 exact attention to accelerating economic growth, reducing poverty and improving the quality of life for Ghanaians, by focusing on human development, economic growth, urban and rural development, infrastructure development, and an enabling environment (EC, 2005:13; NDPC, 2010:2). Even though these vision statements are laudable, they still remain a mirage for a majority of Ghanaians and the reality is that many Ghanaians are struggling to eke out a living given the fact that their purchasing power has not altered that much (EC, 2005:13; NDPC, 2010:2).

## **2.3 MAJOR FACTORS LEADING TO THE PROLIFERATION OF STREET VENDING/TRADE IN GHANA**

After the struggle for independence was won and the race for national development begun, the ensuing tidal waves resulted in a myriad of complex upheavals in the economic, social and relational hub of this African society. A range of factors enabled some segments of the population to place themselves on winning platforms to the detriment of the larger society who are on the very fringes of the poverty line and forced several millions to take up petty trading, street vending and any informal trading to make ends meet and for their very survival.

### **2.3.1 Economic factors leading to the proliferation of street vending in Ghana**

This section looks at the various economic factors that led to the proliferation of street vending. It deals with economic activities that took place in Ghana before, during and after independence.

### 2.3.1.1 Pre Independence

Prior to declaring independence, Ghana had a vibrant and prosperous economy and counted among the most flourishing and proficient countries in Africa (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:25; Hilson & Potter, 2005:103). The country possessed a stable economy and was the world's leading producer of cocoa, and rich in natural resources in addition to playing an integral role in international and global trade (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:25). The economy of Ghana was thus well-endowed in skills and finance in terms of comparing it with other flourishing African countries (Enos, 1995). Ghana's future looked bright and promising.

### 2.3.1.2 Post Independence

According to White and Killick (2001), the drive to higher service provision that followed independence faltered in the 1970s and subsequent challenges manifested in a rapidly growing population combined with very low economic growth rates and a deteriorating sectoral, monetary and fiscal policy environment (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:25; Enos, 1995). During that era, the economy was in the doldrums; there was socio-economic stagnation and both agriculture and the industry suffered (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:8; Enos 1995) with Ghana experiencing political instability (Hilson & Potter, 2005:103; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47).

The development strategies pursued since independence failed to yield the expected results due to the country's focus on large state-owned enterprises, which were heavily dependent on the state and accelerating inflation resulting in bankruptcy with withered foreign reserves, and national debt (Barwa, 1995: ix, 2-3; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000:473). Ghana's economy became severely flawed and declined due to two decades of gross economic mismanagement, maladministration, corruption, inefficiencies, improprieties, deteriorating infrastructure and environmental degradation (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Ibhawoh, 1999:163; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000:473; Sowa, 2002:3).

According to Sowa (2002:4-5) the economic crisis of the seventies and eighties severely affected labour and manpower development as high rates of inflation were not matched by an equivalent increase in the nominal wage. Workers' real income consequently dropped drastically, which led to most of them looking for alternative means of livelihood by taking jobs in the informal sector with trading being the most common option (Barwa, 1995:4-5; Sowa, 2002:5). The situation deteriorated, resulting in a massive brain drain of Ghanaians, and the medical, engineering and teaching professions were mostly affected (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:26; Folsom, 2006:80; Sowa, 2002:5). By the beginning of the 1980s both skilled workers and unemployed unskilled youth were leaving in droves to neighbouring countries and other places in search of better economic opportunities (Azarya & Chazan 1987:118-120; Coulombe & Wodon 2007:26; Sowa, 2002:5). The plight of the Ghanaian economy was further aggravated by external shocks such as plummeting cocoa prices and rising crude oil prices, coupled with low cocoa production, severe occasions of droughts and bush-fires of the early 80s. In addition the over one million Ghanaians who were repatriated from Nigeria in 1983 caused an increasing unemployment to unprecedented levels (Barwa, 1995:3; Bofo-Arthur, 1999:48; Ibhawoh, 1999:163).

According to Reimers (1994:122) the 1980s were a period of serious economic decline in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa to the extent that real spending fell and both quality and quantity suffered (White & Killick, 2001). There was a shortage of facilities in Ghana and even the most basic commodities such as food, raw materials and even water, became scarce to the extent that people had to queue to purchase these items, which were rationed at high cost (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:113; Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:26; Sowa, 2002:3). The poor economic situation also led to a fall in quality service delivery in the healthcare, education and other social service sectors which resulted in general impoverishment and a decline in living standards in the country (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:113; Sowa, 2002:4). These situations pay testimony to the alarming historical backdrop and poor economic environment on which several stringent structural adjustment programmes were to be imposed.

By the early 1980s, Ghana's socio-economic development had reached abysmal levels (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:46-47) which led to the return to power of a former military ruler who attempted to revive the collapsing economy and to increase production capacities by mobilizing the population and emphasizing the need for improved performance (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:48; Enos, 1995). Realizing that its own efforts of adjustment were inadequate, the government then appealed to the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), which led to Ghana embarking upon a programme of Structural Adjustment - referred to in Ghana as the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

### 2.3.1.3 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The Structural Adjustment Programme can be defined as the process by which key institutions and policies in an economy are reconstructed with the intention of advancing economic growth (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001:529; Konadu-Agyemang & Adanu, 2003:515). Structural Adjustments are concerned with addressing deteriorating economic conditions and aim at stabilizing and setting the economy of countries back on a path of sustainable growth by changing the structure of those economies over the medium term (Ibhawoh, 1999:158). SAPs were implemented in several phases spanning 1983-2000 (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:46; Hilson, 2004:60).

Ghana, therefore, undertook the radical economic reform programme, SAPs in 1983, in order to restructure its economy. It became obligatory that the following policies should be embarked upon viz.: the devaluation of the currency and unification of the exchange rate policy, the elimination of exchange controls and high interest rates to combat inflation, the elimination of subsidies and price controls, the curtailment of expenditure to alleviate huge budget deficits and market liberalization within the national economy. Other programmes undertaken were cuts in public wage bills and social sector programs, financial reforms to strengthen the domestic banking system and the liberalization of the labor market (Barwa, 1995:1, 3-4; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:49; Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:3; Hilson, 2004:60; Ibhawoh, 1999:160; Konadu-Agyemang & Adanu, 2003:515,525).

The above-mentioned were to be achieved by government compressing expenditure by pruning padded payrolls, initiating wage freezes and cutting back in government sector employment, making state-owned enterprises responsible for their activities, improving institutional management, privatization of government/state enterprises, and drastic cuts in states spending on social services like education, health and welfare (Barwa,1995:1; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:49; Sowa, 2002:4). A significant portion of the cost was therefore shifted to the users of services such as education and health (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:46; Weissman, 1990:1622, 1623). Boafo-Arthur (1999:46) laments that between 1983 and 1992, Ghana implemented six SAP packages in which the most severe of austerity measures were put in place. These developments had several consequences culminating in severe hardship as will be discussed in the next section.

#### 2.3.1.4 Impact of Structural Adjustment Programme

The impact of SAP cut across all sectors and its effect permeated various facets of development and invariably affecting children of street vendors. Tsikata (1995) and Van de Walle (1994:484) reveal that SAPs have been less successful or flopped in Africa, because they assumed that the same set of principles can yield successful policies for all countries irrespective of their differences. Ihonvbere (1993:141) reiterates further that “IMF/WB have traditionally neglected issues of power, production, class and state, political spaces, ideological discourses, political tendencies and historical experiences when recommending adjustment packages for underdeveloped and vulnerable economies”.

By the mid-1980s, there was growing evidence of the negative consequences of adjustment policies on the conditions of living of the general populace (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:113; Kanji, Kanji & Manji, 1991:989). The various adjustment measures were criticized for falling short of the expected outcomes as measures such as the wage-cuts, labour retrenchment and lay-offs, reduced government expenditure, price increases and removal of subsidies on food, transport, energy, education and health brought difficulties. Coupled with declining exchange rates

these factors led to considerable challenges and exigencies for the general populace and particularly for the poor peasant farmers, workers and the urban poor (Barwa, 1995:1; Hilson & Potter, 2005:104,124; Konadu-Agyemang & Adanu, 2003:516; Tsikata, 1995). It was argued that the vast majority of the people wallowed in abject poverty, unemployment and uncertainty during the adjustment period (Ihonvbere, 1993).

According to Hilson and Potter (2005:103-104) SAPs was criticized for perpetuating poverty and economic austerity within the country's informal and impoverished communities and the larger society. Thus the abolition of basic subsidies and the introduction of user fees for social services including health and education severely affected the poor and subsistence communities especially the urban poor who pay for virtually everything in the city with their already dwindling purchasing power (Hilson & Potter, 2005:104). It is argued that the introduction of user fees in education such as book costs, furniture, and building fees drove a number of poor children from impoverished homes (including children of street vendors) out of school.

One major feature of the policies pursued included labour retrenchment without re-training, which created a huge unemployed community (Barwa, 1995: 22; Boafo-Arthur, 1999:51; Ibhawoh, 1999:160). The irrational redeployment exercise contributed to many displaced workers opting for petty trading and street vending in Accra and other urban settlements in the country (Windborne, 2006:165-169). Mitullah (2003:4) notes that a number of people entered petty trading and street vending as an option, especially since the beginning of the SAPs. These retrenched workers either withdrew their children from schools or got involved in economic activities and involved their children in work alongside schooling (Barwa, 1995:22; Ibhawoh, 1999:160; Reimers, 1994:121) to supplement the household income.

Despite upholding the notion that the primary aim of implementing SAPs was the alleviation of poverty (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000:470), the World Bank confirms in its report (World Bank, 2001) that the impact of economic reforms on the poor was devastating; as they were not socio-economically protected during the period of structural adjustment. Left at the mercy of harsh economic measures with no reliable

social welfare systems to protect the poor, millions more of their dependents became destitute in the already overcrowded urban centres (Ibhawoh, 1999:160) with the majority of them entering the informal sector as petty traders and street vendors. Woodworth (2000:47) posits that: “the informal economy serves as the vital means through which masses of the poor attempt to cope with life's vicissitudes, feed their children, and survive one day at a time”.

It is pertinent to note that the IMF/WB and the Ghanaian government in an agreement with the above developmental partners attempted to ameliorate the social effects of SAP by introducing the Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) five years into SAP (Boafo-Arthur, 1999: 53; Sowa, 2002:1; Tsikata, 1995). PAMSCAD was composed of anti-poverty measures and compensations directed at the needs and protection of the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups who form the majority, and who are living on “the margin of life” (Ihonvbere, 1993:145). Sadly however, PAMSCAD did not achieve the desired results because its measures could not reverse the negative social and economic effects of SAP on the people, especially the poor (Al-Hassan & Poulton, 2009:10; Barwa, 1995: 31; Boafo-Arthur, 1999: 53).

The discussion above presents a broad overview of the economic environment and circumstances in which the street trade and vending phenomenon had evolved and it is this setting of the socio-educational development of the vendors’ children that will serve as the main source of concern. The poor economic situation was exacerbated by unstable political conditions, as described below.

### **2.3.2 Political factors leading to the proliferation of street vending in Ghana**

As already stated, Ghana’s initial independence provided for favourable socio-economic circumstances, and remained fairly stable under the same civilian government (Teye, 1988:336) until the ruling party opted for an autocratic political dispensation, turning Ghana’s young democracy into a centralized one-party state (Horton, 2001:2142; Morrison, 2004:422). This autocratic approach led to the first

military coup d'état in 1966 and afterwards a painful cycle of military interventions and insurgencies that followed thwarted democratic elections (Horton, 2001:2142; Morrison, 2004:422).

The independence in Ghana was attained during a prosperous time when the country was in a state of euphoria and the masses gave tremendous support to the ruling elite (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:111). There was a necessity for instituting a thorough reform of the social order as the state served as the main channel for integration and consolidation during the early years of independence in Africa (Azarya & Chazan, 1987). People's expectations were that the state would change the system that bred inequality and marginalization, condemned the citizenry to poverty, unemployment landlessness, forced labour, inadequate education and health care services, poor housing and sanitation (Kanji, Kanji & Manji, 1991:986; Young, 2004:31). The masses hoped that pledges of rapid expansion of basic amenities such as schools, universal basic education, clinics, safe drinking water and roads would materialize (Young, 2004:31).

Unfortunately, the new breed of politicians and their associates could not live up to these expectations. Azarya and Chazan (1987:110) postulate that: "the issue confronting the Ghanaian citizens is not one of continued lack of association with the state but rather one of coping with a state that, so promising at first, has visibly fallen apart during their lifetimes." Rowley (2000:137) reflects that regrettably: "...these leaders would seize the apparatus of government and dominate many of the post-independence political markets." Most of the African leaders who rose to power through democratic elections quickly outlawed opposition parties and stifled the development of democratic political systems (Rowley, 2000:141). In order to uphold a political and economic powerful regime, leaders instituted educational and economic policies and regulations and malignant political cultures that favoured the political elite and their international cronies and perpetuate social inequalities at the expense of the masses (Folson 2006:81; Hilson, 2004:57; Rowley, 2000: 134).

Bribery, corruption, smuggling and embezzlement of state funds, became distinct features of the entire political system and economic life (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:121;

Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47). Many Ghanaians became disillusioned as they found it difficult to cope with the overall effects of the political conditions and adjustments taking place (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:123). Within the context of widespread poverty and prevailing deprivation, some sections of the populace who could not bear the brunt also sought refuge in the ever-growing informal sector. Those who remained in the government sector employment also used part of their working day to private pursuits such as petty trading and vending (Young, 2004:40).

The above-mentioned economic and political situations had rippling effects on the educational system in the country. This is captured in Environmental Protection Agency report (EPA, 2010:18) which states: “Education was faced with political instability, ad hoc measures, and frequent changes in education policy. Teaching and learning in basic schools had deteriorated to the extent that the majority of school leavers were illiterate, and confidence in Ghana’s once enviable education system was shaken” (EPA, 2010:18).

### **2.3.3 Education factors leading to the proliferation of street vending in Ghana**

This section discusses the importance of education and examines the education situation in Ghana before, during and after independence. The various education reforms were also reviewed.

#### **2.3.3.1 Importance/value of education**

Daniel (2003:46) indicates that research by the World Bank and others show that getting most of the population to complete quality primary education is the foundation for economic development. It is generally accepted that basic education lays the foundation for further and future human development and is associated with economic and social benefits (Rolleston, Akyeampong, Ghartey, Ampiah, & Lewin, 2010:2). Improved access to basic education is, therefore, a strategy for poverty alleviation, because increase in school enrolment over the period is likely to lead to a rise in literacy rates and educational achievement for the whole populace (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:66).

According to Psacharopoulos (1985), education is widely considered as the route to economic prosperity, the means to combat unemployment, the foundation of social equity, the key to scientific and technological advancement, and the spread of political socialization and cultural vitality. Education is recognized as the most appropriate strategy for eliminating underdevelopment, social inequality and injustice; effective instruments for the alleviation of poverty, eradication of diseases and ignorance (Folson, 2006:75-76; Tilak, 2001:18), and a crucial pillar in any strategy to eliminate child labour (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:18).

The World Bank (1995) and Tilak (2001:14) emphasise that education is a basic human need, which acts as a crucial step towards meeting further basic needs such as clothing, shelter, health care, safe drinking water and food. Education instils, in the people, a sense of duty, purpose and proper services rendered to a larger community (Dei, 2004:344). Again education allows a broader perspective, to understand the concepts of duty and purpose, to prepare humans to assume their responsibilities (Daniel, 2003:52). So after independence the governments of many African countries, including Ghana, adopted universal primary education as a short-term and medium term objective to economic and national development (Folson, 2006:76-77). But with SSA countries sitting with about a third of primary school age children out of school (Akyeampong, 2009:175), access to education still remains a critical aspect of the development agenda of most of these countries including Ghana (Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2009: 219; Lewin, 2009).

### 2.3.3.2 Trends in education in Ghana after independence

At the time of independence Ghana possessed one of the most developed education systems in sub Saharan Africa (Akyeampong, 2009:175) and was well-known for its high levels of access to education relative to other West African States (Little, 2010:1), with an estimated enrolment rate of 75 percent of children aged 6 to 14 years (Ginsburg *et al.*, 2002:28). The official age at which pupils begin school in Ghana is six (UNESCO, 2010:6).

The crisis that engulfed the country in the mid-1970s, stifled growth in participation in education resulting in general declines in school enrolment, completion rates and literacy development (Kanji, Kanji & Manji, 1991:990) and by 1980s Ghana's education was viewed as dysfunctional in relation to the goals and aspirations of the country (EPA, 2010:17). These negative consequences further derailed attempts to ensure that every Ghanaian child received a full cycle of quality primary schooling (Little, 2010:1).

#### 2.3.3.3 Major education reforms in basic education in Ghana after independence

Ghana has introduced various education reforms and policies over the years to improve access and quality at the basic education level to address the social development of the nation (Rolleston *et al.*, 2010:2; EPA, 2010:17). The 1987 Education Reforms re-structured pre-university education to 12 years including six years for primary, three years for Junior High School (JHS) and three years for Senior High School (SHS), Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE); Capitation Grants Scheme (CGS) for the enrolled pupils and the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) (Rolleston *et al.*, 2010:2). According to Dei (2004: 343) the reforms were to make education responsive to the human power needs of Ghana by making judicious use of available resources, skills, talents and the local creativity, to make education more relevant to the socio-economic realities of the country so that Ghanaian children will be able to live a productive and meaningful life. The intention of the government creating the Junior High School, for example, was thus to train students in skills development which will enable them to earn a living within their immediate environment (Folson, 2006:78), with special emphasis on vocational education, science, technology and creativity (World Education Encyclopedia, 2002:509).

Palmer (2010:590) traces the history of education in Ghana and remarks that since the 1960s, the government has made several efforts to reform the education system, to make it oriented more towards work. Interestingly after several years of

investments and reforms in basic education in Ghana, the basic primary progression structure has not altered very much (Rolleston *et al.*, 2010:16).

#### 2.3.3.4 Emerging challenges in education reforms in basic education in Ghana

The education system faced a major crisis through drastic reductions in the government's educational financing, deterioration of school structures, educational materials, low and stagnating enrolment levels, poor and inefficient educational administration and management practices, high drop-out rates, inadequacy of teacher training, and the lack of statistics and data for proper planning (Akyeampong *et al.* 2007:8; Dei, 2004:347; EPA, 2010:20). The government's attempt to add more vocational subjects to the curriculum in the junior high school level, failed (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:9; Palmer, 2010: 590) due to difficulties in the implementation of the 1987 educational reform policy (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:9; Braimah & King, 2006:25). Their reformative steps rendered graduation from the junior high school to be the end of formal education for most students in Ghana (World Education Encyclopaedia, 2002:509).

Similarly Akyeampong *et al.* (2007:xii, 35), Braimah and King (2006:25) and Rolleston (2009:217) also mention that only 50% of primary school pupils manage to enter JHS which ends the basic education level and only 20% of them eventually get to the SHS level. This form of exclusion has been a constant feature of education in Ghana since 1991. This according to Braimah and King (2006:25) imply that the majority of children quit the formal school system after JHS or enter the informal apprenticeship system to learn a trade.

As already pointed out, the poor state of the economy in Ghana after independence negatively impacted educational quality and outcomes as a result of educators deserting the classroom with lots of them going to neighbouring Nigeria (Akyeampong, 2009:178). Those who stayed did not perform optimally as they combined teaching with other jobs like petty trading to make ends meet. Reimers (1994:127-128) remarks that adjustment reduced educational opportunity for the

disadvantaged, and further indicates that with the reduction in funds the education sector drastically cut down the share for teaching and learning materials. Teachers had fewer resources to teach, and faced students tired from increasing household responsibilities, sometimes sick and hungry and with fewer items to take to school, such as notebooks, pens and pencils and textbooks.

As has been the case in most of the education reforms, the fCUBE policy did little to eliminate the cost of education to poor households as proposed (Ampratwum & Armah-Attoh, 2010:2; Akyeampong, 2009:176). This is because embedded in the fCUBE are indirect costs such as school uniforms, shoes, stationery, school bags, food and transportation that parents will still have to bear (Ampratwum & Armah-Attoh, 2010:2; Akyeampong, 2009:175,181; Ananga, 2011:6; Osei, Owusu, Asem & Afutu-Kotey, 2009:4). The provision of these items for their children's schooling can be an even greater obstacle for parents and guardians to schooling than tuition fees.

#### 2.3.3.5 Challenges in the education of children of street vendors in Ghana

It is worthy to note that the 1987 educational system produced school leavers in the rural areas that sought employment in the urban modern sector rather than in rural agriculture (Folson, 2006). The majority of them migrated to the urban centres to seek jobs that regrettably were not in existence and this measure taken ended up swelling the number of urban unemployed (Folson, 2006:79). With no employment readily available they were compelled to engage in petty trading and vending, street hawking and other menial jobs (Braitham & King, 2006:24).

Findings by Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) and others suggest that regardless of fee free policy, capitation grant and the school feeding programme, the costs of basic education still remain a serious obstacle to access in Ghana for disadvantaged groups. The following factors are some of the main culprits at the heart of the main inhibitory factors undermining access to education. These factors embrace amongst others the costs associated with schooling, poverty, child labour, the distance to schools, household

responsibilities, insecure family relationships, death of parents, foster care, age and late enrolment, persistent learning difficulties, poor attendance and performance and repetition. Teacher attitudes towards children and parental lack of interest in formal education also play a fundamental role as part of the obstacles due to low perceived benefits and a lack of relevance in education (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:xiv; Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2009:230; Ananga, 2011:vii; Rolleston *et al.*, 2010:16-17).

Research indicates that poor households (including street vendors) sometimes withdraw their children from school in order to work to meet costs and generate resources to support the costs of schooling (Ananga, 2011:6; Inoue & Oketch, 2008:46). It should also be noted that educational expenses incurred by urban school pupils especially transportation and feeding costs are much higher than that of rural pupils (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:43; Rolleston *et al.*, 2010:16).

It can be deduced from the above-mentioned statements, that there is no guarantee that children of street vendors will of necessity complete the full cycle of basic education if the system do not take cognizance of the costs of schooling for families. The educational input and facilities required for street children to be able to attend and complete school, must also receive attention (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:16; Osei *et al.*, 2009:4-5). The next section deals with the informal economy as a sector which absorbed a bulk of street vendors, the majority of whom were not able to complete or further their basic education.

### **2.3.4 Informal economy**

Informal trade and street vending have become a means of survival and in most cases a last resort for many people around the world due to socio-economic complexities that gripped many developing nations, especially sub-Saharan Africa countries after independence (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Mitullah, 2003:7-8). The fragile socio-economic and political landscape during 1980s plunged Ghana into total disrepair wreaking havoc to the entire national structure and sending ripples through several decades afterwards. One of the resultant factors is the number of street

vending, street trade and street networking activities that have currently engulfed major cities in Ghana. The lack of political determination, on the part of the government to take bold decisions on the deteriorating economic and political situation in Ghana during the period under consideration, shook the very foundation of national development. This had profound repercussions on both the political and economic life of the general populace leading to the proliferation of street trading and vending (Boafo-Arthur, 1999:47; Ibhawoh, 1999:163; Skinner, 2008).

According to Addai and Pokimica (2011) studies have documented that developing economies like Ghana are characterised by a large informal sector. Although the economic structure in Ghana is changing gradually, the Government of Ghana's National Development Planning Commission Policy Framework Final Draft (NDPC, 2010:12) reveals alarming statistics. Compare the following: "...in spite of consistent GDP growth over the past two decades, formal sector employment as a percentage of total employable labour force is on the decline: it is estimated that only 8.0% of total labour force is in the formal sector of the economy with the remaining 92.0% in the informal sector." Palmer (2007:398) indicates that employment in the formal sector continues to fall, and up to 90% of all school leavers in Ghana, are compelled to enter the informal sector economy. In corroboration, Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010) mention that the size of the informal economy is large and absorbs a growing proportion of youth in developing countries.

According to Woodworth (2000) economic activities of societies can be divided into the formal sector, such as factory or office work, or the informal sector such as survival on the street as a vendor or provider of services. The typical informal sector enterprise is individually owned and operated, with the size normally determined in terms of number of employees including apprentices and family members engaged or the capital invested (Barwa, 1995:5). The workers of the informal sector generally operate in activities ranging from casual or seasonal jobs, domestic work, petty trading and vending and hawking in the markets and streets to small-scale manufacturing and provision of services. They function from clusters, closer to cities, permanent premises, usually their residences, temporary sheds and structures at

open spaces or under trees while others also strategically position themselves at specific joints (Barwa, 1995:9).

Ghana's informal economy labour force comprises both rural and urban dwellers, formal sector workers retrenched under SAPs, informal-sector artisans and traders, returned migrants, and a host of others (Konadu-Agyemang & Adanu, 2003:521). Workers in the informal economy struggle to survive, because jobs in this sector are typically characterised by low and irregular income and less income security, long working hours and poor unsatisfactory working conditions and environments. Workers and their enterprises are unprotected by unions or employment legislation as well as by being unstable forms of employment, often with few prospects of advancement (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010; Braimah & King, 2006:23; Tanski, 1994:1628).

#### 2.3.4.1 Street trading/street vending

Street trade and service in cities occur in different parts of streets and roads in Ghana (Mitullah, 2003:7-8). The proliferation of this sector in the Ghanaian economy is a direct result of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, migration, stringent state policies and growing inequalities in development in rural and urban areas (Skinner, 2008). In the findings from a survey on street vending in cities in South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Cote D'ivoire, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, Mitullah (2003:7-8) asserts that street trade is widespread and a source of employment for many urban dwellers and because of a disarray in the formal system, those partaking in trading activities have grown (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:126). It is therefore not uncommon to see professionals and government employees, clerks, farmers and manual labourers, students and school dropouts all joined in street trading activities in the forever growing urban and peri-urban centres (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:126).

#### 2.3.4.2 Challenges facing the informal sector/street trading

The proliferation of this sector in the Ghanaian economy had its problems. The informal sector's economic activities have always been deemed a nuisance. These were regarded as unwanted services that undermine the healthy operations of the formal economy (Mitullah, 2003:7-8). The sector has little or no reliable data and information on the operations, size and characteristics or nature as well as the contribution of the informal sector in general and street trade in particular to the national economy as a whole (Barwa, 1995:2).

A major issue for street traders is capital as they often borrow goods from the wholesalers at very high interest rates (Skinner, 2008). Barwa (1995:35), Obeng-Odoom (2009:52) and Skinner (2008) further indicate that some of the concerns of the informal sector/street traders are the restrictive policies of local municipal authorities and city officials concerning street dwelling; the right to a place to work as well as harassment by police. Furthermore their activities are also seen as posing traffic congestion and a public health hazard (Barwa, 1995: 35-36). It is informative that they have poor access to health, education, shelter, proper clothing and good diets.

The predicament of street vendors indicated above is a reflection of the conditions and situations which children of street vendors' children have to deal with. Most of these problems and woes are transferred unto their children who are the most vulnerable in the given circumstances. In order to make ends meet and ensure survival, parents tend to neglect or ignore their role as caregivers, supervisors and the main agents in the socialization process and rather push their children unto the streets to help fend for the entire family. Likewise Weissman (1990:1626) voices his concern about the mounting problem of unsupervised street children "as wives of the redeployed workers [and street vendors] struggle desperately to make ends meet in the informal sector".

### 2.3.5 Urbanization and overpopulation

According to Yeboah (2000:26) third World urbanization has been influenced in the past two decades by global economic restructuring, SAPs, economic growth, poverty alleviation programmes, the effects of natural disasters and wars, and environmental degradation to mention but a few. The share of population living in urban areas in Ghana has been increasing rapidly over the past decades (Enos, 1995; Meijerink & Roza, 2007:7). Obeng-Odoom (2010) has written extensively on urbanization and indicates that Africa has one of the highest rates of urbanization in the world with SSA recording the world's highest levels of urban poverty (Obeng-Odoom, 2010:392). It is projected that the urban population in Ghana will double between 2000 and 2015 (Hollingsworth 2012). According to Obeng-Odoom (2009: 50) urbanization in Ghana, is unpreventable and cities are trapped in a complex web of problems as they become overpopulated and overcrowded. Unemployment is rife, slums and unauthorized settlements unsuitable for human habitation are widespread, crime and juvenile delinquency are on the rise, because poverty and income inequality are deep-rooted.

Inadequate shelter is at the root of urban poverty (UNFPA, 2007). According to Hollingsworth (2012:104) statistics produced by the ILO, indicate that the formal housing market in the developing countries supply not more than 20% of total housing stock required, so most people out of necessity, restore to self-built shacks and shanties, informal rentals, illegal cities and squatter villages. As a result of the housing problems in Africa, slums have developed and are growing at twice the speed of the continent's exploding cities. The Government of Ghana National Development Planning Commission Policy Framework Final Draft (NDPC, 2010:84) mentions that the urban housing deficit is around 800,000 housing units. In Ghana, out of a population of 25 million, approximately 4.8 million residents live in slums meaning that 45% of the urban residents live in slums and shanty towns most of whom live in the greater Accra region which is the capital city (Hollingsworth, 2012:105).

Ashong and Smith (2001) maintain that poor people are often compelled to live in environmentally unsafe areas, steep hillsides and waterways, flood plains or polluted sites near solid waste dumps, urban wetlands and hazardous sites prone to floods, open drains and sewage, and polluting industries. Moreover, the majority of these dwellers live in deplorable and overcrowded areas with high risks of accidents and fire; and poor infrastructure and poor road networks (Ashong & Smith, 2001:11-12; NDPC, 2010:86). People living in slums, squatter villages and other informal and illegal villages lack the essential services such as shelters, health, education, sanitation and clean water supplies (Hollingsworth, 2012:107). The above challenges affect and create a myriad of problems for the socio-educational development of children of street vendors who live there.

As indicated from above rapid urbanization had led to a greater number of poor people living in cities in kiosks, containers and shops on the pavements of major streets and roads with their children (Meijerink & Roza, 2007:3, UNFPA, 2007), many of whom are unemployed or only partly employed (Enos, 1995). The inability of the urban economy to effectively match the rising urbanization and absorb the rising labour force set the stage for the expansion of the informal economy especially for poor urban dwellers, who need economic support (Barwa, 1995:1; UNFPA, 2007). The surge in street trading, vending and hawking of goods and services are seen as a major issue in Ghanaian cities (Obeng-Odoom, 2009:50, 52), because of the numerous problems that are associated with urban dwelling and the street vending activities.

Ajiboye and Oladiti (2008: 125) and Umar (2009:172) agree in their attempt to address the plight of street children and the general street life in the cities. They emphasise that urban centres, in the present dispensation, are bedevilled with an array of problems, such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, pollution of different kinds, violence, crime, child abuse and child labour, drug trafficking, armed robbery, street fighting, sexual abuse, juvenile delinquency, poor education, premature parenthood, prostitution, susceptibility to HIV-AIDS and STDs. Street children

become easy targets to occult operators and all sorts of street networking activities. The above-mentioned arguments signify the plight of children of street vendors.

### **2.3.6 Migration**

The forever increasing rural/urban migration in West Africa including Ghana has led to the widespread move of small scale merchants (street vendors, petty traders, hawkers, porters) to the urban areas who trade in various items and services. It is worth noting, also that Folson (2006: 76) and Windborne (2006:158), comment that the advent of SAPs led to increased migration from the rural areas into cities in search of work. In Ghana, the migration of families and children to urban areas and cities has swelled the numbers of children living and surviving in the streets. Immigrants from the rural countryside in the third world are making their way to the cities in droves and the elderly people are abandoned as the young join the flight to the urban areas for jobs.

According to Dei (2004:344) and Folson, (2006) poor regional distribution of schools and education facilities were negatively affected by sectoral regional inequities in the distribution of industry, social goods and resources and has led again to rural-urban migration in Ghana especially from the rural north to the urban south with Accra and Kumasi being host to a chunk of them. Akyeampong *et al.*, (2007: 56) observe that in rural areas where migration is rampant, children often drop out of schools before the completion of basic education. This scenario had led to a rise in poverty in the urban centres especially in Accra, due to migration inflows (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007). Regrettably, the NDPC report indicates that: “....there is an absence of a comprehensive policy, institutional and regulatory framework for effective management of migration in Ghana’s development agenda and there is no strategy for the management of internal migration in the face of increasing rural-urban migration and internal displacements” (NDPC, 2010: 113).

### 2.3.7 Unemployment

Only an estimated 8.0% of total manpower and labour force in Ghana is in the formal sector implying that Ghana is confronted with austere employment issues which need to be tackled (NDPC, 2010:12). In reflecting Coulombe and Wodon (2007:46) indicate that over the years the number of public sector workers has constantly declined. This decline in public employment has resulted in an increase in the informal private sector of the economy.

Unemployment has been a major problem in Ghana (Palmer, 2010: 590) and subsequently Ghana's economy is not growing sufficiently enough to provide decent employment especially for the growing youth population (Braithwaite & King, 2006). In sub-Saharan Africa unemployment, especially urban unemployment, assumed alarming proportions because of rapid urbanization and lack of entrepreneurial urban governance (Azarya & Chazan, 1987:113; Kanji, Kanji & Manji, 1991:990; Obeng-Odoom, 2009:49, 52).

According to Folson (2006:71-72) and Barwa (1995) most of the poorly educated and ill-equipped workers, migrate from the rural areas to the urban sectors, to operate in the urban economy and this had further resulted in high unemployment levels. It is argued, that underemployment among educated people, especially university graduates and urban unemployment rose due to the retrenchment exercise which led to the removal of subsidies from public services during the SAPs period in Ghana (Ghanaweb, 2005; Obeng-Odoom, 2009:52). These developments have meant that most of these retrenched workers and the jobless joined the informal sector, and operated in activities like petty trading, small scale motor mechanics, or starting their own small business (Hollingsworth, 2012; Obeng-Odoom, 2009:52).

Braithwaite and King's (2006:23) analysis of the unemployment situation in Ghana, postulate that: "...the greatest challenge for Ghana will be to provide sufficient places in school or gainful jobs for this 5.5million that will constitute the youth in 2015. If school enrolment and job creation do not increase significantly and simultaneously

from 2005-2015, Ghana will have to reckon with a very large proportion of the youth [who will be] out of school and who will not be able to be gainfully employed.”

Thus the unemployment situation, if not monitored, could create problems for parents and the nation because the idle, youthful energies and minds could be channelled into crime and political agitation (Brammah & King, 2006:23). To this end Ihonvbere (1993:147) draws our attention to the fact that the general perception among the populace (especially parents of whom some are street vendors), is that given the extremely high rate of unemployment, it is of no use sending children to school when at the end of obtaining degrees and certificates would not help them to get jobs.

### **2.3.8 Poverty**

Literature reveals that poverty is complex, multidimensional and interwoven, can be measured in different ways (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:71; Hossain & Zeitlyn, 2010:3; Tilak, 2001:14) and there is no established theory of poverty (White & Killick, 2001). Poverty embodies social, economic and political dimensions. Ashong and Smith (2001:5) indicate that interpretations of the concept of poverty vary vastly. They maintain that defining poverty in terms of traditional consumption and expenditure is insufficient on its own to address the needs of the poor themselves and such a definition has given rise to the inclusion of aspects such as human and social welfare indicators in alleviation programmes and the development indices. So to them, poverty or ill-being, because of a lack of assets, shelter and money, is often characterized by social exclusion, pain, exhaustion, discomfort, powerlessness, vulnerability, low self-esteem and hunger (Ashong & Smith 2001:6). Tilak's (2001:12) is of the opinion that:

....poverty is conventionally defined in terms of income poverty, i.e. number of people below the poverty line, and is measured in different ways, predominantly in terms of inadequacy of income to procure a minimum level of calories. Poverty line is defined at the national level considering the income level required to purchase a defined minimum level of calories of food. Poverty line is also defined at international levels, by considering US\$1 and US\$2 per

head per day as alternative minimum levels of income. Unfortunately, the poverty line so defined, nationally or internationally, considers the minimum level of income needed for a bare minimum amount of food for survival, and nothing else (Tilak, 2001:12).

Global crisis, economic stagnation, SAPs, urbanisation, migration, conflicts and political instability has caused much poverty and worsening distribution and inequality have aggravated the situation in developing countries (Kitaura, 2009:614; White & Killick 2001; Sowa, 2001:2). Urban poverty is associated with unemployment and under-employment with the poor in Ghana being described as having less access to the prospects of developing human capital, financial capital and to schooling and health (Ashong & Smith, 2001:15; EC, 2005:8; Tilak, 2001:14) lacking of access to basic economic infrastructure (Coulombe & Wodon, 2007:71; EC, 2005:8). Ashong and Smith (2001: 21-22) expatiate further that the following are indicators of poverty or ill-being viz.:

....inability to afford needs (food, shelter, clothes, health care and education); absence of economic indicators, job, labour, crop farms, livestock, investment opportunities; inability to meet social requirements such as paying development levies, funeral dues, participating in public gatherings; absence of basic community services and infrastructure such as health, education, water and sanitation, and access roads (Ashong & Smith, 2001:6, 21-22).

Meanwhile, many of the economic activities available to the urban dweller such as petty trading and vending provide inadequate income to be able to rise above the poverty line rendering them vulnerable (Ashong & Smith, 2001: 35). There is a connection between access to education and issues of poverty and vulnerability, because school disruption and educational deprivation might invariably be ascribed to a low income, vulnerability and poverty (Akyeampong, 2009:176; Ananga, 2011:5). Poverty is therefore seen as the main obstacle for children to attend school as it becomes a challenge for poor families to send children to school when their manpower will be needed (Brammah & King, 2006: 25; Boas & Hatloy, 2008: 19).

Children of street vendors are a vulnerable group as they live in terrible socio economic conditions with a high incidence of poverty. It is recorded that poor parents sometimes send their children away, because they cannot afford to provide in their basic needs thereby making them become victims of bad economy and exploitative adults (Windborne, 2006: 162). Boas and Hatloy (2008: 4) clarify that sometimes children are not necessarily engaged in economic activities, because they are exploited, but work becomes a better option when survival is crucial. It is pertinent to note according to Samson and Cherrier (2009:6) the spells of poverty occurring in childhood can have long-lasting effects on their later development, causing intergenerational transmissions of poverty and poor nutrition, health and education and survival rates. All too often, the tragedy is that when poverty excludes children (and that of street vendors for that matter) from enjoying their rights to education, health and protection, it locks them into a cycle of poverty and disease that is inherited by the next generation.

Edmonds (2007) remarks that poverty is a key influence on child labour supply and it may sway the family's assessment of child time in household production and the formal labour market, which in the long run, may affect the production function for future child welfare.

Lele and Adu-Nyako (1992:107) caution that if care is not taken the very strategies expected to induce growth in the economy to the benefit of the poor may bypass these very poor people. This may be due to, their lack of capital, a high illiteracy level or geographical isolation. Also, in time of emergencies, such as droughts, wars, political upheavals and mass migrations, the poor people suffer disproportionately to other sections of the population. Their economic position deteriorates and their ability to meet their nutritional requirements adequately is curtailed which tend to have a serious impact on education, health, employment, and infants and children (World Bank, 2010:13). According to White and Killick (2001:3) the scale of poverty in Africa is staggering and behind it an immense scale of individual tragedy and suffering can be detected.

## 2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The review of literature purposefully provided major and various contexts that discuss the phenomenon under investigation. The key areas of emphasis and deliberations were a brief history of Ghana and various factors leading to the proliferation of street vending/trade in Ghana (economic, political, educational, informal sector/economy, urbanization, unemployment, over-population, migration, poverty). The first part of the review presented a brief overview of the pre and post independence history of Ghana and the widespread displeasure that led to several millions taking up petty trading and street vending to eke out a living and fight for their very survival. The review then moved to examine the various factors leading to the proliferation of street vending/trade in Ghana. The review of literature also explored the motive behind the various educational reform agenda to provide the type of education that was consistent with national development and to address the developmental needs as well as the socio-economic development of the nation.

It is over five decades since Ghana gained independence as the first African nation south of the Sahara. I am of the opinion that the historical, economical and political situation that prevailed in the country before and after independence led to the proliferation of street vending and trading activities and their attendant problems. Meanwhile, the 1992 Constitution indicates that the responsibility rests on every government to embark on policies that would ultimately result in the establishment of a just and free society, “where each and every Ghanaian would have the opportunity to live long, be productive, and live meaningful lives” (NDPC, 2010:1). The literature review aimed at highlighting and supporting an understanding of the contexts and various experiences of street vendors and the plight of their children and could possibly contribute to measures in solving the socio-economic problems.

In my next chapter I discuss the theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks underpinning my research.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE THEORETICAL, CONCEPTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature on theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks underpinning my research. The setting of the theoretical framework within which my study is located is provided by reviewing literature on Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979). Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological systems, examines the position of children at various levels of systems and how their very position consequently impact their lives. The ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner is a useful framework to understand the main problem in my study. It postulates that the child is situated within 'nested contexts' (i.e. at the centre of multiple circles of influence) in which human development occurs (Bornstein, Britto, Nonoyama-Tarumi, Ota, Petrovic & Putnick, 2012; Freeman, 2010:829). These multiple circles have a profound influence on the child. Therefore, this theory is relevant to analyze and understand the socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors from a more holistic perspective. As a lens to analyze the socio-educational challenges and development of children of street vendors, it also portrays how the street life phenomenon can be addressed in the best possible way.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973) is also reviewed as part of the conceptual framework for triangulation purposes and it is consulted to gain a better understanding of the aspects of child development. Since the children in my research study fall between the ages of 7-11, I will discuss in detail the concrete operational stage, which is the third stage of Piaget's theory. At this stage, Piaget believes children will not be able to handle problems with several variables in a systematic way. However, children at this stage become better at thinking about concrete events, but may still struggle to understand hypothetical concepts. These groups of children; because of their socio-economic background find it obligatory to engage in a kind of paid job for the family. Though they are working as if adults, they are still not in the position to take decisions that will be of benefit to them. I am

focusing on this stage in order to examine the impact of the mental (cognitive) changes children undergo and how it finds expression in the socio-educational development of children. The framework acknowledges that although children at the concrete operational stage begin to develop logical reasoning, they are still inexperienced and can easily be influenced.

In the next section I will examine the various contexts involving children of street vendors. Findings from literature indicate that there has been a lot of research on street children and streetism in many parts of the world. Research on the children of street vendors is a grey area and information is scanty. The Consortium for Street Children (2011:12) warns that if care is not taken, children of street vendors, whose characteristics fall outside the well-known stereotypical behaviour of street children, may become lost because policy-makers, service-providers, the media and public may focus on the mainstream people and these unique children may not be catered for.

Segmenting this group of people for investigation will provide a unique window on the real situation that confronts the children of these vendors. There is evidence from literature (CSC, 2011) that this category of people has been ignored by authorities and the system. For instance, how do we classify or categorize them in order to represent their interest in national development strategies? Furthermore, information on the situation of these children may speak for many other children who fall into such economic and social deprivation. Because of minimal research and lack of adequate empirical work on children of street vendors, this study reviewed literature from related fields such as the child, street children and other interest groups (Hofstee, 2006:93). Although my primary focus is on the Ghanaian context, sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries, are also referred to. It concludes with a summary of relevant information garnered.

## **3.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

It is essential that every scientific study conducted, should focus attention on the tenets of a constructive theory. The Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and the underlying principles guide the investigation on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors. The theory provides the framework to study the relationships with individuals' contexts within communities and the wider society. In this thesis, the socio-educational development of children of street vendors is anchored in this theory, as the ecological systems theory focuses on the influence that the environment has on the development and growth of an individual and it provides avenues to scrutinize the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors. Thus to understand the worldviews about the street children phenomenon, an exploration of the experiences of children of street vendors would be useful.

### **3.2.1 Bronfenbrenner Theory of Ecological Systems (1979)**

Bronfenbrenner's theory of the ecology of human development recognizes that human beings do not develop in isolation, but they do so in relation to their family, home, school, and community (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Each of these forever changing and multilevel environments, as well as interactions among the individuals and these environments, are key to development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This idea is based on the premise that changes or conflict in any one layer of the ecological system will send ripples throughout the rest of the layers (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). The focus should, therefore, not only be on the children and their immediate environment, when we study child development, but also on their interaction with the larger environment as well (Paquette & Ryan, 2001).

Bronfenbrenner propounds that the ecological theory illuminates that everything within a child and the child's environment affects the way a child grows and develops (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The theory looks at the social contexts in which the children live, or might live, and in which the participants occupy enduring roles and engage in

activities that have social meaning in that particular setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1974:3). In order to appreciate how children develop, it is important and essential to observe their behaviour in natural settings, as they interact with familiar adults over lengthy periods (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner's theory places the child at the centre of certain levels of contexts (or systems) that interact to influence development over time (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner, 2001). The child is conceptualized within a set of nested compilations of structures, each situated, inside the next that is, contained within the consecutive one like a set of Russian dolls (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 3).

Bronfenbrenner's theory describes influences moving bi-directionally between the children's immediate surroundings and the people that they directly encounter and where both parties develop together (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 21). This means that there is a reciprocity between the children and the environment, as children according to the theory, impact the environment and the environment impacts the children. The ecological systems theory holds that these bi-directional relationships are the foundation for a child's cognitive and emotional growth (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 30). More specifically, Bronfenbrenner's theory is not limited to the developmental influence of a single activity in an individual's life instead they examine collective effects of a sequence of social changes and developmental transitions over a period of time (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:733).

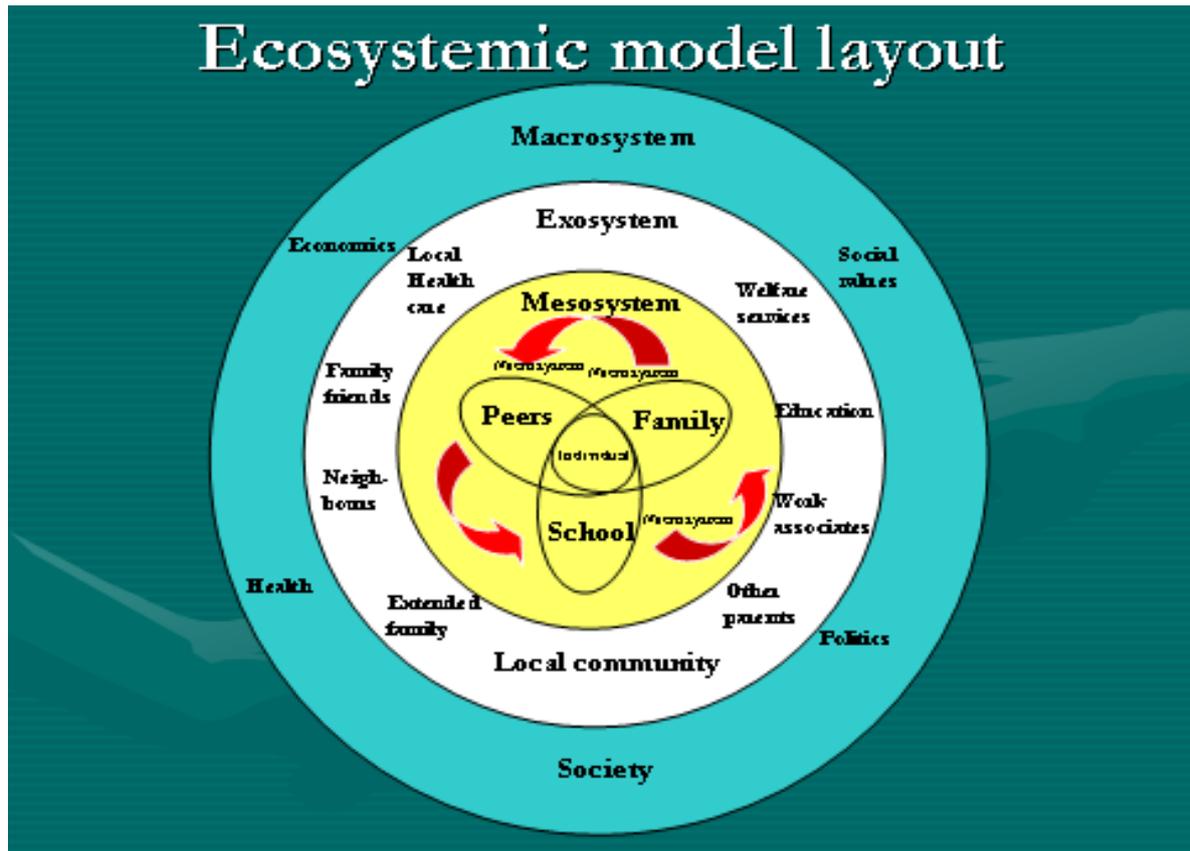
The framework is useful and indeed, relevant for understanding the street life of children of street vendors. Understanding why street vendors make their children work is the key to addressing this major socio-educational problem. The theory makes it possible to examine the position, experiences and contexts of the children through several factors related to the individual, the family, school, and community settings in which the children live. To explore the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors as well as the street life of these children, I found the theory of ecological system very useful.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1976) a setting is defined as a place in which the occupants engage in particular activities in particular roles (e.g., parent, teacher, pupil, etc.) for particular periods of time. The factors of place, time, activity, and role constitute the elements of a setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner (1979) further defines ecological transition as a situation where people move from a setting they are familiar with into a less familiar setting with different actors, norms, routines, and social regularities. This transition according to him can be a turning point that can severely impact on people's psychological, educational, and social development (Seidman & French, 2004:1144). Furthermore, since the level of tolerance of people may vary between areas of thinking and behaving, psychological consequences of social change and ecological transitions depend upon the intensity of social pressure to change the old behaviours (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

The framework acknowledges that street life represents critical socio-educational challenges in that it helps to explore the street children phenomenon and the processes leading to it. The framework is a useful way of illustrating the experience of children of street vendors, how they navigate situations and/or how they cope with life on the street. This question is interlinked with contextual conditions of the various settings of the child in the ecological systems theory.

The theory describes five environmental systems namely; the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem and the chronosystem as they influence, and are influenced by, the developing person (see figure 1) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Each of these five environmental systems is progressively distant from the child but nevertheless impacts on the child's development (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci 1994; Bronfenbrenner, 2001).

Figure 1



(Swart & Pettipher, 2005:11)

The environmental systems are as follows:

### 3.2.1.1 The microsystem

The microsystem is the innermost of Bronfenbrenner's environmental layers of contexts and the immediate settings (including role relationships and activities) that the person actually encounters (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). It is the immediate physical and social environment in which the person interacts face-to-face with other people and influences and is affected by them at any point in life (Sigelman & Rider, 2009:7; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:16). According to Paquette and Ryan (2001: 21) Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory focuses on the richness of the environment in the microsystem, a characteristic that is important to the development of the child.

Bronfenbrenner maintains that this level of the ecological system includes those relationships and interactions that are closest to the child, such as family, peers, and school. Developmental outcomes are influenced by interactions within microsystems, or the immediate settings that contain the developing person (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004:291). Pinquart and Silbereisen (2004: 291) suggest that almost all of the effects of social change on the level of society, are mediated through the microsystems. Much of a child's behaviour is learned in the microsystem (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 21).

### 3.2.1.2 The mesosystem

The mesosystem is the second of Bronfenbrenner's environmental layers or contexts of the ecological systems theory and it is the interconnections among an individual's immediate settings or microsystems (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). It involves the interrelations amongst the key settings containing the child at any point in time in his or her life. Accordingly "people, places and events are involved in the mesosystem's synergy of interactions, for instance, neighbourhood, schools, institutions, local residents, a child's family members" (Freeman, 2011:829). Within this setting, microsystems are connected to construct the mesosystem in that whatever takes place in one microsystem is likely to influence the others (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:16). Thus the mesosystem comprises of the linkages or interrelationships between two or more microsystems (that is, where interactions among people and settings of the child's microsystem take place) (Sigelman & Rider, 2009:7; Freeman, 2011:829). In ecological terms, it is a situation in which the same person is participating in more than one setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994:579). The involvement of the structures in a child's mesosystem stems from the important point that the provision of adult relationships is necessary for positive development (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 30). It comprises those interacting with the child regularly, including teachers, peers, and neighbours, hence playing fundamental roles in the child's life (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013).

According to Paquette and Ryan (2001: 23) "The family is the closest, most intense, most durable, and influential part of the mesosystem". "The influences of the family

extend to all aspects of the child's development; language, nutrition, security, health, and beliefs are all developed through the input and behaviour related feedback within the family" (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 23). Bronfenbrenner (1986:723) argues that although the family is the principal context in which human development takes place, it is but one of several settings in which developmental process can and does occur. As indicated earlier, the processes operating in the child's different settings are interdependent. To buttress this viewpoint Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:576) state that environmental conditions and events originating outside the family are likely to be the most powerful and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting human development throughout the life course.

### 3.2.1.3 The exosystem

The exosystem is the third of Bronfenbrenner's environmental layers or contexts and it is made up of connections involving social settings and systems that individuals do not experience directly but that may nevertheless have an influence on their growth and development (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010; Sigelman & Rider, 2009:7). Thus environments "external" to the developing person (to which they tend to have limited access) are what Bronfenbrenner refers to as exosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723). In the exosystem, linkages among two or more environments take place, in such a way that at least one setting is not part of the child's direct experience, but yet influences the child (Freeman, 2011:829; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:16). According to Paquette and Ryan (2001: 30) structures of the exosystem, such as culture, and society, provide the material resources, support, values, and contexts within which relationships operate. These structures, Bronfenbrenner further notes, comprise the major institutions of the society, both purposely constituted and spontaneously emerging, as they operate at grassroots level. These comprise agencies of government, the world of work, mass media, communication and transportation facilities, the distribution of goods and services, and informal social networks, and the neighbourhood, among others (Bronfenbrenner, 1976).

#### 3.2.1.4 The macrosystem

The macrosystem is Bronfenbrenner's outermost environmental layer or context and represents the larger cultural or subcultural context in which the microsystem, the mesosystem and the exosystem are all embedded and in which development occurs (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:16; Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). It is Bronfenbrenner's ecological system's fourth level which considers the spheres of more distanced people, events and institutions, including cultural beliefs and ideals that mostly and indirectly impact the child (Freeman, 2011:829). Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1994) refers to the macrosystem as a "cultural 'blueprint' that partially determines the social structures and activities that occur in the more immediate system levels." Macrosystems are the principal institutions of the culture or subculture, such as the educational, socio-economic, legal and political systems, of which other systems are the concrete manifestations (Bronfenbrenner, 1976:6). According to Bronfenbrenner (1976) such macrosystems are "conceived and examined not only in structural terms but as carriers of information and ideology that, both explicitly and implicitly, endow meaning and motivation to particular agencies, social networks, roles, activities, and their interrelations." At the broadest level of society (the macrosystem), individual development may be affected by situations such as changing political and social institutions or laws (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004: 291).

#### 3.2.1.5 The chronosystem

The chronosystem in its simplest form focuses on a life transition, taking place throughout the life span, which often spurs developmental change (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:724; Freeman, 2011:829). The chronosystem examines all the components of the complex patterns and structures that evolve over the life course (Freeman, 2010:829) and scrutinizes the effect on the person's development of changes (and continuities) over time within the settings in which the person is living (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:724). In ecological systems theory the chronosystem refers to changes in the individual or the environment that occurs over time and influences the direction development takes (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). According to Sigelman and Rider (2009:8-9) Bronfenbrenner introduces the concept of the chronosystem to

capture the idea that changes in people and their environments occur in a time frame and unfold in particular patterns or sequences over a person's lifetime. With the chronosystem it becomes pertinent to note whether, compared to the previous social states and conditions, changes that had occurred are significant and whether the gains outweigh the shortfalls, and if individuals have learned to adjust to and cope with altering developmental contexts in the past (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004: 291).

The ecological theory is a framework that enabled me to scrutinize the development of children of street vendors within interactive, multi-layered, and changing environments (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:18). According to Bronfenbrenner, children are moulded not only by their personal attributes, but also by the ever-widening environments as part of their development (Bogenschneider, 1996:129). The ecological theory, as a framework, enabled me to understand and investigate, among others, the five basic needs for positive development in children (and for that matter, children of street vendors). These embrace envisaging a positive future, a personal relationship with a prudent adult, a protected place of abode, a marketable skill that can be implemented to his own benefit and the environment after schooling, and a chance to deliver a particular service to the environment and community (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 31).

As suggested by the ecological theory it is vital to consider events at various levels of the human ecology, comprising the individual, family and home, school, peer, work, and community settings in dealing with children of street vendors (Bogenschneider, 1996: 128). The ecological theory of human development therefore provides the avenue for the situation of children of street vendors to be assessed in terms of change at the various levels of the ecological system (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004: 290).

In summary, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory provides a theoretical framework for exploring the socio-educational development or challenges of children of street vendors. It highlights the complex interactions between the factors and conditions that culminate to the continuously increasing issue of the street children

phenomenon. The framework provides direction for the development of topics and themes that guided the formulation of interview questions in the data-gathering process as well as data analysis (see chapters 5 and 6). In order to strengthen the framework of this thesis, the development of the child is discussed next.

### **3.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Development is defined as: “orderly, patterned, and relatively enduring changes and continuities in the individual that ensue between conception and death” (Sigelman & Rider, 2009:2). Researchers such as Bornstein *et al.* (2012:16) and Mba, Kwankye, Badasu, Ahiadeke, and Anarfi (2009:37) believe that the crucial period in the development of the child is his or her early years as the rapid gains in physical, cognitive, and socio-emotional domains at that stage constitute the “building blocks” of his or her later growth and development.

#### **3.3.1 Physical development**

Physical development is the growth of the human body and its organs, the functioning of physiological systems, changes in motor abilities as well as physical signs of ageing (Sigelman & Rider, 2009:3). McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4) assert that it is concerned with certain biological changes within the body embracing genetics, a foetus’s growth inside the mother’s womb, the entire birth process, developing motor skills and brain growth. The physical development entails the use of the body, play as strategy, growth in the nervous system, and aspects pertaining to size, shape, skills, bones, muscles, and fat.

Densley and Joss (2000:221) claim that nutritional deficiency affects normal physical growth in terms of height and weight. Health problems linked with poverty during the early stages of a child may result in impediment to physical development and become risk factors for further development in later life which can and do have long-lasting consequences as children live to adulthood (Bornstein *et al.*, 2012: 21; Densley & Joss, 2000; White, Leavy & Masters, 2003). Rolleston *et al.*, (2010 :17) in analyzing

access to education in Ghana, indicate that poor nutrition leads to growth stunting which can lead to late entry and therefore over-age enrolment because children are judged to be physically “too small” especially if chronological age is underestimated. This may force many children to drop out of school. Life of children of street vendors can be characterized by hunger, abuse, neglect, lack of health services, inadequate sanitation, absence of safe water and other services that will ensure healthy growth (Hollingsworth, 2012).

### **3.3.2 Socio-emotional development**

Social development is defined as attitudes, behaviour patterns, and feelings children exhibit in relation to others and the mode that these various features change as the child ages in the course of time (Schaffer in Sanson, *et al.*, 2004:145). It involves “changes and carryover in personal and interpersonal aspects of development, such as motives, emotions, personality traits, interpersonal skills” (Sigelman & Rider, 2009:3). McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4) also describe social-emotional development to include many modifications that occur during development such as emotions, self-concept, motivation, social relationships, moral reasoning, behaviour advancement and changes that also depend largely on the children’s interactions with other people. It also involves affectionate relationships with adults such as teachers and other caregivers to promote children’s emotional well-being, academic achievement, and acceptance by peers (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 29).

The effects of stress, violence, harassment and isolation because of exposure to the street, affect children of street vendors in a sense that it may lead to social-emotional and mental health problems (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010). Children of street vendors need to cultivate relationships with their friends and have role models and confidantes but unfortunately this is normally not the case. Their busy schedules leave them with no time and space to explore such opportunities and adventures. Most of them fall into the influence spheres of peer groups and exploitative adults who introduce them to activities and behaviours inappropriate for their age group and which are deemed socially unacceptable. Van der Hoek (2005: 9) warns that most of

these children become socially withdrawn and develop behavioural problems at home and school.

### 3.3.3 Cognitive development

According to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:4) cognitive development refers to the age-related transformations that occur in children's reasoning, concepts, memory, and language— changes that are cultivated by children's experiences in families, schools, and communities. It includes the development of basic skills in reading, writing, mathematics and other academic subject areas (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013). Shaffer and Kipp (2010) also indicate that cognitive development refers to age-related changes that occur in mental activities such as thinking, learning, perceiving, and remembering. It involves the presence of all essential apparatus within the various settings (families, schools, and communities) to introduce, mediate, describe and demonstrate; and interpret the external world; and provide children with opportunities to learn (Bornstein *et al.*, 2012:18).

According to Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:576) the inconsistency and stress within the family setting have disruptive effects on the development of the children's cognitive competence. As the child of the street vendor experiences the effect of distress in the family situation, it becomes difficult for the child to learn and to develop cognitively. When parents and other caregivers are not in the position to provide the necessary tools and opportunities to facilitate children's learning it may lead to the inability of these children to use their intellectual capacities to change their situation and also to positively affect their families, their communities, the nation and the world as a whole (Densley & Joss, 2000:221). These children are regrettably left to survive on their own resources in making their way through life course, for better or worse.

Next I discuss the concept of cognitive development as proposed by Piaget in his theory of cognitive development. I take a cursory look at the various stages and finally focus on the Concrete-Operational Stage which encompasses is the age bracket of my study participants that is, children between the ages of seven and eleven.

### 3.3.3.1 Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973)

Cognitive development theories emphasise the thinking processes and how these are affected qualitatively in the course of time (Piaget, 1973; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:14). In other words, these emphasize how the child constructs knowledge and how these constructions change gradually (Piaget, 1973; Kail & Cavanaugh 2010:13). Piaget focuses primarily on children's cognitive development using detailed observations, in-depth interviews, and ingenious experimental tasks; he investigated the nature of children's logical thinking about such topics as numbers, physical causality, and psychological processes (Piaget, 1973; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:15). His observations led him to conclude that as infants, children interact with the world primarily through trial-and-error behaviour and as children mature, they begin to represent, symbolically "manipulate" and make mental predictions about objects and actions in the world around them (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:10). According to him, through these reflections, children's thinking becomes increasingly logical and abstract with age (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:14).

According to Kail and Cavanaugh (2010:13) and Desai (2010:6) Piaget's theory of cognitive development proposes that thinking develops in a universal order of stages; each stage is qualitatively different from one another. Piaget posits that children progress through four stages of cognitive development on their way to independent thinking (Atherton, 2011; Desai 2010:61; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359; Piaget, 1973). They all do so in the same order (Case, 1973: 23; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359) with the consolidation of activity and knowledge at one stage being a prerequisite for the progression to activity and knowledge at the next (Case, 1973:24). Each stage characterised by more sophisticated modes of reasoning, prepares the child for the succeeding levels (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:13). The four stages of Piagetian development are as follows:

i. The Sensorimotor stage (birth to 2 years)

Piaget's first stage of cognitive development is the sensorimotor stage. It is so called because the children sense their environment and carry out movement (motor) to react to it (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:14). The children learn that they are separate from his environment and that aspects of his environment (e.g. his parents) continue to exist even though they may be outside the reach of his senses (Atherton, 2011). At this stage the children "learn to reproduce pleasurable events, first in relation to their own bodies and then in relation to other people or objects" (Desai, 2010:6).

ii. The Pre-Operational stage (2 to 7 years)

The preoperational stage is the second stage of Piaget's of cognitive development. Children at this stage learn how to manipulate symbols such as numbers and words to represent aspects of the world but relate to the world only through their perspectives (Atherton, 2011; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:14; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359). At this age, according to Piaget, children are self-centred and self-oriented, and have an egocentric view (Atherton, 2011; Grace, 2010; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359). The child is still dominated by the external world, rather than his or her own thoughts. At this stage perception still dominates over reason (Desai, 2010:6).

iii. The Concrete Operational stage (7 to 11 years)

During the concrete operational stage, which is the third stage, the child begins to think more logically about real objects and experiences and to make rational judgments about concrete or observable phenomena (Atherton, 2011; Case, 1973:22; Desai, 2010:6; Kolb, 1984:24; Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). The child in the concrete operational stage takes into account more than one perspective at the same time and is able to take other peoples' point of view into account (Grace, 2010). Although they can understand concrete problems, carry out operations on their environment and develop logical thought, they are not capable of performing

operations on abstract problems (Gratch & Landers, 1971). The Concrete operational stage will be discussed in more detail.

#### iv. The Formal Operational stage (12 years to adult)

Piaget considers the formal operational stage as the ultimate stage of development bringing cognition to its final form; it is at this stage that abstract thought and scientific reasoning emerge (Atherton, 2011; Desai, 2010:6; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:14; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359). Problems are now approached using logic, reason and combinational thought (Desai, 2010:6-7; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:14; Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). They can also reason theoretically, learn to use deductive reasoning to draw conclusions, and are able to hold a much broader understanding of the world around them (Grace, 2010; Kolb, 1984:24; Gratch & Landers, 1971:359).

#### v. The Concrete Operational stage as the focus for my study (7 to 11years)

My study is focused on children between the ages of 7 to 11 years, which is the third stage of cognitive development namely the concrete operational stage. The operations these children perform are termed "concrete" because according to Piaget they are based on real people, places and real physical objects and things that children have observed within their settings (Piaget, 1973). During this time, children are capable of, amongst others, conserving, classifying, seriating, and organizing objects or events into different sets or classes (Piaget, 1964). Piaget argues that in spite of the above abilities, children of the concrete operational stage are not yet able to think abstractly (Gratch & Landers, 1971:359) and have difficulty understanding hypothetical concepts and therefore they are easily influenced.

Piaget has shown that the child's own activity is what is responsible for his intellectual development and contributes to changes in and among various systems (Case, 1973:24; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:17). In other words when children are controlled in the type of activity they perform at this critical stage they may not be able to bring out their full potential. It is worthy to note that in cultures where one's sense of duty

to family is paramount, when family needs and childhood norms are in conflict, many children will prioritize the needs of their family (Cline *et al.*, 2009: 36). Thus while it may not be fair to ask the child to contribute to the household income, once the request had been made, especially in poor families like that of children of street vendors, children comply (Mulinge, 2002: 1124).

Although adult-like reasoning may be the eventual, desired outcome for young people, cognitive-developmental theories believe that it is a mistake to hurry children beyond their current capabilities— that is, one cannot make a child think in ways beyond his or her current stage (Case, 1973; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:15). These authors also believe that adults who stretch children beyond their present abilities create unnecessary stress and fail to nurture children's existing reasoning (Case, 1973; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:15) as may be the case in a typical poverty-stricken home of street vendors where children are forced to take up adult roles and perform activities inappropriate to their age.

School and community (which play an important role in the growth and development of the child) begin to have more direct influences on the child at the concrete operational stage (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Schools foster cognitive skills, enlighten children about their potential for achievement and also provide the setting in which children can practice social skills (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:5) while the communities and wider societies, provide children access to peers, other adult role models, recreation, the media, and such institutions as social services (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:5). However, children of street vendors, due to the exigencies of the situation confronting them, spend less time in school and consequently miss what is being taught. They become handicapped in navigating their way through other stages in life.

Last but not the least, children learn through play, apply rules in games and become proficient in athletic skills (Desai, 2010: 66; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 22). Play has been cited by many experts as crucial to the physical, cognitive, social, emotional development and wellbeing of children (Desai, 2010; Fiore, 2012: 124; Milteer & Ginsburg, 2011:204). One such expert is Piaget who illustrates that play is another

means by which children construct knowledge and is linked to creativity (Desai, 2010; Fiore 2012: 111; Milteer & Ginsburg, 2011:204). Play allows children to explore the properties of objects, co-ordinate their activities with those of other children, exercise physically, solve problems, and express themselves emotionally (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013: 29). Play also helps children experience moral dilemmas and conflicts, and to recognize differences in opinion and perspectives (Fiore, 2012: 111). Accordingly play is seen as a natural means for the child to develop resilience as he/she learns to overcome challenges and obstacles, cooperate, and negotiate with other children (Milteer & Ginsburg, 2011:204). According to Piaget it is during the activity of play that children often change and transform their roles, objects and themes (Fiore, 2012:116). All these abilities are denied children of street vendors because they do not have the opportunity to play as often as they should due to work. According to Milteer and Ginsburg (2011:204) children living in poverty often encounter socio-economic challenges that hinder their rights to play, thus disrupting their healthy development.

In summary, the concrete operational stage of Piaget's theory provides a framework for exploring the cognitive development level of children of street vendors. It highlights the various characteristics of the concrete operational stage and throws light on what should be expected of children at each level of their growth and development. Piaget's theory of cognitive development therefore serves as a useful framework for conceptualizing the stage and level of development of children in this study.

### **3.3.4 Connotative development**

In the views of Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2013: 18) connotative development looks at the ability and capability of people both young and old and although frail and helpless, to withstand, endure, survive and live with horrible conditions as they occur in the here and now and to aspire to change their situation for the better. It refers to what drives people to put across something valuable or worthy about themselves to their families, schools, and communities (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 17). It is

observed that children form interpersonal relationships and enter into daily activities with a sense of purpose (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:5). Harper, Marcus and Moore (2003: 546) also state that childhood experiences and contacts contribute in shaping children's development of attitudes and aspirations.

According to Shaffer and Kipp (2010) "self-concept" refers the individual's perceptions of his or her unique attributes or traits while self-esteem is one's evaluation of his or her worth as a person based on an evaluation of the qualities that constitute the self-concept. In this regard Fiore (2012:38) cautions that in an attempt to foster our children, we must be mindful of what we impart so as to impact positively on generations of children by encouraging them to imbibe attributes like trust, collaboration, confidence, perseverance, conflict resolution, self regulation, creativity and empathy to mention but a few. Fiore (2012:38) and Scarr (1992:10) state that parents exert an influence on children's self-esteem, motivation, ambitiousness, and other important characteristics. It is the duty of parents to facilitate their children's progress in life therefore the way that parents instil attitudes that may be influential in perpetuating or breaking cycles of poverty in their children, is crucial; especially for children of street vendors given that they spend less time with their parents (Harper, Marcus & Moore, 2003: 546).

Consequently in the case of children of street vendors we would want to look at how amidst poverty and decay, they are able to "discern ways of living that hold value, the refusal to be negated, the capacity to live, withstand and survive in the context of such privations" (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 17). It might be viable to find out whether children of street vendors would like to remain in their current situation, stuck in a rut, or would aspire to improve themselves by embarking on new survival strategies, such as going back to school, finding other kinds of trade as in vocational or technical apprenticeship training. (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:17).

The following section looks at the contexts of children of street vendors

## 3.4 THE CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 3.4.1 Rights of Children

Throughout life, since childhood, people require protection against external elements that have the tendency of affecting their well-being (Mba *et al.*, 2009:8). Individuals in particular, require protection against abuse, neglect, violence, harmful traditional and cultural practices, exploitation, injustice and discrimination against them (Mba *et al.*, 2009:8-9). I will discuss the various rights of children as enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the constitution of Ghana as well as education as a basic right of the child.

#### 3.4.1.1 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) is most widely ratified and a legally binding agreement safeguarding children's rights to survival, protection, participation and development (Bornstein *et al.*, 2012:17). Daiute (2008: 710) and Christensen and James (2008:12) argue that the status of the child as an individual entity is the basis for rights in the convention and seeks to advocate that even though vulnerable, the child as an individual has rights to privacy, honour, reputation, respect and dignity (Christensen & James, 2008:12; Daiute, 2008: 710; Morrow, 2010:438; Munoz, 2010: 43).

Munoz (2010: 43) indicates that the rights in the CRC contain 50 articles that can be divided into three broad categories namely:

- Provision– carrying the connotation of the individual's right to receive, own, or have access to specific resources and services;
- Protection– referring to the right to receive care from parents and professionals as well as the right to be protected against abusive acts and practices;
- Participation– communicating the right to express oneself, act freely and exercise responsibility for individual choices and to have a collective voice (Munoz, 2010: 43).

Van der Hoek (2005:5) clarifies that the CRC's portrayal of children as distinct individuals with rights of their own does not mean that children function independently and in isolation. The CRC specifically specifies the responsibilities of parents and commitment of states (Mba *et al.*, 2009:8; Munoz, 2010: 41). The CRC is well-known for the following phrase viz.: "the dignity and the best interests of the child" (Desai, 2010: viii; Munoz, 2010: 43). There is a lot of emphasis on the welfare and well-being of the child. Despite the ratification of the CRC, and other international legal instruments affirming the rights of children with the hope that their lives would improve (Davis, 2013:18; Dimitra, 2008; Marks, 2012:11), children often have their world shattered and traumatized because most nations are yet to allow the CRC to have maximum influence on their internal policies (Dimitra, 2008; Marks, 2012:11-12). Children, regrettably, continue to be denied the very rights contained in the CRC, which the laws are expected to guarantee and they continue to experience acts of cruelty and become victims of child labour, child abuse and neglect, child trafficking, deprivations, sexual exploitation and severe physical beatings. They even lack access to quality education, health care services, portable water among others (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008:128; Marks, 2012:11; Mulinge, 2002; Umar, 2009:172; Windborne, 2006). According to Marks (2012:11) too many children the world over are still outside the protection of society. Next I look at the right of children in the Ghanaian setting/setup.

#### 3.4.1.2 Rights of children as enshrined in the 1992 constitution of Ghana

The 1992 constitution of Ghana also confers certain rights on the child and the drafters, being mindful of the importance of the right of children, specify rights and freedoms for children in Article 28 of the constitution as follows:

(1) Parliament shall enact such laws as are necessary to ensure that:

- (a) every child has the right to the same measure of special care, assistance and maintenance as is necessary for its development from its natural parents, except where those parents have effectively surrendered their rights and responsibilities in respect of the child in accordance with law;

(b) every child, whether or not born in wedlock, shall be entitled to reasonable provision out of the estate of its parents;

(c) parents undertake their natural right and obligation of care, maintenance and upbringing of their children in co-operation with such institutions as Parliament may, by law, prescribe in such manner that in all cases the interest of the children are paramount;

(d) children and young persons receive special protection against exposure to physical and moral hazards; and

(e) the protection and advancement of the family as the unit of society are safeguarded in promotion of the interest of children.

(2) Every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health, education or development.

(3) A child shall not be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

(4) No child shall be deprived by any other person of medical treatment, education or any other social or economic benefit by reason only of religious or other beliefs (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

The parliament of Ghana further passed the 1998 Children's Act drafted by the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) to re-affirm and enforce what has been stated in the constitution (Bruscino, 2001; GLSS 5, 2008:44; Mba *et al.*, 2009:84). Although Ghana ratified the CRC and it subsequently included in its constitution, the above stated rights and freedoms for children (Windborne, 2006:156), the majority of children in Ghana, almost two decades later, continue to suffer violations and are deprived of the rights guaranteed to them by these institutions (Mulinge, 2002: 1128; Windborne, 2006:156).

### 3.4.1.3 Education as a Basic Human Right of the Child

Education is a basic human right (Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2011:1; Daniel, 2003:51; Hamlin, 2011) and has been recognized as such since the 1948 adoption of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights which states that everyone has a right to education which shall be free and compulsory. It further indicates that the focus of education is fully to develop the human personality and to strengthen the respect for human rights and dignity and fundamental freedom.

According to Daniel (2003:47) the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) set out Education for All (EFA) as one of its goals to emphasise the “belief in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge”. This drive was revived by the Jomtien (1990) EFA conference and then in Dakar (2000) at the World Education Forum where all 146 nations of the world that participated, collectively affirmed the urgency of making quality basic education accessible to all (Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2011:1; Daniel, 2003:47; Hamlin, 2011). The Dakar Forum set targets and strategies, one of which was “to ensure that all children especially those in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities have access to free and compulsory quality primary education by 2015 (Daniel, 2003:48; Tikly & Barrett, 2011:5; UNESCO, 2000).

### 3.4.1.4 Education as a Basic Human Right as enshrined in the 1992 constitution of Ghana

Ghana recognized the importance of education with the Education Act of 1961 and the Constitution of 1992, as well as the various educational reforms carried out to provide for free compulsory primary education (Akyeampong, 2009:175; Ampratwum & Armah-Attoh, 2010:2; Bruscino, 2001). Education is not only the key to sustainable development and a component of anti-poverty programmes, but also a fundamental human right, an empowerment, and an entitlement (Ampratwum & Armah-Attoh,

2010:1; Hilson, 2010: 450; Tilak, 2001:18). In light of this, Article 25 of constitution of the Republic Ghana states:

All persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realization of that right: (a) basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all;(b) secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all (c) higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, (d) functional literacy shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible (Ghanaweb 2014; Constitution of Ghana 1992).

Incidentally the reality of education is different particularly for many children in Ghana especially amongst children of lower income groups (Lewin, 2009; Rolleston *et al.*, 2010; Sabates & Fernandez, 2010:3; Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009:2). One such group is the children of street vendors. It is envisaged that much work needs to be done before the goal of education for all is realized (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007:85; Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010: vxi). Akyeampong (2009:181) notes that although in principle the right to free education is unequivocal, the policy aimed to eliminate school fees, to increase the demand for schooling which has indirect costs, and which has affected enrolment and further subjugated children's rights to basic education. Furthermore the quality of education provided, has increasingly become a major concern for poor households as they become disillusioned with public education (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2012:1) as well as with the apparent lack of returns to schooling in rural and urban poor areas (Tilak, 2001:18; Krauss, 2013: 5). It is argued that basic education "lays the foundation for the development of productive skills and decent livelihoods, for lifelong learning, civic participation and for national development" (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2012). But if parents perceive formal education as inferior (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2012:1; Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997:11; Hashim 2011: 108), they will rather prefer that their children assist them in their enterprise of life. This is because in the typical Ghanaian setting children are engaged in work-related activities by adults (parents) for purposes of learning and earning money (Boakye-Boaten, 2006).

### 3.4.2 Children/Childhood

A child refers to every human being below the age of eighteen years (UNICEF- CRC, 1989:2). Childhood is described in general terms as a period of innocence, dependence and vulnerability, dominated by play and schooling, free of work and an adult care-receiving phase of life (Hashim, 2011: 107-108; Desai, 2010; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013:22). Childhood is assumed to be a time for education, socialization and play (Brooks, 2008:9; Cline *et al.*, 2009:29; Desai, 2010; Roehlkepartain & Leffert, 2000). McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:18) divulge that children, in turn, actively influence family members and other people based on their physical appearance, developmental abilities, temperament, intellectual skills, and behaviour. Children are content usually with their situation of being children and desire to live in the societies they find themselves (Munoz, 2010: 48). In keeping with Munoz's viewpoint Brooks (2008:8) mentions that children ensure the continuity of society, maintain traditions and rituals, and pass on social values to the next generation; children grow into economic producers who support the ageing members of society as well as their own children.

#### 3.4.2.1 Childhood in Ghana

According to Marks (2012:11) children in Africa (and for that matter Ghana) are highly cherished and are socially valued, and their presence, absence and number, determine the social status accorded to an individual, couple or family. The status of children within their families and communities is crucial when looking at childhood in Ghana (Twumasi-Danso, 2009). Children make up a large proportion of the population in most developing countries and they constitute between a third and a half of all persons who are younger than 15 years old. In Ethiopia for instance they constitute nearly half of the population (49%), in Vietnam they make up more than a third of the population (40%) while they constitute about a third in Ghana (38.9%) and Peru (35%) (GSS 2012; NDPC 2010; White, Leavy & Masters, 2003). Windborne (2006:162) argues that in the ideal situation, the young are to be cared for, protected, and trained in skills that will be beneficial to their adult life. But for many children in

Ghana, Bruscano (2001) and Stephens (2000: 37) allude that the reality of childhood is altogether different. According to Twumasi-Danso, (2009) changes in the socio-economic and political institutions over the period have tremendously destabilized social institutions in the Ghanaian societies to sustain the standards and values of child care practices.

The picture as painted by Stephens (2000: 37) is informative. He is of the opinion that the average Ghanaian children are affected by a complex setting as they are framed by gender and descent, may co-habit and be raised by other caregivers such as relatives and friends instead of being trained by their own biological parents. The children are expected to become part of the family trade and household chores and apart from attending school it is their duty to care for younger siblings or older relatives. This child will also be growing up in a world characterized by migration, urbanization, modern manner of living, Western type of schooling and other changes in the family structures.

Mba *et al.*, (2009: xix –xx) in shedding light on ‘child survival, development and protection’ report that children in Ghana are confronted with several challenges which include but not limited to, extremely poor households, child labour, streetism, child abuse, violence against children, children in conflict with the law, child prostitution and pornography, child slavery/*trokosi*, child marriage, and child trafficking. Parents’ decisions concerning their children’s issues and welfare in Ghana depend on a chain of events and factors embracing:

- The structure of the economy (which is largely driven by subsistence farming and informal sector);
- Cultural influences (social norms viewing child labour for example as part of socialization) (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997: 12; Krauss, 2013: 2);
- Occupational choices (with no higher returns to schooling up to the basic level of education among the rural areas and urban poor);

- Low levels of institutional capacity (to enforce children laws) among others (Krauss, 2013: 2).

According to Gharthey Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah (2011:4) in Ghana, poverty and weakened family structures result in children being compelled to be involved in child labour and burdened with family duties to augment the family income or left to struggle on their own. Furthermore children's programmes are not adequately funded by government (NDPC, 2010).

In agreeing with Bronfenbrenner's assertion, Paquette and Ryan (2001:3) contend that with the ecological theory, if the relationships and interactions in the immediate microsystem break down, the child will not be able to access the tools to explore other parts of his or her settings. With the above issues placing the child at risk, I proceed to look at the concept of "at-risk" children.

#### 3.4.2.2 "At-Risk" children

Children of street vendors spending the majority of their developmental years in the streets are classified as "at risk" (Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009:10; Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9). Pellino (2007) explains that the term "at-risk" refers to children who are not likely to excel in school or in life as a result of their life's social circumstances. It is argued that poverty is a major at-risk factor (Hilson, 2010: 448; Pellino, 2007; Samson & Cherrier, 2009:9). Pellino (2007) further observes that parents with a low educational level, very young and single parents, unemployment, substance abuse, unsafe neighbourhoods, abuse and neglect, aggression, social withdrawal, and depression are some of the factors that may place children at risk. These factors cause a disruption in their chances for accomplishment in school and life (Brooks 2008:119; Cline *et al.*, 2009; Munzo, 2010; Pellino, 2007).

Child development experts caution that academic and behavioural problems such as delay in language and reading development, exposure to inadequate or inappropriate educational experiences, irregular school attendance, dropping-out, exposure to activities inappropriate to their age, amongst others, can be indicators of impending

failure in life for “at-risk” children (Akyeampong, 2009; Ananga, 2011; Lewin, 2009; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010; Pellino, 2007). Furthermore according to Pellino (2007) teachers and educators may have difficulty reaching parent or guardian of “at-risk” children as these parents do not have or show any interest in their children schooling. Again, educators may invariably find that the child does not complete assignments, does not do homework, or does not come to school prepared to learn due of poverty related conditions in the home setting (Pellino, 2007). These children may be unable to concentrate or focus (Bruscino, 2001; Pellino, 2007). They may be reluctant or incapable to appropriately interact with peers and/or adults in an effective manner leading to learning disabilities, poor academic outcomes, antisocial behaviour, communication difficulties, poor self-concept, making it impossible for them to unlock their potential (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010; Elbedour *et al.*, 2002: 225; Densley & Joss 2000:217; Nunes, 2010; Pellino, 2007; Samson & Cherrier, 2009:xxi-xxii).

### **3.4.3 Family crisis**

According to McDeviit and Ormrod (2013:67) a family consists of two or more people who dwell together and are connected by factors such as birth, marriage, adoption, and long-term mutual commitment. There usually are two adults (normally the parents) who act as heads of the family and who take care of the children for many years. The family setting is regarded as the main source of socialization as well as the primary source of economic protection, material and emotional support of the child’s growth and development (Desai, 2010; McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:68; Mulinge, 2002:1127).

Parents play a critical role in our society by rearing children who will maintain society’s values, standards of conduct, and shared views of the world (Brooks, 2008:9). It is therefore the responsibility of parents to cater for their children’s welfare, exercise authority over children and supervise them to imbibe the values and culture of their community (Beveridge, 2005:31; Desai, 2010; McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:67). Beveridge (2005:32) further maintains that “children’s learning at home is rooted in social relationships, of which the most influential is that with their parents”

making parents powerful models and sources of reinforcement for their children (Beveridge, 2005:73).

Unfortunately political and socio-economic restructuring of African societies over the period after colonization adversely affected the family as a social unit, resulting in weakening extended families, an increase in the single-parent family, increasing rates of divorce and separation, and the dual career family (Desai, 2010; Hollingsworth, 2012; Mulinge, 2002). This situation is further worsened by the diminishing purchasing power of families across most countries in Africa (Mulinge, 2002). Bronfenbrenner indicates in his ecological systems theory that the instability and unpredictability of modern family livelihood is the most destructive force to a child's development (Paquette & Ryan, 2001: 26). Expanding this understanding Munoz (2010: 46-47) asserts that children's well-being and welfare are invariably connected to the economic ability of their families and households, buttressing Bronfenbrenner's assertion that the family is the channel through which deprivation and economic hardship penetrate into the life of the child and shapes the path of subsequent growth and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

According to Cline et al. (2009:30) and Hollingsworth (2012) changes in the social structures have created situations in which traditional expectations about 'growing up' have been violated and children are compelled to take on 'adult' roles and therefore have become pseudo-adults. One therefore wonders what children (and for that matter children of street vendors) may encounter on their way to adulthood. The impact of these social and structural changes affects children indirectly through their behaviour toward children.

#### **3.4.4 The impact of poverty on the family**

According to Mba *et al.*, (2009 :4) the impact of poverty affects children greatly, because at their tender ages they are not capable of making concrete decisions that could assuage their poverty situation and may rely on whatever decisions their parents, older family members may take on their behalf (Mba *et al.*, 2009). The

breakdown in the macrosystem (due to economic downturns, adjustment programmes and other socio-cultural changes) sends ripples in the various layers of the ecological systems theory, and as a result, women's monetary contribution to the household economy has become critical (Kanji, Kanji & Manji, 1991:990). Azarya and Chazan (1987:117) concur that the economic deterioration has also led to housewives and children, formerly outside the labour circle, to find ways and means of making some money to contribute to family coffers. Stephens (2000:36) observes that several factors such as migration and urbanization, changes within families and changing attitudes towards the economic value of children have impacted on family life. This situation has led to children being engaged in work alongside schooling to contribute to household and family income; they joined the already choked market space of the informal sector (Barwa, 1995:22).

Poverty has thus precipitated an increase in the demand for households to allow their children to engage in economic activities to support household income as a result of economic and family situations (Ampiah & Adu-Yeboah, 2009; Ananga, 2011; Edward, 2007). Accordingly children living in poverty may be affected by disrupted schooling, (Beveridge, 2005:49; Canagarajah & Pörtner, 2002:4) because limited financial resources restrict access to resources to support their schoolwork. A lack of books or the space and privacy to study at home, pose further barriers to successful learning (Beveridge, 2005:49).

Thus household decision-makers might not always act in best interest of children as long as basic survival remains a priority. Some caregivers might depend on the short term income gained from child labour even while recognizing the longer term benefits the child will receive from education (Samson & Cherrier, 2009:15).

It is worthy to note that the majority of the street vendors are partially or completely illiterate and consequently do not undertake family planning measures and have given birth to a lot of children to assist in work to increase household income but unfortunately they are not able to take care of them. According to Edward (2007) paradoxically because families anticipate children to work, they give birth to lots of children and because their children are many, they require these children to work. A

common scenario in developing countries is that parents often substitute child labour for child education to earn more income, hence fertility results in long-run poverty traps (Kitaura, 2009:615).

In general, parents have a positive attitude towards schooling and frequently aspire to educate their children (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007: xvi; Hashim, 2011: 113, 121). However, education is sometimes considered as one of the available strategies in pursuing livelihoods and securing children's long-term welfare (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007: xvi; Hashim, 2011: 123). Akyeampong *et al.* (2007: xvi) further posit that the ability and zeal of parents to educate their children can be hampered by parents' evaluation of education as a viable livelihood strategy, a child's perceived interest in education, as well as the need to secure and protect the household's immediate well-being (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007: xvi). As Samson and Cherrier (2009:6) posit "spells of poverty in childhood can have long-lasting effects on later development, including intergenerational transmissions of poverty; children's nutrition, health and education, survival rates.

### **3.4.5 Child labour/Child labourer**

According to Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010:11-12), Mba *et al.*, (2009: 80) as well as Mulinge (2002:1119) and Krauss (2013:7), child labour constitutes economic exploitation of children. Exploitation of children through the performance of any work is likely to be hazardous or to be harmful to the children's health, or to interfere with their education, or to hamper their physical, emotional, mental, intellectual, moral, or social development. It is also defined as the participation of school-aged children on a regular basis in the labour force in order to earn a living or to supplement household income (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997:3; Krauss, 2013: 3) which invariably contravenes the rights of the child as contained in the international conventions.

Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010: vxi), Edmonds (2007) and Mba *et al.*, (2009: 80) point out that the issue of child labour has in recent times drawn considerable policy and public interest because the practice is exploitative and it poses a serious human

rights violation and barrier to national development. Banerji, Bissell and Thomas (2010: vxi, xiii) and Morrow (2010:435) expatiate further that child labour is not only a barrier to the realization of children's rights. It also constitutes an important impediment to the attainment of many national development objectives and other development goals set by the international community such as the Millennium Development Goals, Universal Primary Enrolment, Education for All, poverty reduction/alleviation and Decent Work to mention but a few. Child labour is a widespread and growing phenomenon in the developing world (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010; Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997:2) while sub Saharan Africa has the globe's highest concentration of children in employment and is lagging behind in the fight against it (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010:7; Hilson, 2010: 447).

The laws in Ghana set the minimum age for employment at 15 years and that of light work at 13 years (Ghana Living Standard Survey 5, (GLSS 5) 2008:44; Mba *et al.*, 2009:13, 34; USDL, 2008). However child labour is pervasive in Ghana and is identified as the leading alternative to schooling in Ghana (Krauss, 2013:2- 3) which often constrains the choices and freedom of children and their human and economic welfare later in life (Krauss, 2013:2). Many children in Ghana work in hazardous conditions such as labourers in agriculture, domestic servants, cooks, servers, and porters, street vending, petty trading, hawking, fare collecting, scrap gathering and selling drugs. These aspects all have long-term consequences for children's education (Banerji, Bissell & Thomas, 2010:11-12; Braimah & King, 2006:24; Densley & Joss, 2000:222; Edmonds, 2007; GLSS, 2008; Hilson, 2010: 448; Krauss, 2013: 4; USDL, 2008). There is some evidence that children in Ghana, even as young as five and six years, are sometimes engaged in economic activities (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997:8; GSS, 2003; GLSS, 2008; Mba *et al.*, 2009:34; USDL, 2008).

With the growing worsening economic conditions in developing countries (Mulinge, 2002:1124), the employment of millions of children remains inescapable and unavoidable as children are being compelled to work from an early age (Mulinge, 2002:1124). Parson and Goldin (in Edward, 2007) lament that "working-class families apparently trade the schooling and potential future earnings of their offspring very cheaply" (Edward, 2007:235).

Child labour is cheap, prevents school participation and also possibly exposes children to health hazards (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997: 3; Canagarajah & Pörtner, 2002:4; Mulinge, 2002: 1119). Most working children however see work as a sense of duty to family and kin, and are helping their families entrapped in poverty to survive against all odds (Ananga, 2011:6; Boas & Hatloy, 2008:18; Brooks, 2008; Hashim, 2011: 108; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 20; Hilson, 2010).

### **3.4.6 Street Children/Streetism/Children of street vendors**

Streetism represents a rapidly growing socio-educational challenge globally (Densley & Joss, 2000:17). It is clear from literature that there is substantial variation in views as to the meaning of street children/streetism and according to the Consortium for Street Children (CSC, 2010:1) there is no international agreement on the definition of 'street children'. As stated in my chapter 1 "the United Nations defined the term 'street children' to include "any boy or girl... for whom the street in the widest sense of the word... has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults" (Gigengack, 2008:207; Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009:10).

The term "*street children*" refers to children for whom the street more than their family has actually become their home. It includes children who might not necessarily be homeless or without families, but who live on the streets in situations where there is a lack of supervision, protection, or direction from responsible adults (Mba *et al.*, 2009:50). Owoaje, Adebisi and Asuzu (2009:10) postulate that the term street children have many definitions in different settings but described four categories of street children as: children on the street; children of the street; children who are part of a street family; and those in institutionalized care. They observe that such children spend a substantial part of their time on the street and their classification is usually based on the activities they are involved in on the street (Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009:10).

Catholic Action for Street Children (2012) a non-governmental organization working on street children in Accra, Ghana, define street children as children who are under 18 years, are born and live with parent(s) and families on the street, have migrated to the street, or urban poor children or street mothers who survive working on the street (CAS, 2012).

Boas and Hatloy (2008:8) referred to the definition for “street children” in their article, as the “children of the street” with no real home. Not included in this definition, according to them, are children belonging to “street families” as when children sleep in the streets together with their parents or other guardians (Boas & Hatloy, 2008:8). Densley and Joss (2000:218) refer to this group as “children on the street”. These are children, who are working on the street, have positive relationships and regular contact with family and are loyal to their families (Densley & Joss, 2000:218) or spend their livelihood on the streets with their parents as in the case of children of street vendors. Most attend school (Densley & Joss, 2000:218; Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009:13) are accommodated within the family dwelling place and return home at the end of the day and they make up the majority of street children in some countries including Ghana, constituting about 70% of the collective group (Densley & Joss, 2000:218; Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009:13). Most of the children on or off the street range from newborn infants to the age of 18 years (Kilbride, Suda & Njeru, 2000).

Droz (2006: 355) further explains that “street families” can be defined as a family or a group of people (mothers and children, but sometimes, also children accompanied by fathers too), living as a family together on the streets permanently and have nowhere else to call their home. The above information indicates that the meaning and relevance as well as definition of streetism, which has recently been called to question, goes beyond the child and encompasses families that have been created on the street as well as other forms described by various authors.

Mba *et al.*, (2009:50) and Raffaelli (1997:90) identify poverty as the main cause of streetism in most developing countries. Other contributory factors include high birth rates, physical or sexual abuse, parental loss or absence of parents, economic

stagnation, rural-urban migration, inadequate housing, unequal distribution of income and the absence of social security networks, war and the AIDS epidemic (Boas & Hatloy, 2008; Braimah & King, 2006; Densley & Joss, 2000; Edward, 2007; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Orme & Seipel, 2007; Owoaje, Adebisi & Asuzu, 2009; Raffaelli, 1997; Tilak, 2001).

### **3.4.7 The street life of children of street vendors**

The environment is a powerful education force, in and of itself, and everything about it sends strong messages to the children who live there (Fiore, 2012:22) and for that matter the street as an environment for the child has the potential to positively or negatively impact on the child. According to Droz (2006: 354) the street has now become a social environment where families reside and where new families are created. Trussell (1999: 190-191) states that life on the streets consists of a nearly complete absence of privacy, education, nurture, and security, a situation that may place survival and subsistence out of the reach of children who spend the majority of their developmental years in the streets (Densley & Joss, 2000:17; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010:452). Dwelling and working on the streets of Accra connotes inadequate diets, under-feeding, malnutrition, hunger and diseases violence, humiliation, assault, injury, theft, abuse and physical decrepitude (Consortium for Street Children, 2011; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013; Nunes, 2010; Samson & Cherrier, 2009). Life on the street is fraught with conditions of great hardship and dire economic situations, brought about by poverty, migration, urbanization, unemployment to mention but a few, which push families to live in the streets (Droz, 2006: 356; Hollingsworth, 2012; Mercer, 2009; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010: 442,445). One of the significant issues that affect street vendors is the development of their children. Street vendors fall in a social class that may be described as poor and therefore their children face equal challenges that poor children everywhere in the world face.

It is evident that many children in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, living with their parents do not attend school regularly because they work and/or sell for their parents

on the streets and areas closer to where their parents do business (Mba *et al.*, 2009:51). Parents of these children, as already stated, live in informal and poorer settlements, slums, abhorrent conditions, dilapidated buildings, rundown homes, overcrowded rooms, open spaces, on pavements. They also live in shops, kiosks, and containers situated close to the main road or just around the corner of the road (Evans, 2004:77; Hollingsworth, 2012; Mba *et al.*, 2009: 53; Mercer, 2009; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 13). According to Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2013: 17) they lack electricity, bathing and toilet facilities, running water and cooking spaces. The neighbourhood is noisier, cloaked by foul odours, scattered detritus, smouldering rubbish (Evans, 2004:77; Hollingsworth, 2012; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 16). Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2010:452) succinctly observe that these children are swamped by poverty and their lives are wrought by dreadful austerity, a human-made catastrophe.

Most of these children selling on the street carry heavy loads (Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009: 4; USDL, 2008). Being on the street exposes these children to great dangers as they are compelled to dash in and out of traffic usually taking some of the items/wares onto the streets when selling, thus competing with vehicles and pedestrians on congested roads and market areas for limited space (Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009: 4). Some are compelled to work from dawn to dusk (Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009: 3); they go to sleep very late and wake up very early to work before going to school. The children become tired as a result of exhaustion from work and trekking; disease and illness; hunger and starvation; indulgence in drugs and substance abuse (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010:450). In addition to working under unfavourable conditions for low or no wages or proceeds, they carry out household chores (Mba *et al.*, 2009: 85) and run errands.

In terms of sleeping places, Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2010:449) divulge that the number of children and space available affect sleeping arrangements. They either sleep in the same kiosks, containers, or stall with their parents or on pavement in front of shops, stores and offices or sidewalks or abandoned structures. They are susceptible to victimization from the hands of older children and adults, including from

among their own (Mulinge, 2002: 1119; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010:450; Nunes, 2010:695).

Beveridge (2005:43) points out that the learning environment of home is clearly affected by poverty and overcrowding and where families have pressing demands arising from financial hardship and poor housing, involvement with their children's schools may not be among parents' first priorities. Children of street vendors spend a greater part of their time on the street with minimal supervision from parents and guardians and no access to any social or recreational activities, becoming either aggressive or socially withdrawn and developing behavioural problems at home and school (Van der Hoek, 2005:9). Braimah and King (2006:24) posit that "...the absence of economic empowerment and active engagement in social development increases the vulnerability of the children to social vices". In corroborating Obeng-Odoom (2009:52) confirms that the surge in urban crime is a major problem in Ghanaian cities which most often than not is (erroneously) associated with children on the street or street activities.

The socio-cultural and moral values, as well as the attitudes and behaviour of children who constantly find themselves on the street are seen as different from that of other children who are not on the street. These children invariably lack the constant mutual or bi-directional interaction with significant adults that is essential and necessary for development as postulated by Bronfenbrenner in his ecological theory (Paquette & Ryan, 2001:3). This further confirms Bronfenbrenner's contention that, with the ecological theory, if the relationships and interaction in the immediate microsystem break down, the child will not have the tools to explore the other parts or levels of his settings and environment (Paquette & Ryan, 2001:3).

A study carried out by Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE), Akyeampong *et al.*, (2007: xvi) reveal that parents frequently aspire to educate their children and do not want to exploit their children thereby jeopardizing their future. While street life and street activities may in many cases be perceived as diverting the child's attention from education and school, they also

provide positive survival skills that can be useful once the child grows up (Densley & Joss, 2000:17; Fafchampsy, 2009:10). The above-mentioned bolsters the school of thought that child work (and for that matter street vending) may be perceived as an important component of their socialization process as it enables a child to get acquainted with the necessary skills required for future employment and as a means of preparation for adult life (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997: 12; Krauss, 2013: 4).

In sum, Hashim (2011: 111) hints that: “Work ... is not merely related to the necessity of children’s labour for domestic production, nor for teaching children the skills required to secure their livelihoods as adults [but] rather...a process of enculturation into their roles in the domestic economy and wider community.” Thus their being on the street is in fact an early training for independence (Bernhard, 1995: 421).

### **3.4.8 Peer relationship and influence on children of street vendors**

The term “peer” is used to designate children of approximately the same age, usually small, relatively intimate group of general level of development who interact on a regular basis (Ryan, 2000:102; Tyler, 1982:53). As indicated by Allen, Porter and McFarland (2006:158) peers are usually people children are familiar with and know well. They spend much of their time engaging in interaction and sharing personal experiences with them. This reflects an aspect of the mesosystem in Bronfenbrenner’s systems theory where there are interactions among and within people and settings of the child’s microsystems (Freeman, 2011:829).

Peer relations refer to social behaviours or acts carried out among peers, varying in intensity from superficial relations that may be cultivated in a classroom to the more intense and strong relations of the neighbourhood gang (Tyler, 1982:53). Lieberman, Gauvin, Bukowski and White (2001:126) indicate that peer pressure is perceived as the primary means for conveying group norms. Peer effects according to Falk and Ichino (2006:40-41) exist if the output of an individual increases when the output of another increases and nothing else changes, that is, “the behaviour of a subject is affected by the behaviour of the other.” Similarly, Lieberman and colleagues

(2001:126,229) indicate that individuals copy and imitate peer behaviours and attitudes.

According to Tyler (1982:67) the contribution of the peer group's interaction with a child's development begins early, since there seems to be no time when children are not responsive to peers. De Vries, Candel, Engels and Mercken (2006:83) comment that though parental influence is seen to be more important for young children, as they grow up, the "amount of time they spend with their peers increases relative to that spent with their parents or other adults" (Ryan, 2001: 1136). In addressing similar issues, Grosbras, Jansen, Leonard, McIntosh, Osswald, Poulsen, Steinberg, Toro and Paus (2007:8040) state that given the amount of time children spend with their friends and acquaintances, it is anticipated that peers are influential in modelling cognitive, social and emotional abilities. It is therefore worth noting that peers assume a significant role in determining behaviour during the shift from a child's dependency on parent to a fully autonomous adult (Grosbras *et al.*, 2007:8040).

According to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013:23) children's commitment to peers and playmates of same gender and age is usually during middle childhood. Friendships form an integral part of learning to establish relationships and children learn much from getting into and out of scuffles. Children also start weighing their own success against that of their peers and when they constantly end up losing, it might be discouraging and this can then lead to hesitancy to take up new challenges. Tyler (1982:68) corroborates that as an individual develops through middle childhood, certain areas of development such as aggression, morality and conformity are especially vulnerable to peers' influence. Children of street vendors can easily be swayed by their peers, because as pointed out by Lieberman *et al.*, (2001:126) peers wield much influence by rewarding those who seem to conform to group norms and mete out undesirable penalties on the side of those who oppose them which can be negative. These children are susceptible to social influences, such as peer pressure and influence, especially in the area of social behaviour and attitudes as well as in

engagement in deviant activity (Allen, Porter, & McFarland, 2006:157; Grosbras *et al.*, 2007:8040; O'Brien & Bierman, 1988: 1360; Steinberg, 1987:270).

More often than not, peers are overtly blamed for the onset of risky behaviours. The above notwithstanding, peer-derived influences can be both negative and positive (Grosbras *et al.*, 2007:8040; Maxwell, 2002:267; Ryan, 2000:108). Thus the peer group sometimes provides companionship, stimulation, and support as well as feelings of social or personal worth (O'Brien & Bierman, 1988: 1363 – 1364; Orme & Seipel, 2007: 491). There is a school of thought that peer friendships can sustain, augment or restore the support, intimacy, and other resources that families fail to provide (McCarthy, Hagan & Martin, 2002:831). McCarthy, Hagan and Martin (2002:831) further divulge that impoverished people including street vendors and their children establish numerous relationships with people they come into contact with on the street". These relationships stimulate different levels and forms of the intangible resources of understanding, trust, reciprocity, co-operation, mutuality, commitment, and alliances, that contribute to an individual's welfare (McCarthy, Hagan & Martin, 2002:831; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013: 18; Orme & Seipel, 2007: 491). Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2010:442) and Orme and Seipel (2007: 491) argue that the urge to assist and support one another to withstand significant challenges is as a result of pervasive insecurity and threat children living within the hazards and extremities of the urban informal area, are confronted with.

Extant reports therefore show that lack of parental monitoring generally results in delinquency and susceptibility to peer pressure and risky sexual behaviour (Steinberg, 1987:274). Street vendors' children constantly find themselves on the street, unsupervised and under the influence of the peer group and they may therefore lack the capacity to resist negative peer pressure, given their socioeconomic status (Grosbras *et al.*, 2007:8040). This peer dominance may eventually lead to their self-doubt of their own capacity to take their position within an emerging social world (Allen, Porter & McFarland, 2006:157).

### 3.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of the theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks in this study, was to explore and explain the perspectives the socio-educational challenges and development of children of street vendors. The central framework is based on Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological systems. Development of the child as a concept was discussed focusing on the concrete operational stage of Piaget's cognitive development theory. The various contexts of the child were also highlighted to bring into the limelight the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors. The various frameworks (theoretical, conceptual and contextual) have given me a clear understanding of the position of children of street vendors in the global street child phenomenon. These frameworks have been very important in this study because they have helped me to explore the different dimensions of the street child and street life phenomenon.

The next chapter explains the research methodology that I used to explore the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana. The chapter highlights the epistemological and ontological considerations that underpin the study. The paragraphs that followed dealt with how the research was done, contextual issues of the research and the justifications for my choice of methods for this particular study will be explained.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 3 the theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks underpinning my research study were reviewed. Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological systems (1979) was employed to explain the position of children of street vendors at various levels of systems and how these different settings impact upon their development. The concrete operational stage of Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973) was used as I explored the concept of childhood. Lastly the contexts and themes highlighting key issues related to my topic were presented.

In this chapter I discuss and justify the research philosophy and the methodological perspectives and designs employed in the inquiry. It commences with evaluating the ontological and epistemological considerations that underpin qualitative research, the justifications for adopting that approach and the rationale behind my choice of methods. Thus in an attempt to obtain a suitable research design that explains and justifies the approach used in addressing the research goal and objectives, several issues are addressed. These research issues include: the research questions of the study, the research design and methodology, the demarcation of the research site, the methods and procedures used during data collection; the ethical issues considered, how validity was ensured; the procedures used in analyzing the field data and reporting. While I attempt to justify the above-mentioned issues, I also highlight the practical challenges of the research process, and explain how I came to terms with them as well as the insights gained from these experiences. The following research questions guided my empirical study into the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana.

## 4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the research was to find valid and accurate answers to the research questions of my study (see 1.4.1). Specifically the following empirical research questions guided data collection:

- How do the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development?
- How does life on the street affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors?

## 4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to McMillan and Schumacher (1993), a research design refers to a plan for selecting research sites, subjects, and data collection procedures to answer the research questions. The research design thus translates the research questions into concrete details of a study by specifying the process for conducting a study that will show which individuals will be studied, how they will be selected, and when, where and in which circumstances will they be studied (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013: 45; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:31; Monette, Sullivan & De Jong, 2005:9).

### 4.3.1 Research paradigm

Nieuwenhuis (2007:47) defines a paradigm as a broad framework of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality, which yield themselves to a particular world-view. A paradigm, according to Neuman (2007: 41) represents an integrated set of beliefs, models, perceptions, assumptions of conducting good research, as well as methods for gathering and analysing data. Alghamdi and Li (2013:1) explain that:

Paradigms define how the world works, how knowledge is extracted from this world, and how one is to think, write, and talk about this knowledge. Paradigms define the types of questions to be asked and the methodologies to

be used in answering them. Paradigms decide what is published and what is not published.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 18-19) also add that a paradigm is “a set of overarching philosophical systems denoting particular ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies”. Thus a patterned set of beliefs and assumptions concerning reality (ontology), knowledge of that reality (epistemology), and the strategies of knowing that reality (methodology) and methods typify any research paradigm (Creswell, 2007:238; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Guba, 1990). Grix (2004) asserts that research is best done by establishing the relationship between what a researcher thinks he/she can research (her ontological position) linking it to what he/she possibly knows about it (her epistemological orientation) and how to obtain it (her methodological approach) (Grix, 2004: 68).

It is assumed that how researchers view the constructs of social reality and knowledge affect the ways they go about uncovering knowledge of relationships among phenomena and social behaviour and how they assess their own and other’s research (Grix, 2004). There are three main paradigms namely positivism, interpretivism and critical theory and each paradigm is based upon its own ontological and epistemological assumptions (Scotland, 2012: 9).

In this study I work from an interpretive paradigm. Interpretivism, which is also referred to as the constructivist, humanistic, or naturalistic paradigm, acknowledges that social reality is constructed and interpreted by the individuals who participate in the social world themselves according to the ideological positions they possess (Cohen *et al.*, 2011; Mack, 2010: 7; Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Scotland, 2012: 11). The key strength of the interpretivist paradigm is that it places premium on the viewpoints of individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated (Cohen *et al.*, 2007: 19; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 49).

According to McDevitt and Ormrod (2013: 49) the interpretivist paradigm makes it possible to capture the complexities and subtle nuances of individual’s experiences in complex environments. To the interpretivist, reality is a multi-layered and a complex

social construction of lived experience, values and meanings (Cohen *et al.*, 2011; Grix, 2004). Therefore the ontological assumptions of interpretivism are that social reality is seen by multiple people who interpret events in different ways leaving multiple perspectives of an event (Mack, 2010). My role as a researcher in the interpretivist paradigm was therefore to, “understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants” (Cohen *et al.*, 2007; Mack, 2010:8) by paying particular attention to their different perspectives and providing rich descriptions of the phenomenon under investigation (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:60). Given that the same phenomena have multiple interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:110) and these interpretations differ across time and space (Nieuwenhuis, 2007) I decided to elicit the views of six children and their parents on the street life phenomenon to compare the multiple perspectives they might have of the phenomenon under study, namely the socio-educational development of children of street vendors. I was guided by the interpretivist assumption that the reality is not a fact out there needed to be found, but it is constructed in people’s minds (Crotty, 2009:43).

Epistemologically speaking, interpretivism is based on subjectivity which indicates that the “world does not exist independently of our knowledge of it” (Grix, 2004: 83). Thus the interpretivist paradigm advocates the need to study human beings’ subjective interpretations, consider their perceptions of the world (their life-worlds) as a starting point in interpreting social phenomena (Mack, 2010: 8). It highlights the “concern for the individual” (Cohen *et al.*, 2005:22) stating that “the social world can only be understood from the point of view of the individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated” (Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

In view of the above, I elicited information from street vendors and their children to understand their viewpoints of the street life phenomenon with the aim of bringing into consciousness the hidden social forces and structures behind the phenomenon. Since knowledge arises from particular circumstances and cannot be reduced to simplistic interpretation, I investigated street vendors and their children with the notion that novel layers of meaning will be uncovered as it is the idea to thickly describe the phenomenon in question (Scotland, 2012: 12).

The ontological and epistemological perspectives I took informed my methodological choices, which is defined as the “analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry” (Carter & Little, 2007:1317). According to Creswell (2009: 8) interpretive methodology is geared towards understanding phenomena from an individual’s viewpoint, investigating interaction among people as well as the different contexts and settings which people inhabit (Scotland, 2012: 12). Accordingly the interpretivist employs the case study, ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, and narrative study as his or her preferred research methods (Creswell, 2009: 13). I therefore employed a case study design believing that this approach is more in tune with the subjects I was studying in that it allowed them the flexibility to interpret their own experience of the world.

Interpretive methods give understandings and insight of behaviour, explain actions from the individual’s point of view, and endeavours not to dominate them (Scotland, 2012: 12). Subsequently, data-gathering techniques for the interpretivist include observation, interviews, focus groups, documents and audio-visual materials that generate information mainly in the form of words (Creswell, 2003). I decided to utilize interviews and observation to gain insight into the individual viewpoints of street vendors and their children on the street life phenomenon because these techniques are regarded as flexible and sensitive when considering the social context in which the data were produced (Grix, 2004).

Table 4.1 reflects the assumptions on which an interpretivist perspective is based according to Nieuwenhuis (2007:59-60) and the way these assumptions feature in this study.

**Table 4.1 Assumptions and application of an interpretivist perspective**

Assumptions	How it features in my study
Human life can only be understood from within. We, therefore, study the subjective experiences and interpretations of people and their interaction with their social environment.	This perspective, allowed me to gain access to the subjective perceptions and interpretations of the world of street vendors and their children. I was able to discern the manner in which their world was “constructed” as well as the bearing it has upon the socio-educational development of the children of these street vendors.
Social life is a distinctively human product. The meaning people give to a certain phenomenon is linked to the unique context thereof.	This concerns the understanding of the context in which the socio-educational development of children of street vendors, is embedded, particularly how crucial the phenomenon is interpreted. This research provides an opportunity for a clearer appreciation of the opinions of participants in relation with their peculiar social contexts and explains how street life might have some effect on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors.
The human mind is the purposive source of origin and meaning. Exploring the complexity of a phenomenon, leads to a better understanding of the meaning it has for people.	Through my in-depth literature study and empirical study I was able to uncover how street vendors and their children assigned meaning to the street life phenomenon and to comprehend how their actions and interactions with others and the environment influence the socio-educational development of children of street vendors.
Human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world. Understanding more about reality enriches our conceptual framework and provides a link between the concrete world and the abstract theory.	Interpretivism proposes: that “multiple realities or multiple truths exist based on one’s construction of reality” (Mantzoukas, 2004:1000; Sale & Brazil, 2004: 353). Multiple realities originated from my interaction with street vendors and their children as to their perspectives of the street life phenomenon. These various perspectives stimulate a mutual understanding/convergence between what actually exists in the concrete world and the theoretical framework from which I operated to generate relevant relationships.
The social world does not exist independently of human knowledge. Our prior knowledge, values, beliefs and intuition influence the way we understand reality.	I acknowledge that my prior experience and knowledge are inextricably linked with my research on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana. This provided the lens through which I conducted my investigation and guided my understanding of the street life phenomenon.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) suggest that the selected paradigm guides the researcher's assumptions in the research process in terms of methods, participants, tools, and results rendered. The nature of my research topic and tenets of the selected paradigm necessitate that my investigation would rely on the qualitative research approach which I discuss next.

#### **4.3.2 Research approach**

Little is known about how the daily activities of children of street vendors in Ghana influence their growth and development. There was, therefore, the need to delve below the surface of the situation to reveal how being on the street with their parents influence and affect their life socially, physically, emotionally, cognitively and connotatively. Agreeing with the view of Blaikie (2009: 99) "that meaning is hidden and must be brought to the surface through deep reflection", I adopted a qualitative approach to unravel the stories surrounding the street life phenomenon of street vendors and their children in Ghana. I chose a qualitative approach because it is exploratory and tends to focus on issues and populations about which little is written, thus allowing participants to be listened to in order to construct an understanding based on their ideas (Creswell, 2003). This approach enabled me to gain insight into the plight of street vendors and their children and provided new perspectives of how they negotiate their existence on the streets, giving meaning to the street life phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 213).

Accordingly, qualitative research generates findings from real-world settings, in which the phenomenon of interest is seen to unfold naturally, by employing a multi-method approach (Creswell, 2003; Mack, 2010:8; Patton, 2002: 39). It is due to the goal to unfold the socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana from real-world settings that rendered qualitative research the suitable and useful methodology for this study. This is in line with the viewpoints of Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Nieuwenhuis (2007:51) that the qualitative researcher attempts to study things, people and objects in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret the phenomenon in terms of the importance and meanings people bring to them and in doing so gain in-depth knowledge.

Qualitative research is carried out contextually (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005: 177; Creswell, 2009; Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:117). Understanding of the context is particularly crucial to me as a researcher, since I need to have a clear appreciation of the setting within which the data are produced and collected (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 54; Sandall *et al.*, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2009: 10; Yin, 2003:13). I agree with Bronfenbrenner (1974:3-4) that if the child (and in this case, participant) is removed from the setting in which he ordinarily finds himself and placed in another setting which is typically unfamiliar, we get only a partial picture of our study which results in contrived findings that are out of context. I ensured that my participants were not removed from the environment in which they live and work by going out to the field of study, gaining access, and gathering data. By so doing I gained in-depth knowledge about their experiences and concerns regarding the meaning that the phenomenon has for the street vendors and their children. Through interviews and observation, I had the opportunity of “watching people in their own territory interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms” (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:117).

Furthermore, a qualitative approach was used because unlike quantitative studies, the aim of qualitative research is a “quest for meaning and significance” which is distinguished from quantitative research with its reliance on pre-determined response formats and the power of numbers (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:117). Adopting the qualitative approach implies acknowledging the impossibility of managing to represent the complexity of a social reality by making use of just one data set, instead it allowed my understanding of complexity through analysing and interpreting data from various sources (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:117).

In the table 4.2 below, I illustrate how McMillan and Schumacher’s (2010:321-324) nine key characteristics of qualitative research as typically found in most qualitative studies featured in my study.

**Table 4.2 key characteristics of qualitative research**

Characteristic	How it features in this study
Behaviour is studied as it occurs in <b>natural settings</b> .	Data were collected on research sites within the locality where the street vendors and their children live and work.
<b>Context sensitivity</b> is needed in order to interpret behaviour.	The ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979) is a helpful framework for the participant as it views the child as situated within 'nested contexts'. The theory interprets behaviour of participants by looking at social contexts in which the participants live and in which they occupy enduring roles and engage in activities that have social meaning in the ever-widening environments in which they develop.
Researchers <b>collect data directly</b> from the source through direct interaction with participants.	Data were collected through conducting interviews with street vendors and their children. I also observed the children street vendors as they were selling and working on the streets.
<b>Rich narrative descriptions</b> are necessary for an in-depth understanding of a complex phenomenon.	Interviews conducted were recorded and transcribed as well as detailed field notes from observations provided for rich narrative descriptions and in-depth understanding of the street life phenomenon.
<b>Process orientation:</b> researchers focus on the <i>how</i> and <i>why</i> of behaviour and not just on the outcomes.	The focus of this study was on <b>how</b> children of street vendors develop socially and educationally. The aim was also to explain <b>why</b> they opt to stay in that situation on the streets.
An <b>inductive data analysis</b> enables the researcher to work through the data progressively and generate a new understanding of the phenomenon.	Careful generation of themes and categories during data analysis brought a holistic picture and an in-depth understanding of the impact of life on the street of children of street vendors
Researchers use the <b>perspectives of their participants</b> to reconstruct reality.	The aim of my research was to investigate how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally by allowing the participants to reveal their own understanding of the issues

	<p>of the study. This was accomplished by: interviewing six children and six parents and also by observing these six children.</p>
<p><b>An emergent design</b> is chosen. Changes in the research design might be necessary after the data have been collected.</p>	<p>Since information gained through qualitative inquiry is emergent I kept returning to their data "over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations, and interpretations make sense" (Creswell &amp; Miller, 2000:125).</p> <p>I am mindful of the fact that strategies, approaches and goals are likely to change based on ongoing reflections, data analysis, and tentative hypotheses that are made in the course of the research (Abrams, 2010; Lincoln &amp; Guba, 1985). I was able to make constant reflections in the topic and re-examine meanings and impressions as I analyse and interpret data.</p>
<p><b>Understanding and explanation</b> of a complex phenomenon need to be equally <b>complex</b> in order to capture its true meaning.</p>	<p>The street child phenomenon is a worldwide complex situation and I am aware that the boundaries between the context and phenomenon are not clearly indicated. Although I attempted to scrutinize the situation in detail, I acknowledge the fact that this study cannot "account for all of the complexity" (McMillan &amp; Schumacher, 2006:324) of this phenomenon as I can only unearth what is available or what can be accessed at the time of the inquiry (Jackson <i>et al.</i>, 2007: 21). I am again mindful that though it is not possible to comprehend every aspect of a social phenomenon and/or, investigation, it behoves on every researcher to tackle each research or investigation with as much objectivity, rigour and ethical diligence, as possible (Jackson <i>et al.</i>, 2007: 21).</p>

### 4.3.3 Research type

Having located my research within the interpretivist paradigm I decided to utilize the qualitative case study as the most appropriate research type for this study. According to Creswell *et al.* (2007:245), a case study design is the “exploration of a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” and reports a case description and case-based themes (Creswell *et al.*, 2007). I employed a case study type of research to provide insight into the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana, because it enabled deep investigation into the contextual factors that are relevant to the street life phenomenon in general and provided in-depth description of the street life of street vendors and their children.

A case study is defined as “an empirical inquiry that: 1) investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when 2) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which 3) multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin, 2014:16). Accordingly the issue of ‘streetism’ is a contemporary phenomenon that has emerged to threaten the very fabric of our societal advancement and represents one of humanity’s most complex and serious challenges.

This is because the boundaries between this phenomenon and context are not clearly demarcated, due to the fluidity and differences in children’s circumstances and the multi-dimensional nature of the causes of streetism. By using multiple sources of evidence I was able to conduct an empirical investigation of the street life phenomenon within its natural context to bring to light the complexities and multiplicities of the nature of the street child and street life phenomenon facing Ghana in particular and the world in general. Furthermore the exploratory nature of case study research necessitated that I spend more time in the research environment. To collect the data I needed, I conducted interviews with six children and their parents living and working in the street and observed the children as they went about their

activities on the street. The duration of the fieldwork spanned a period of four months, but the actual data collection took three months.

Creswell (2007) and McMillan and Schumacher (2010) point out that a multiple case study entails that two or more cases are studied, described and compared in order to provide an understanding of a particular phenomenon. As a researcher in a multiple case study I am interested in a certain phenomenon and have identified specific cases as opportunities to study the phenomenon with the hope of gaining insight into the larger issue under investigation (Stake, 2005:445,451) which in this case is the ever-growing street children phenomenon worldwide.

In this study I focused on six children of street vendors living in the street with their parents and investigated how they experienced life on the street with each child representing a case and telling his/her own story about how they experienced the phenomenon. The detailed study of multiple cases of the street life phenomenon permitted me to use varied sources and strategies in data collection which facilitated comparative analysis of the phenomenon (Bryman, 2004; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 59; Jackson *et al.*, 2007:26).

Nieuwenhuis (2007:75) points out that case study research “opens the possibility of giving a voice to the powerless and voiceless, like children.” A case study approach allowed street vendors and their children to speak in their own voices about the situation they find themselves in and which they encounter daily making them a valuable source of data (Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:240-241). Next, I discuss the research methods and process of fieldwork. Since the focus was on the phenomenon as it manifested in its natural context, I also provide a thorough description of the context in order to gain a full understanding of the issue at hand.

## 4.4 RESEARCH METHODS

Although fieldwork refers to all the activities that are done when one is at the physical location of a particular group (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:26) it goes beyond mere collection, analysis and interpretation of data and producing written accounts detailing conclusions and recommendations. The process of fieldwork is intentional and bi-directional as it involves a process of social interaction and exchange between the researcher and the participants. Each party brings to the fore its own subjectivities, expectations and intentions to the research (Patton, 2002).

### 4.4.1 Research site and participants

In designing my study, as a qualitative researcher, I began with questions and queries about a pressing social problem (which is the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors *vis-à-vis* the street life phenomenon). Subsequently, I considered theories and constructs that can adequately explain how this social problem is conceptually understood as well as the practical ways of collecting data (Jackson *et al.*, 2007: 21). During data collection I made use of the following questions to guide my empirical investigation (Jackson *et al.*, 2007: 21).

- Do my research questions reflect what I am seeking to conceptually understand?
- How will I gain access to and recruit participants?
- How will participants be selected?
- How will participants respond to my questions?
- How will participants' responses help me understand the phenomenon under investigation? (Jackson *et al.*, 2007: 21).

#### 4.4.1.1 Purposive sampling

Sample selection is a critical part of a study as it concerns the integrity of a qualitative study, and more specifically has a strong relationship with the richness of the data accumulated and the depth and scope of the conclusions that are arrived at (Abrams, 2010:541). According to Abrams (2010: 539), qualitative sampling is usually naturalistic in essence, because it normally takes place in the everyday settings where people 'do' their lives. Data for the purpose of this study, were collected as located in the place where participants lived and 'did' their lives.

Purposive sampling is a criterion-based selection generally used for qualitative studies, in which the researcher decides to select deliberately beforehand which characteristics (such as the research sites and settings; participants and persons; or events and areas) are needed in order to provide the best insight into the research topic and answers the research questions (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Patton, 2002). I acknowledge that the power and logic of purposive sampling lie in choosing information-rich cases for my study (Patton, 2002). Using purposive sampling for this study was advantageous because it allowed me to use predefined selection criteria. It was also possible to estimate the sample size. Choosing my participants properly helped me in gaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Stake, 2005:450). I selected my participants because they are knowledgeable stakeholders of data I needed for this study (see 4.4.1.3). The research site was also selected because of certain defining characteristics it possessed (see 4.4.1.2).

#### 4.4.1.2 Research site

This study was located in the major market in the Kaneshie Sub-Metropolitan Authority in the Greater Accra Region, the capital city of Ghana. This location was purposefully selected for this study because the market is situated near a dual carriage way with traffic lights (robots) and intersections which allow vehicular flow from four directions meeting at a major junction. The area has a major bus/transport/taxi terminal and has a lot of travellers from the surrounding peri-urban settlements as well as from hinterlands and villages moving into Accra the capital city

via these terminals. There are two pedestrian overhead bridges that link the market and the bus terminal. The bridges are occupied by petty traders, street children and beggars. The Kaneshie market area witnesses lots of informal trading and street activities of all kinds and experiences lots of vehicular and human traffic. The pavements and walkways are congested with stalls, kiosks and containers some owned or rented by street vendors and traders. Pedestrians compete with vehicles on congested roads and market areas for limited space. Passengers queue meandering around the area. Vehicles are parked anyhow all over the place. The gutters on the pavements are choked with sand and plastic materials, open sewers, filthy lanes, and foul odours that emanated from the scattered detritus and smouldering rubbish.

Apart from trading and vending activities several other activities such as loading and off-loading of food, general goods, hardware, second hand car spare parts and second hand home appliances also took place in the Kaneshie market area. Other activities include washing and cleaning of second hand electrical gadgets like refrigerators, freezers, stove on the pavements; dismantling of old, unused computers, CPUs, television sets, radio sets and other electronic gadgets as scrap for sale. The following is Boakye-Boaten's (2008:79-80) description of Kaneshie in his article, "*Street Children: Experiences from the Streets of Accra*".

Kaneshie is a major market and transportation centre in Accra with bustling business. This provides an attractive conduit for the children to earn their daily living by working as porters at the market. At night, this same place becomes a lodging place for the children. It is very convenient because they wake up in the early hours of the morning and start working right there. The most popular of their sleeping places is under the "overhead bridge". The "overhead bridge" is a foot bridge across a major thoroughfare in Kaneshie. Beneath the bridge is where you will find many of the children sleeping at night. But the place is also a den for thieves and urban scavengers (Boakye-Boaten, 2008: 79 – 80).

This is setting where I conducted my study on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana.

Below are pictorial views of Kaneshie market complex and the overhead bridges.



*Kaneshie market complex*



*Kaneshie overhead bridge*



*Kaneshie market complex*

#### 4.4.1.3 Research participants

Six street vendors and their six children were chosen purposefully from the Kaneshie market area indicated above (see 4.4.1.2). The following criteria guided the selection of the participants.

##### (i) Parents

- A parent of a child between the ages of 7 and 11;
- Parent should be residing in an informal shelter around the Kaneshie market area;
- Parent should be selling or doing business along the pavements or walkways;
- Parent should have at least one child helping with the trading activity or work;
- Parent should be willing to be interviewed;
- Parent should be willing that his or her child (age between 7 and 11) be interviewed.

##### (ii) Children

- Child participant should be attending school;
- Child participant must be between the ages of 7 and 11;
- Child participant should be residing in an informal shelter around the Kaneshie market area with parent;
- Child participant should be helping parent with the trading activity or work along the pavements or walkways;
- Child participant should have at least one parent willing to be interviewed
- Child participant should be willing to be interviewed.

#### 4.4.2 Data collection methods

The data were collected by means of recordings of behaviour during activities, conversations and interviews. The characteristics of the physical environment were also identified and described. The observations and interviews took place within the vicinity of the Kaneshie market area. Taking into consideration the nature of the

research questions and the type of data that was required for the analysis, the importance of the context of research site the data needed could best be acquired through multiple sources. Twelve participants consisting of six children (three females and three males) and their parents each from the Kaneshie sub-metropolitan authority were involved in the process of data collection. I opted to work with children between the ages 7-11 because literature indicates that these children sell and or work in the streets of Accra (see 3.4.5). Moreover, this category of children falls within the concrete operational stage of Piaget's theory (see 3.3.3.1) which maintains that, although these children began to reason logically they had difficulty understanding abstract reasoning or hypothetical concepts and therefore are easily influenced.

In-depth interviews and observation were the main sources of data for the study because these methods afforded me the opportunity to obtain information on the individual viewpoints of street vendors and their children about the street life phenomenon. Not only the street children but also their parents who participated in this study, were then approached, interviewed and observed. I drew on the strength of these various methods of data collection to ensure the overall validity of the research. The table 4.3 below indicates the target participants, the different methods used for data collection and the purpose.

**Table 4.3 Details of data collection**

Details of Data Collection		
Target of Investigation	Method	Purpose
Children	In-depth interview	To discover and describe how children understand life as children of street vendors and how they experience the street life phenomenon
Children's activities	Observation	To gain an understanding of the daily activities of children as they live and work on the streets with their parents
Parents	In-depth interview	To discover and describe perceptions and understanding of life on the street, why they engage their children in work and to confirm children's stories of their experiences

#### 4.4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The “interview is an instrument for providing the researcher with descriptions, narratives, texts, which the researcher then interprets and reports according to his or her research interests” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005: 164). An in-depth interview yielded the needed data by providing the participants’ own words in order to gain insights into the way these people experienced street life first-hand (see appendices H & I). The semi-structured interview allowed me to produce rich and varied data, set in an informal setting (Patton, 2002). The interviews create opportunity for participants to react by asking for further clarification of questions they do not understand. I was also given the opportunity to seek elaboration on answers when the need arose. The interviews were recorded on audio-tape with the permission of the participants with each lasting between 45 minutes and 1 hour for both parents and children. I also took down notes during all interview sessions.

Personal interviews enabled participants to share their personal experiences, opinions and beliefs in this particular case their lives on the streets (Cohen *et al.*, 2003). I found that during the course of interviewing, participants were comfortable with me as a researcher and so they were extremely responsive and prone to discussing their views without reservations albeit with initial restraints. I was, therefore, confident that the mode of data collection was appropriate and facilitated my inquiry into the socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana by the responses given by parents and children during the interviews sessions. Conducting the semi-structured interviews was a rewarding experience for me and the participants as it offered participants the opportunity to share their life experiences with me to understand how they interpret and order their world in terms of the phenomenon under study.

#### 4.4.2.2 Observation

To complement the in-depth interviews, other useful insights and serendipitous knowledge surfaced by observation and interaction (Orme & Seipel, 2007:492). I conducted field observation of six child participants as part of my data collection

exercise because the phenomenon under investigation— street life of children of street vendors— lends itself to direct field observation (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013: 43). Regarded as an optimal way to examine what was happening, (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:27) observation offered me rich portraits of my participants' lives, as I observed them over a period of time (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013: 43) because I could actually see the behaviour and hear the words that constituted data for my research. Observations gave me the opportunity to see what children actually did and not what claim they did or what their parents reported about them (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013: 44). I followed an observation guide, which I had prepared to enable me record what I was looking out for in order not to miss important and relevant data. (See Appendix J). I took down notes during all observation sessions.

Observation is classified as: “unobtrusive observation’ and ‘participant observation’, depending on the researcher’s degree of participation; and ‘covert’ and ‘overt’ observation” (Miller & Brewer, 2003: 213). During qualitative observation, the researcher may be:

- A ‘complete observer’, whereby he or she observes without participation;
- A ‘participant as observer’, whereby the observational role is secondary to the participatory role;
- An ‘observer as participant’, whereby the role of researcher is known to his or her subjects;
- A ‘complete participant’, whereby the researcher conceals his or her role (Ananga, 2011:98; Creswell, 2009: 179).

The field observations I conducted for this study were largely unobtrusive. I watched the behaviour of the children as they assisted their parents with their business activities on the pavement, veranda and walkways around the Kaneshie market area without attempting to influence it (McBurney, 1998:129). Each child was observed over a three hour period as he or she went about the street activity. I observed among others, the general physical and social setting, the children who were the focus of the observations, individual actions and activities, and group behaviour

(Monette, Sullivan & DeJong, 2005:233). Furthermore, I observed how children responded to the demands of the particular settings and their nonverbal behaviours, carefully observing their postures, actions, and emotional expressions, which provided important information about their preferences and abilities (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 54-55).

#### 4.4.2.3 The role of the researcher

Mantzoukas (2004) hints that researchers are the central figure in the research endeavour because they are always involved in the conception, collection, analysis, and writing of the research study (Creswell & Miller, 2000:127; McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 58). With the above recognition, I endeavoured to exercise self-control and overcome personal preconceptions by suspending my biases and carefully focusing explicitly on what participants said, in order to ensure that my interpretation of the data stays reliable and valid and my conclusions impartial (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). As an interpretive researcher, I understand that the qualitative paradigm focuses on the interdependent relationship of the researcher and the participant (Blaikie, 2009: 99). I further acknowledge that research actions affect both the researcher and the participant and that it is only through this researcher and the object of research relationship that a deeper meaning can be uncovered.

McMillan and Schumacher (2010:335) posit that qualitative researchers often have prior professional experience of the phenomenon under investigation, which enables them to empathise with their participants and recognise subtle meanings in the responses of their participants. During interviewing and observation of my participants, I noticed that my prior knowledge of the phenomenon of study made it easier for me to put myself in their position and therefore could fully appreciate their concerns and challenges.

#### 4.4.3 Data analysis

Data analysis is a systematic process and procedure of sorting through the data to come out with common themes or categories by removing overlaps and reporting adequate and appropriate methods of data generation (Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston & St. Pierre, 2007: 28). Qualitative data analysis is typically based on interpretative philosophy that is aimed at probing meaningful and symbolic content of qualitative data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:99). In this research, I analysed data based on the Miles and Huberman framework (1994) which allows for relationships among social phenomena. The analysis was based on the processes of data reduction, which involved the coding and summarizing of the interviews and observations field-notes in meaningful and logical concepts and themes in terms of the research questions and the theoretical framework (Miles & Huberman, 1994). My data analysis began during fieldwork by making short notes as part of the continuous process of searching for similarities, differences, categories, themes, concepts and ideas. After I collected data, I transcribed and coded the relevant extracts thematically into the appropriate categories to buttress discussions. Thus I analysed data gathered by labelling, sorting, examining, comparing and contrasting, and interpreting meaningful themes within the framework of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors.

Categorization and coding entailed identification of words and segments in the transcripts and field notes that related to the socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors. Open coding, which refers to the process of breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data, enabled me to identify relevant codes and establish the meaning of the words and phrases (Saldaña, 2008). In keeping with Nieuwenhuis (2007) that segments of data be marked with symbols, descriptive words or unique identifying names, I highlighted and labelled selected sections of text that were meaningful and assigned codes to them. The coding process enabled me to quickly retrieve and gather relevant text and data that were connected with certain thematic ideas simultaneously so that the sorted bits could be scrutinised together and different cases compared in those

respects (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). This process was then followed by the interpretation of the data, i.e. explaining the meaning of the data in view of the research questions.

#### **4.4.4 Trustworthiness**

According to Freeman *et al.*, (2007: 27) qualitative researchers' involvement with the quality of their work can be traced through discussions about the research design and suitable questions nested within explicit theoretical and philosophical traditions; gaining access and entering settings; choosing, collecting, and analyzing data; and justifying the conclusions. As suggested by McDevitt and Ormrod (2013: 45) I have tried to elicit trustworthy or credible findings by spending much time observing children, reflecting on my own possible biases, asking participants for their interpretations of the events, getting inputs from supervisors and colleagues, and corroborating my findings with several distinct kinds of data (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2013: 45). I endeavoured to construct and maintain quality continuously throughout the period of my research project, which included decisions I made as I interacted with my research participants as well as considering my analyses, interpretations, and representations of data (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 27). For instance I did not regard myself as an expert who passes judgment on participants rather my role was that of an active learner in the whole research process who is able to tell the story from the point of view of the participant.

I paid attention to professional integrity, intellectual rigour and methodological capability as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (2003) to ensure trustworthiness. The evaluation of qualitative researchers through the lens of rigour, according to Abrams (2010: 540) refers to the 'extent to which findings of a qualitative research are authentic and the interpretations reliable.' The following procedures and strategies were used to meet the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Abrams, 2010: 540; Lincoln & Guba, 2003).

#### 4.4.4.1 Credibility

According to Abrams (2010: 540) and Lincoln and Guba (2003) credibility embraces the degree to which the findings symbolise credible conceptual interpretation. Multiple data sources are used to enhance credibility (Yin, 2003, 2009). In this study the mode of data collection afforded me the opportunity to utilize several credibility procedures in my study “such as triangulation of methods, prolonged observations in the field, and the use of thick, rich descriptions” (Creswell & Miller, 2000:129). Thus the utilization of multiple data collection methods and the extent of immersion in the data and in-depth description of design and methods helped to guarantee the trustworthiness of data and justification of claims. (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 28; Polit & Beck, 2010:1456).

Triangulation is a “credibility procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000:126). According to Creswell and Miller (2000:127) “it is a systematic process of sorting through the data to find common themes or categories by eliminating overlapping areas” by employing multiple methods, such as interviews, observations, and documents to discover and locate major and minor themes to corroborate data/evidence. Triangulation was used as a method, to create a complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of the phenomenon of study. Methodological triangulation involved using various tools for data collection, which in this study included interviews, observations and audio-tape recordings. Data triangulation involved collection of data from different categories of participants, which in this study were parents and children. By comparing data from various sources, it was possible to promote data quality (Baxter & Jack, 2008) as the weaknesses in one method were compensated for by the strengths in the other. I drew on the strengths of different data collection methods to improve the overall validity of the data, because I realised that observing the children generated insight that could have been missed if I had only used interviews. I made sure that data collection was done systematically and correctly knowing that “demonstrating and reporting appropriate and adequate methods of data generation” justifies credibility (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 28).

To ensure the credibility of the interview and observations guides (see Appendices H, I & J), I developed interview themes and questions and observations guides based on the research questions. Additionally, I gave the interview and observations guides to two of my colleagues who had used interviews and observations during data collection to review and offer feedback. My supervisors also read them and made helpful comments and suggestions.

I attempted to make elaborate and authentic descriptions of my interactions with the participants, and of the research process. According to Creswell and Miller (2000:128) thick, rich description as process for establishing credibility in a study involves the description of the setting, the participants, and the themes and categories of a qualitative study in rich detail. I endeavoured to provide an assiduous analysis, entailing an in-depth and thick description to achieve detailed accounts (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:26) which involved a description of a small slice of interpersonal communication, experience, or action (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Denzin, 1989). In using this procedure for establishing credibility I attempted to contextualize the people and sites studied in order to engage the readers creating the feeling that they have been part of the experience, or could be part of the experience or the events being discussed and described in a study (Creswell & Miller, 2000:129). The incorporation of vivid detail, accurate, and extensive description of the context in the narration helps readers understand that the account I have given is credible (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005: 177; Creswell & Miller, 2000:129; Mantzoukas, 2004: 995).

#### 4.4.4.2 Transferability

Transferability is how the findings extend beyond the bounds of the project (Abrams, 2010: 540; Lincoln & Guba, 2003) to settings that are identical to the one where the research was located. Rich description enables readers to decide about the applicability of the findings to other contexts and settings (Creswell & Miller, 2000:129). What is essential is to preserve the specific meanings, interpretations

and findings in the study. I focused on a few key issues and topics (or themes), not for generalizing beyond the case but to understand the complexity of the case and to get much more depth of detail information about a phenomenon (Creswell *et al.*, 2007:248; Jackson *et al.*, 2007: 23; Nieuwenhuis, 2007:76; Yin, 2003). Thus with the thick descriptions of my research I aspired to transfer my understanding of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana to other similar conditions or contexts.

#### 4.4.4.3 Dependability

Dependability is the extent to which the findings could be the same if the study would be replicated in a comparable context with comparable participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:278). It involves the “quality of the integrated process of data collection, data analysis and theory generation” (Abrams, 2010: 540; Lincoln & Guba, 2003). I strove to describe measures and strategies that can be undertaken to conduct the same study under similar circumstances and in similar contexts. I have endeavoured to discuss how research design and research questions were formulated within clear and explicit theoretical and philosophical traditions; and activities I undertook at the physical research site, such as questioning, observing, conversing, listening, recording, interpreting, and handling logistical, political and ethical issues in detailed in the report (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 27; Jackson *et al.*, 2007:26).

#### 4.4.4.4 Confirmability

Confirmability involves the degree to which the results are completely void of researcher partiality (Creswell, 2007:203; Guba & Lincoln, 1985), that is, how well the data that are collected support the findings of the research inquiry (Abrams, 2010: 540; Lincoln & Guba, 2003). Accordingly how researchers seem to address the strong points and limitations of their studies including issues about the relationships between researchers and participants, the specific roles of researchers and and the ethics and politics of representation (Freeman *et al.*, 2007: 28). I strove to ensure that the findings of my study are not influenced by bias and other personal beliefs and

factors. I remained cognizant of my personal role in the research and the fact that my personal biases (values, motives, beliefs) play a crucial part of the research process. Jackson *et al.* (2007:26) opine that the recognition of one's subjectivity and biases also enhances trustworthiness. I noted that my study of others' experiences bordered also on my experience, which has "implications for social scientific interpretation of the data collected" (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:26). Maintaining integrity on my part as a researcher necessitated that I exercise self-control and overcome personal preconceptions (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

#### **4.4.5 Ethical considerations**

Flewitt (2005: 558) posits that ethical issues arise in all aspects of research, and are particularly salient when researching vulnerable members of society, as in the case of this study that positions the children of street vendors as major participants. According to Denzin (in Flewitt, 2005: 558) researchers' primary responsibility should always be to the individuals they study. In other words, "the lives and stories that we hear and study are given to us under a promise and the promise being that we [undertake to protect] those who have shared them with us" (Flewitt, 2005: 558).

I therefore indicated to participants that their data would be confidential and that participants' identity will not be revealed, that is, the names of my participants will be changed, and specific details that could make easier for a setting or a context or a participant to be identified will not be provided (Flewitt, 2005: 553). By assuring participants especially children of confidentiality (via anonymity) allowed them the freedom to express their opinions and experiences without fear of identification, stigma, and/or retribution (Giordano, O'Reilly, Taylor & Dogra, 2007: 269). Since it was necessary that research participants be afforded the opportunity to agree voluntarily to participate in a research study I continually informed participants that their decision to participate is completely voluntary and they were free to discontinue with the interview at any time should they so wish (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Again participants were reminded that they might decide not to answer specific questions.

It is important also that when undertaking research with children, researchers must gain the co-operation of ‘gatekeepers’ such as parents and other adults whose decisions have far-reaching effects on these children (Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010:117). With this in mind I consulted people who could in one way or the other contribute to my gaining access before ‘entering’ the community. I also explained to the parents the need for them to give consent for their children to be interviewed and also for their children to give assent before the interview process. It was vital that the parents and their children, from whom data were collected, were made aware of the value and benefits of the study to them; so that the data collected could be described as emanating from co-operation, consent and assent during interview situations (Ananga, 2011).

Furthermore in making sure that strategies for ethical issues are adhered to in the conduct of my research; I applied for ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria. This is a rigorous process where possible ethical pitfalls are identified. A committee reviewed the application before I could embark on my investigation. The ethical guidelines and consideration put in place, were strictly adhered to during the conduct of my research.

#### **4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In this chapter, I discussed the issues related to the methodological position that underpinned my approach to data collection and analysis as used during and after the fieldwork. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana, I followed a qualitative approach and conducted a multiple case study. It involved an understanding of the context of the study; deciding on the sources of data and justification for whatever decisions are made; developing and refining the study instruments to ensure that the questions posed address socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana. Finally I shed light on trustworthiness and ethical issues.

The rationale for my choice of methodology was to answer my research questions and to enhance my understanding of the phenomenon. In retrospect I realized that the methodology I chose provided the most suitable research design and powerful research tools to gain an in-depth understanding of the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana. The qualitative case study was definitely the right choice as it permitted me to use varied sources and strategies in data collection. Although not a simple process, coding was very important especially for the initial description of the data. It can be maintained with confidence, in hindsight, that the data collection and analysis procedures provided a sound foundation for answering the initial research questions. The next chapter is devoted to a detailed analysis of data of the research findings.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

In Chapter 5, I present findings of data collected during fieldwork. The chapter commences with a discussion on the research process focusing on the anecdotal narrative of gaining access and data collection. I present the biographical data and key findings from data gathered as well as a description of the procedure for identification of themes and categories next. The chapter concludes with a summary of information gleaned.

I managed to gather substantial information about the socio-educational development of children of street vendors through interviews, observations and interactions during my fieldwork at the Kaneshie market complex. As a researcher, working under the banner of interpretivism, I present my deliberations from data collected in a descriptive format. Research texts for my study included original quotes from the participants (Mantzoukas, 2004:995). The quotes, although short, are rich and thought provoking as they provide more insight into the lived realities of street vendors and their children. The outcome is a description of the phenomenon, as seen through the eyes of the people who have experienced it first-hand. I also shed light on various challenges encountered in the field selected and how I dealt with these obstacles along the way.

#### **5.2 RESEARCH PROCESS**

I commence with an anecdotal overview of the research process, discussing how access to the research site and participants, was negotiated, how the interviews were conducted and how field observations were carried out. The discussion intends to provide a better understanding of the context within which the field research happened in collaboration with street vendors and their children.

### 5.2.1 Anecdotal narrative of gaining access

To set the ball rolling, I embarked on several visits to the Kaneshie market area and its neighbourhood to observe and familiarize myself with the community, which provided useful information about the research site and about the operations of street vendors and their children in relations to the street life phenomenon.

According to Abrams (2010:542) researchers must take time to build connections with gatekeepers who provide access to a given population of interest. Creswell (2009) agrees that a researcher should show respect to the research site by gaining permission from the different gatekeepers at the site before entering the research site, so as to ensure that the research site is disturbed as little as possible and by acting non-intrusively at the research site. I decided to use the local government administrative structure to “gain entry” (Abrams, 2010:542) into the community because the structure has already been established and has always been helpful for researchers, development workers and NGOs. In this thesis, therefore, I decided to enter the Kaneshie Market area by gaining permission from the assemblyman of the area to assist me in collecting data for my research. This is because the assemblymembers are elected by their communities. They work at grassroots level as government representatives and, therefore, are known by almost everybody within the locality (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ghana, 2010; Ghanaweb, 2013). My knowledge in community entry strategies as a former worker of the Non-formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education in Ghana became useful here as I knew immediately how to go about it and whom to contact within the Kaneshie sub-metro.

In negotiating access in the community, I first contacted the Kaneshie market police station and enquired about the assemblyman of the area. The police station was the best place to call because the assemblies in the communities work in collaboration with the police (all sectors of government at the community and grassroots’ level work in collaboration) for the common good of the community. The police officers at Kaneshie market police station front desk quizzed me at length before allowing me to see the officer-in-charge for the assemblyman’s mobile phone number. This was something I did not expect because having been elected by members of their

communities the assembly members are supposed to attend to people from all walks of life. The officer in charge of the Kaneshie market police station provided the assembly member's mobile number, after I had explained my reason for looking for the assemblyman. I made a call to the assemblyman and booked an appointment with him for the following day.

#### 5.2.1.1 Meeting with assemblyman

I met with the assemblyman in his office at the Kaneshie market area, I introduced myself and briefed him about the research and the assistance I needed from him and gave him a letter to that effect (see Appendix B). He agreed to assist and straightaway facilitated the process by calling two of his assistants to check on their schedule and availability. He then arranged another meeting to introduce me to one of them who would be in the position to help trace research participants, as the assemblyman, was a very busy person.

#### 5.2.1.2 Meeting with assemblyman and research assistant

At the next encounter, the assemblyman introduced a gentleman as the one who would assist me locate the right research participant and left as he had other engagements. The gentleman was then approached to be trained as my research assistant. I held a meeting with the research assistant the same day and I briefed him about the research, his role and explained thoroughly to him the type of participants I was looking for and gave him a checklist of the criteria for participant selection (see 4.4.1.3). The research assistant is a well-known member of the community and works with the National Health Insurance Scheme. He also played a prominent role in the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections and so is well-known in almost every household in the area. We agreed that he would use two weeks to recruit participants and get back to me as to his ability or inability to locate potential participants.

After these meetings I was pleased, because I felt I had made a significant stride. Although I decided to use the political and administrative structures available to enter

the community, by consulting the assemblyman and his team who are politicians, I was concerned that they might use my presence in the field for their political gain. A major election was just conducted and they had played prominent roles in the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections. Assembly members are supposed to be non-partisan and are chosen on similar principles. They have invariably had some partisan connotations and this implied that I might have to dole out money to people who might not be interested in my research.

#### 5.2.1.3 The role of the research assistant

The role of the research assistant was to facilitate the selection of participants for the interviews and observations. He assembled participants for meetings and the interviews and arranged for the usage of the church premises as well as logistics for all the meetings and interactions. He did not take part in the interviewing activities. He accompanied me to the offices of the Department of Social Welfare. The presence of the research assistant created credibility and elicited the participation of community members. He agreed to sign a personal declaration of responsibility (See Appendix E).

#### 5.2.1.4 First meeting of prospective participants

After two weeks the research assistant was able to assemble 18 children whose parents had agreed to be interviewed, together with their children. The initial meeting was an informal gathering with the children held at the Kaneshie Pentecost church premises on a Sunday in the afternoon. We all introduced ourselves and said a few things about ourselves and the children also asked me lot of questions. During the period of introduction, I selected my six participants from the children present based on the following criteria. Child participants must be between the ages of seven and eleven and should be residing in an informal shelter around the Kaneshie market area with their parents. The child should be attending school and must be helping parent with the trading activity or work along the walkways or pavements of streets (see 4.4.1.3). Four other children were identified as standby support should any of

the initially selected fail to participate. The selection was conducted, bearing in mind that sampling mattered greatly to the integrity of a qualitative study, and that some informants are better situated to provide key insight and understandings than others (Abrams, 2010: 537, 541). The children who did not meet the criteria, were saved the bad news that they did not qualify, because they would have been too disappointed especially after spending a lengthy period with me. Since I was not conducting the actual interviews on that day, I told all of them that the interviews would be in batches and that the research assistant would inform them when it was their turn.

This informal meeting was recorded on audio-tape after children were informed about it. The presence of the tape recorder did not seem to bother the children. After the recordings, the contents of the tape were shared with the children to listen and they were excited about hearing their voices. Some of them even fidgeted with the recording device. This made it easier for me to tape record subsequent interviews as the children had already had an idea of the recorder. Meeting with the children lasted for about three hours. I provided participants with refreshment such as Fanta, Coca Cola, and Sprite.

This meeting was very important and informative as it was the first contact with my prospective participants and set the ball rolling for further meetings with participants. I was enthusiastic, eager and attentive to capture every detail of the interactions as well as observe the children's behaviour. The children looked stubborn and disorderly so I had some initial problems during my interactions, which disrupted the meeting and interrupted the natural flow of our conversation a bit though I managed to control them. I did not expect to get a lot of information from these children due to their rowdy behaviour, but I was surprised that when they settled, our interaction became lively and very productive as they had a lot to say and portrayed diverse behaviours both acceptable and unacceptable. The children seemed to have enjoyed the discussion and interactions and made useful contributions to the study.

#### 5.2.1.5 Visit to Department of Social Welfare and meeting with the social worker

Research involving children is a delicate issue (Abrams, 2010; CAS, 2009 & CSC, 2011) as a result the services of a social worker was needed in case of any 'heinous discovery' during my interaction with the children. Because the research was to be conducted within the Kaneshie market area, the department of social welfare responsible for the district was chosen to provide the services of a social worker due to proximity and also to reduce costs.

At the social welfare department a letter was given to them introducing myself and explaining the research activity. The aim of the letter was to communicate why I needed the services of a social worker (See Appendix D). I then answered a few questions from them such as the benefits of the research to the children and their parents. The issue of interventions available in such a research were briefly elucidated. I explained the benefits of the research to them and made it clear that I was not in the position to offer any incentives. Another issue that cropped up was the fact that development workers and NGOs often came up with one research or the other but nothing ensued from it and the possibility of people participating becoming tired. At the end of the meeting one lady was assigned to me as the social worker to assist with the interviews. I then had a brief meeting again with the social worker explaining the details of the role she would be playing during the interview sessions and gave her a letter to that effect (See Appendix C). She was asked to sign the personal declaration of responsibility (See Appendix E).

#### 5.2.1.6 The role of the social worker

The services of a social worker were gained and she acted as an assistant. The presence of the social worker was to handle discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions should they arise during interviewing sessions with the children. She was to use her expertise in child psychology and social work to manage the children, should they feel sad, show unpleasant emotions, discomfort, frustrated, fear, or any form of molestation in the form of physical or sexual abuse or accidents. For instance the social worker had to come in to talk to one of my interviewees at a stage, when she

was not feeling comfortable and showed hesitancy to be forthcoming with information and looked a bit sad.

#### 5.2.1.7 Second meeting (meeting with selected participants and their parents)

A meeting was held at the Kaneshie Pentecost church premises on a Sunday in the afternoon with selected children and their parents. After introduction, details and benefits of the research study were explained to them. The whole process of the research interviews and observations was also explained to the participants verbally in the local languages. The issues of informed consent and assent as well as the voluntary participation were explained to them. They were informed that a social worker would be present during the interviewing process of the children. The reason for the presence of the social worker was also divulged to them. Participants were told that interview proceedings would be conducted on one-on-one basis and it would be recorded on an audio-tape and children would be observed individually.

Both parents and their children were encouraged to ask questions about the research which they did and I endeavoured to answer them. For instance questions about incentives for participants came up as some NGOs that have worked in the area provided participants with incentives. I explicitly explained to them that I was doing the research for my PhD thesis and that I was not in a position to offer them any development benefits or incentives. In all, fifteen people took part in the meeting comprising of twelve participants (six children and six parents) the research assistant, the social worker and myself the principal researcher. I provided participants with refreshment such as Fanta, Coca Cola, and Sprite.

Prior to meeting my participants, I was concerned that some of them might have misconstrued me to be an official from government who is in a position to directly do something to solve the street dwellers' problem in their community. This, was because government demographers, marketers and journalists regularly visit markets to take statistics of marketing trends, events and conduct surveys. Other governmental organisations, CBOs and NGOs carry out research activities and provide incentives to participants.

I was also concerned about how participants especially parents would view my presence as they are normally sceptical and suspicious about anyone who come to talk to them about their trading activities. This is because selling and vending activities are not allowed on the pavements and sidewalks at the major streets and markets and certain demarcated area in Kaneshie and for that matter Ghana. The government thus tries to clear the town and cities of vagrants, slum and street dwellers and temporary inhabitants, vendors or petty traders and hawkers. The resultant factor is a constant tension between them and government officials, metro guards and the taskforce who reject them and sometimes seize or destroy their wares and possessions in the process.

### **5.2.2 The interview sessions**

The in-depth interview approach to data collection was employed to gather descriptive accounts in participants' own words in order to help elicit insights from them. All participants volunteered to be interviewed and none was compensated for their participation. At each interview session I introduced myself, explained the purpose of the interview, read and translated the consent and assent forms and the invitation letters for the participants verbally in the mother tongue (see Appendices A & G). I informed participants that the decision to participate was completely voluntary, sought their permission to be interviewed and started by asking the questions (See Appendices H & I). The format was that of a normal conversation with questions asked and adjusted according to the responses. I took down notes during all interview sessions and drew on memory to expand and clarify the notes immediately after the interview before leaving the interview site. The setting of each interview, and any significant issues surrounding the interview that would be of consequence to the report writing process were captured. I was also sensitive to non-verbal messages and made notes of facial expressions, changes in moods, gestures, posture and body language of the participants as they occurred during the course of the interview.

The interview questions were based on issues identified from the research questions (see 1.4.1) and literature on the phenomenon (see chapter 2). I developed different

interview guides for children and parents (see Appendices H & I) which were divided into sections to deal with the various research questions. The interview guides were semi-structured in order to allow the participants the freedom to pursue those issues they considered relevant, while also ensuring that my own questions were adequately answered. Both open and guided interview methods were used with all the participants to express how they experienced life on the street and how they coped with the vagrancies of street life. Although I followed my interview schedule I ensured that the process was flexible to create opportunities for probing and further exploration (Creswell, 2009). At the end of each interview session I assured participants of confidentiality and thanked them for their time and input. I made an effort to lessen the impact of any distress through debriefing them. I endeavoured to assess the participants' (especially children's) psychological and emotional reaction to the interview, to make sure that they did not leave the interview session feeling distressed, provoked or agitated.

As indicated in chapter 2, Ghana is a multi-lingual society although English is the official language spoken and written in Ghana (see 2.2.1). Although the interview questions (See Appendices H & I) were written in English language I conducted the interviews in *Ga* and *Twi* languages as are the widely spoken languages within Kaneshie market area. I later translated and transcribed recordings into English. As much as I made every attempt to provide the true and accurate meaning of the *Ga* and *Twi* languages expressed during interviews as I translated them into English for easy interpretation and analysis, I took cognizance of the fact that there are certain vocabularies that are non-existent in English and *vice versa*. Interviews were recorded on audio-tape with the permission of the participants.

All meetings and interview sessions were held at the Kaneshie Pentecost church premises very close to the market. A letter was sent to the church requesting to use the premises for the meetings and interviews (See Appendix F). The venue and time were mutually agreed upon by all participants. Interviews were conducted on Sundays in the afternoon after church. Schools were on vacation during my initial meetings with the children and their parents and we scheduled the period for the interviews. It was therefore easier to meet with participants during the weekdays.

However when schools re-opened it became obvious that it would be difficult to stick to the time we had scheduled for the interview sessions. I travelled to the venue on several occasions for interviews and participants did not show up, as they were possibly engaged in selling, or running errands. As it became difficult to meet participants during the weekdays we rescheduled the time for meeting for the interviews on Sundays in the afternoons after church because activities in the market are usually slow on Sundays.

#### 5.2.2.1 Interviews with children

All children are considered vulnerable participants because of their level of maturity (Abrams, 2010; CAS, 2009; CSC, 2011; Samson & Cherrier, 2009:6). I interviewed the children whose parents consented to their participation on an individual basis because the sensitive nature of the study did not easily lend itself to group interviews. Individual interviews made it easier for me to ensure confidentiality and privacy and provided a safer and more intimate environment for disclosure and exploration of sensitive issues related to street life, poverty and vulnerability (van der Hoek, 2005). Before the interviews started, the children were informed that the social worker would be present to handle discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions should they arise during interviewing sessions. The assent form was explained to them verbally, and when they agreed to the specific statements, they were asked to mark the smiling image on the form (see Appendix A).

Children were asked to talk about their family background, their education and work, how they subsist, their health issues, and their ambitions among others (see Appendix H). Although the children were highly responsive and talked freely, they were puzzled by some of my questions. For instance I encountered some challenges in trying to elicit information about why they engaged in work on the streets. The meaning of work seemed ambivalent to these children as they did not regard what they were doing as work and hence felt the question was strange. This could be because these children considered what they were doing as a normal practice in the family by assisting and pooling family resources together therefore they saw nothing

strange about what they were doing. However when asked to compare the benefits between working and schooling they were quick to accept that schooling offers the best opportunities in life.

The in-depth interview approach as an introspective technique helped me as a qualitative researcher recognize that by listening to, especially, children's own views and interpretations of their roles, relationships and experiences one can access new areas of knowledge and use them to help other children (CSC, 2011:18). In the end, most children became enthusiastic informants, feeling proud of the attention and value that was attached to their words.

#### 5.2.2.2 Interviews with parents

Individual interviews with parents were conducted without the presence of the social worker. I explained the purpose of the meeting to the parents before the commencement of the interview questions (See Appendix I). The information on the consent form was explained to them verbally (See Appendix G) and when they agreed they marked the form before we commenced with the interview. I found out during the interviewing sessions that although the parents were willing to contribute, they kept giving short answers requiring more probing. I managed to obtain more information from them through prodding them and towards the end of the interview, they became more relaxed and discussed their circumstances in detail stating facts as well as their opinions (Cohen *et al.*, 2003).

With hindsight I felt that the interviews with the parents were a bit restrained, both on my part and on the part of the parents. I realised that I was cautious on how I phrased my questions as I translated into the local dialect, in order not to be seen to be judgemental and insinuating that they were doing the wrong thing by allowing their children to work for them. In the same vein it seemed also that parents were more careful with their responses, so as not to portray that they were exploiting their children.

### 5.2.3 Observations

With the notion that many children are unable to clearly articulate their thoughts or coherently provide needed information during the interview (Orme & Seipel, 2007:492) as happened in the case of one child participant, follow-up discussions and observations are always helpful. Thus to complement the in-depth interviews of the children in this study, other useful insights and serendipitous knowledge were obtained by observation and interaction (Orme & Seipel, 2007:492). Furthermore, I conducted field observation as part of the data collection exercise because the phenomenon under investigation, street life of children of street vendors, lends itself to direct field observation (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:43). Seen as an optimal way to examine what is happening, (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:27) observation offers rich portraits of participants' lives, particularly when they take place over an extended time and are supplemented with interviews, and other data (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:43). I observed how children responded to the demands of the particular settings and their nonverbal behaviours; carefully observing their postures, actions, and emotional expressions as they assisted their parents with their work, which provided important information about their preferences and abilities (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:54-55).

In conducting my observations I followed a guide to enable me to document what I was looking out for (see Appendix J). The strength of observations lie in their ability to show me what these children actually do, not what they say they do or what their parents report about children's activities (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:44). However in undertaking observations of this nature, it would be unrealistic to think that the presence of an observer would not affect the dynamics of human behaviour (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:129) as some people become self-conscious or even anxious in the company of a stranger. To minimise these reaction, I did what McDeviit and Ormrod (2013:44) suggest by spending considerable time in the Kaneshie market and surrounding streets and neighbourhood before I observed formally. By so doing, the children became used to my being around always and so they eventually carried on with their duties as they normally would (McDeviit & Ormrod, 2013:44). The field observations I conducted for this study were largely unobtrusive.

Eventually each child was observed over a three-hour period as he or she went about the street activity. Because school closes around 14:00, I started the observation from 15:00 to 18:00. Those I observed on Saturdays were observed from 10:00 to 13:00. I kept note of all my observations and interpretations of what I observed in the field. Through these observations, I got detailed information on how street vendors and their children organise their activities in and around the Kaneshie market thereby throwing more light on the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors in Ghana. Next I supply a detailed account of my observation of the children in respect to the type of activities they carried out for their parents.

#### 5.2.3.1 Observing those who sell chilled sachet water (Pure water)

As the images below depict, pure water (filtered water in sachets) sellers carry their products in a container on their heads and walk along the pavements and walkways of the streets in and around the Kaneshie market area.



*Children selling iced water*

These sellers normally study the traffic situation and sell around areas where traffic is jammed. The junctions with the traffic lights (robots) are the heavily jammed areas and traffic can be slow for several hours. Sellers are compelled to compete, not only with co-sellers but also with vehicles and pedestrians on congested roads and the market areas for limited space as they scurry around to sell. These children dart

around in different directions chasing after people who call to buy water as well as weave in and out of traffic for customers in moving vehicles to give water and collect money. They draw the attention of passers-by as they move along the streets and pavements by shouting on top of their voices 'pure water' 'pure' 'water' 'ice'. Ghana normally has very hot temperatures and so people, travellers, passengers, pedestrians, drivers and their conductors, easily become thirsty. There is therefore a ready market for sale of iced water for people in transit in that location.

The routine for the two participants who sell the iced water is similar. There are shops and stores along the pavement and some of these shop owners stock their deep freezers with sachet water. Pure water sellers then go and buy on credit and sell. As they sell, go and pay, they take new stock. People therefore do not need ready cash to join that business. The seller's mother also sells the iced water including other petty items. Her sachet water is put in an ice cooler and placed on a table for passers-by to patronize. She and her daughter take their stock from the same source. Both children do the selling for their mothers.

I noticed that due to fierce competition, these children started the selling of "pure water" with vim and vigour running up and down to buy and sell but after some time they started looking frail and walked about sluggishly as the day's activities took a toll on them. The very nature of the tasks and jobs described above exposed these children to great danger. The work they did was strenuous, straining, time and energy sapping. Specifically I saw them in the scorching sun wiping sweat from their forehead (a gesture that signifies tiredness), pausing during the course of their activities. These children were easily harassed or insulted by people around the market and they expressed their frustrations by getting back at people who get in their way whether intentionally or unintentionally. They were shabbily and shoddily dressed in worn out and patched clothes and foot wear and got wet from the water they sell. These children were sometimes at the mercy of the rain.

### 5.2.3.2 Observing those who help their mothers sell kenkey (a staple food in Ghana)

The routine for the two participants who helped their mothers sell kenkey along the pavement was also similar. Although this part of the daily routine could not be observed because it usually took place late into the night or at dawn, the children who helped their parents to sell kenkey usually woke up at about 4:00 am to help with the preparation and the cooking of the kenkey, before going to school.

What follows is based on my personal knowledge of how kenkey is prepared. Dry corn is soaked in water for three days. After three days the water is drained from the corn and washed in fresh water before grounded at the mill. Water is added to make it into dough with a smooth surface and kept in a warm place to ferment for two to three days before using it to prepare the kenkey. The fermented dough is kneaded with the hands until it is thoroughly mixed and slightly stiffened, after which it is divided into two equal parts. One part of the fermented dough is partially cooked in a large pot of water for about ten minutes, stirring constantly and vigorously, after which it is combined with the remaining uncooked dough and mixed well. The cooked half of the dough is called “*aflata*”. The *aflata*-dough mixture is divided into serving-sized pieces and wrapped tightly with cornhusks. The wrapped dough packets are placed in a large pot of water and allowed to boil for about three hours.

Due to the long period it takes to prepare kenkey, part of the preparation is done in the evening before or overnight. The kenkey has to be cooked from about 4:00am (or sometimes earlier) if it should be ready for early commuters to buy in the morning.



*Preparation of Kenkey*



The partially cooked dough  
Called "Allaata" is being  
moulded into the corn husk

*Preparation of Kenkey*



*Kenkey*

Among the activities these children perform are as follows:

- They act as waiters on the customers who buy and eat at the place where their parents sell the kenkey;
- They dash in and out of traffic to deliver orders;
- They wash plates that customers use in eating;
- They fetch water for customers to wash their hands or to drink;
- They sell when their mothers are busy doing other things;
- They are sent to the market to buy items that needed to prepare sauces for the kenkey;
- They grind and pound pepper and spices for the sauces;
- They sweep the place when it is dirty;
- They run errands for both parents and customers;
- They move to and from their home and the marketplace performing several/varied chores.

It is certain that the tasks and jobs these children performed exposed them to great danger. The work they did was exhausting, straining, time consuming and drained their energy. They worked in extreme hot weather and were always seen mopping sweat off their face and taking breathers as they carry out their duties. The nature of their activities involved a lot of walking and running around and they were scolded and sometimes hit by parents and customers when they showed signs of exhaustion and tried to rest. They sometimes expressed anger at customers who tried to send them on unnecessary errands. They were shabbily and shoddily dressed in worn out clothes and foot wear. These children were exposed to the hazards of the physical environments and sometimes are at the mercy of the rain.

#### 5.2.3.3 Observing those who assisted parents work on scrap for sale

A group of unemployed youth have found a means of livelihood in the dismantling of old and obsolete electronic gadgets such as computers monitors & CPUs, DVD players, printers, and 'nintendo' players, at a scrap site at the Kaneshie market area.

During the dismantling of the electronic wastes, valuable parts of these machines are removed and recycled by burning to recover the copper materials inside them and sold to scrap dealers for export.



*An adult at scrap site*



*Child at scrap site*



*Adults at scrap site*

This group of participants assisted their parents by scouting around and scavenging for aluminium scraps and other discarded electronic gadgets especially on refuse dumps and industrial areas and dismantling them. They worked with sharp and heavy objects such as hammers, knives, cutlasses, machetes, axes, and screwdrivers, in their line of work. They carried heavy loads on their heads and lift heavy equipment in the course of their duties, which could be dangerous to their health and physical growth. They have physical contact with chemicals and other toxic materials, which has far-reaching health consequences. Although the routine for the two participants in the scrap business was similar, one of them also worked as a potter in the area. He used a wheelbarrow to cart goods from one destination to another, when there were no scrap jobs or when customers called for his services.

The activities they engaged in were dangerous, strenuous, and hectic and could damage their health physically and mentally. The activities were time and energy consuming. I observed them as they worked under the scorching sun wiping sweat of their foreheads. At a point they looked tired and sometimes frustrated as they attempted carrying heavy equipment and loads and were unable to do so. They sometimes were unhappy when some adults in the yard sent them on unnecessary errands especially when they appeared tired. They were hurt by the equipment they use at the scrap site as shown by scars on their bodies. The nature of the job at the scrap site makes workers dirty and so they wore dirty tattered clothes and worn out foot wear.

### **5.3 TRUSTWORTHINESS**

This section gives details of the approach I adopted to ensure that the actual empirical data collection process stood the test of trustworthiness. According to Mantzoukas (2004:1000) research is a human activity, which requires an individual or individuals to conduct it. Thus in trying to unravel what life means to human beings, researchers presume there is a systematic way of apprehending critical dimensions to problems that confront our social world (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:21). This requires that the researchers explain and integrate the validity and reliability of the whole

research endeavour within the study report (Mantzoukas, 2004:1004). This was done bearing in mind that it was my responsibility as a qualitative researcher to approach my study with as much objectivity, ethical diligence, and rigour as possible (Jackson *et al.*, 2007:27).

First and foremost for their studies to bear a sense of validity and reliability, the qualitative researchers are required at the commencement of the study to identify their paradigmatic positioning (Mantzoukas, 2004:1003). I thus indicated that I operated from an interpretivist viewpoint (see 4.3.1). Again, considering that contextual conditions are highly pertinent to my phenomenon of study I utilized the case study design (see 4.3.3) (Creswell *et al.*, 2007:245). The use of multiple data sources enhanced trustworthiness as that afforded me the opportunity to utilize several credibility procedures such as triangulation of methods, prolonged observations in the field, and the use of thick, rich descriptions (Creswell & Miller, 2000:129; Yin, 2009) as described below.

The strength of qualitative research is that researchers usually provide detailed descriptions of how they went about their studies, the problems they encountered, and the reasoning on which they based their decisions (Freeman *et al.*, 2007:28). Accordingly I have provided readers with detailed information as to when data were collected, what type of community was involved, and who the participants were, in terms of their age, gender, race or ethnicity so as to improve the trustworthiness of the research (Polit & Beck, 2010:1456). During interviews, I endeavoured to capture the situation and thoughts of the person being interviewed, so that the reader could share in the understandings of what I arrived at (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:128). My field notes from observations contained, among others, descriptions of the general physical and social setting being observed, the people who were the focus of the observations, individual daily activities, actions, interactions and events and group behaviour and body language (Monette, Sullivan & De Jong, 2005:233).

The use of various tools for data collection such as interviews, observation and interaction ensured methodological triangulation. Thus observation as a technique of data collection not only helped to reduce bias, but also gave deeper insights into

children's mode of operation and corroborated their interview responses about life on the street. With data triangulation for instance the children's parents' responses to the interviews were juxtaposed with those of the children to more fully compare and understand children's answers against the background of the family context, work and street life experience.

The fact that sampling can greatly affect the richness of the data collected and the veracity for building a case for conclusions and ultimately the integrity of the research, I ensured that my sampling strategies were relevant to the theoretical framework and research questions which generated rich information on the phenomenon under study (Abrams, 2010:539). As a qualitative researcher I sought participants, whose answers would provide me with pictures of the unseen, expand my understanding, offer insight, and more importantly upset any well-entrenched ignorance (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:129). I gave the research assistant a checklist for selection of participants, and I used the first informal session to crosscheck and to screen the children present to select the right participants.

Furthermore, I went to the field with the knowledge and understanding that I "must court the participants, enhance the sense of rapport between them, and build a considerate and sympathetic relationship and a sense of mutual trust" (Karnieli-Miller *et al.*, 2009:283) in order to gain access to the participant's lived experiences. I regarded the participants (street vendors and their children) as authority and knowledgeable stakeholders in this study because their perspectives provided insight into the experiences and needs of life on the street. I endeavoured to create a welcoming, nonthreatening environment in which the interviewees were willing to share personal experiences and beliefs (Karnieli-Miller *et al.*, 2009:280). I adhered to all ethical requirements (see 4.9 for a detailed exposition).

Although the field of study is volatile and unsafe, the data collection exercise yielded data that were rich and detailed, offering many ideas and information that was sufficient to understand the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors. Data collection tools I employed during fieldwork made it possible to

understand different perspectives of the participants of my study. The length of time I spent in the field allowed for great attention to details, behaviour, and interactions with participants, which “revealed not only ... a set of separate events, but ... a continuing saga of ... [social] life” (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:129). Moreover the excitement of understanding somebody else’s situation, of seeing things through their eyes, arriving at new perspectives and most importantly learning something new was enlightening (Irvine & Gaffikin, 2006:130).

In every study, it is imperative that the researchers continually review their work to ensure that they are on the right path. This is essential because trustworthy results should be presented to your readers. Corroborating and validating were done throughout the qualitative data collection, analysis, and write-up process to ensure that everything would turn out well in terms of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. On the basis of the endeavours described above, the researcher felt satisfied that the fieldwork was indeed trustworthy.

## **5.4 DATA ANALYSIS**

In this section the data analysis strategies as well as the biographical data, key findings in terms of interviews, observations as well as themes and categories are presented. Qualitative data analysis is as an important facet of the research because it tries to establish how participants make meaning of a specific phenomenon by analysing their perceptions and experiences in an attempt to approximate their construction of the phenomenon (Niewenhuis, 2007:99).

### **5.4.1 Biographical data**

Below I provide an outline of the biographical information (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2) as provided to me during interviews. In order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity I used pseudonyms for my child participants.

**Table 5.1 Biographical data of child participants**

Child Participant	Sex of child	Age of child	Level of Education	Home town of child	Current place of abode in Kaneshie	Activity of child	Language used for interview
Droma	female	9	Class 2	AbolaKpataashie (Greater Accra region)	Kiosk rented by mother	Selling sachet water	Ga
Nyanyo	female	10	Class 3	Asofa (Greater Accra region)	Kiosk rented by mother	Selling sachet water	Ga
Kawia	female	11	Class 4	Ada (Greater Accra region) (great grandparents had migrated from the Northern region)	Wooden structure rented by mother	Helping with chores/ Selling	Ga
Saka	male	11	Class 4	Oshie (Greater Accra region)	Wooden structure within family compound	Helping with chores / Selling	Ga
Kosali	male	10	Should be in class 4 but was not in school at the time of the fieldwork	Yendi (Northern region)	Sleeps in a mosque	Scavenging for Scrap	Twi
Muniru	male	11	Class 5	Yendi (Northern region)	Kiosk owned By the father	Scavenging for Scrap / potter (cart goods for people)	Twi

Table 5.1 above indicates that children who participated in the study are made up of three males and three females. They were aged between nine and eleven years thus falling within the age category in respect of the boundaries of this study as reflected in chapter 1. Three participants were aged 11 and two aged 10 and one was nine years old. Four of the participants made up of three *Gas* and one *Dangme* come from the Greater Accra region in the south part of Ghana and two are *Dagombas* from the Northern region of Ghana. Kawia is mixed tribe because her father is from the northern region. Although Kawia's mother is a *Dangme* she claims she is a northerner because majority northerners inherit patrilineally. (Her paternal great grandparents migrated from the northern region of Ghana to settle in Ada in the greater Accra region). As indicated in chapter 2 most people migrate from the northern part of Ghana to the south in search of greener pastures.

Dromor aged nine is in class 2, Nyanyo aged ten is in class 3 and Muniru aged eleven is in class 5. Two of the participants Kawia and Saka aged eleven are in class 4 while one child Kosali aged ten is currently out of school although he is supposed to be in class 4. With the exception of Muniru who is in his right class, the rest who are in school are in a level lower than their actual class. Dromor and Nyanyo helped their parents by selling iced water. Kawia and Saka helped their parents sell kenkey while Kosali and Muniru helped their parents by scavenging for scrap and dismantle them for sale. Muniru also uses a wheelbarrow to cart goods for customers. All of them except Kosali sleep in the same room or compound of their parents' kiosk or wooden structure. Kosali sleeps in a nearby mosque. Apart from Muniru's father who owns his kiosk and Saka who is living in his grandmother's kiosk with his mother, the rest live in a rented kiosk or wooden structures.

**Table 5.2 Biographical data of parents**

Parent	Sex of Parent	Age of Parent	Number of children	Educational background	Marital status	Home town	Current place of abode in Kaneshie	Business activity of parent	Language used for interview
Parent A	female	27	3	Dropped out in class 5	Single	AbolaKpataashie (Greater Accra region)	Rented Kiosk	Sells food	Ga
Parent B	female	30	4	Dropped out in class 3	Single	Asofa (Greater Accra region)	Rented kiosk	Petty trading	Ga
Parent C	female	29	4	Dropped out in primary school (not sure of the class)	Single	Ada (Greater Accra region)	Rented Wooden structure	Sells kenkey	Ga
Parent D	female	30	6	Never been to school	Single	Oshie (Greater Accra region)	Wooden structure within family compound	Sells kenkey	Ga
Parent E	Male	29	1	JSS	Single	Yendi (Northern region)	Rented kiosk	Sells Scrap	Twi
Parent F	Male	32	2	JSS	Married	Yendi (Northern region)	Own kiosk	Sells Scrap	Twi

Table 5.2 above indicates that parents who participated in the study comprised of four of females and two of males and were between 27 and 32 of age. Most families involved are one-parent families (five out of six), mainly single-mother families, except for one single-father family. One participant is in two-parent family. The number of children of parents range between one child for parent E and the highest of six children for parent D. The rest are four children each for parent B and parent C and two children for parent F. The ages of the parents indicates that majority had their first child while they were teenagers. The single parents have more children.

Parents are of ethnicity located in the southern and the northern sectors of the country. Four are from the Greater Accra Region in the south made up of three *Gas* and one *Dangme* and two are *Dagombas* from Yendi in the Northern Region. Four of the parents live in kiosks or wooden structures which are rented. One lives in a wooden structure owned by her mother and another owns the kiosks he lives in. The education level of the parents in this study is low with three parents dropping out of primary school at a point. One had never been to school and two had completed JSS. One sells foodstuff, one is a petty trader, two sell kenkey and two deal in scraps metals.

Through interviews, observations and interactions, the biographical information, and perception of children of street vendors, and other relevant information about street life were obtained. Below I provide an outline of the background and family history of participants.

#### 5.4.1.1 Participant 1: “Dromor”

Dromor is a nine year-old female, was born in Kaneshie and lived in a rented kiosk around the Kaneshie Market area with her biological mother and two other siblings. She is a *Ga* by birth and speaks *Ga*. Due to their financial status Dromor is compelled to sell sachet water, popularly called ‘pure water’, and performed various domestic chores. Her mother is a trader and sells foodstuff along the pavement in the market area. Dromor sold on weekdays after school and also on weekends and during holidays and gave her daily income to her mother and sometimes grandmother. Her mother is not married. Although she is in class 2, she is not able to speak or read English, which is the official language in Ghana. At our first meeting, she was boisterous, friendly, full of smiles and outspoken and showed keen interest to be interviewed but when it was time for the interview, she spoke nervously, was not comfortable, was awkward and behaved timidly. She spoke about her daily routine, the noisy chaotic and filthy market setting and indicated that she wished she need not sell pure water by the roadside. She wore tight worn out dresses with patches in them that sometimes expose part of her body.

#### 5.4.1.2 Participant 2: “Nyanyo”

Nyanyo is a ten year-old female, was born in Kaneshie and lived with her biological mother who is a petty trader and three other siblings in a rented kiosk around the Kaneshie Market area. She is a Ga by birth and speaks Ga. Her mother is not married. Her mother has a table with an umbrella on top where she displays her wares for sale. Although she has been performing domestic chores since very young, she claimed she had been selling ‘pure water’ for about three years. Nyanyo sold regularly on weekdays after school and over weekends and holiday periods and gave her daily proceeds to her mother. Although she is in class 3, she is not able to speak or read in English. She spoke profusely about her daily activities and the competition between children of street vendors and sometimes even older vendors as they struggle to get customers, which sometimes led to fights and loss of money and items. She also talked about how tedious a day can be but was happy to be helping her mother to maintain the family. She wore worn out dresses and because she gets wet from the water she sells, the dresses clings to her body.

#### 5.4.1.3 Participant 3: “Kawia”

Kawia is an eleven year-old female and was born in Ada in the Greater Accra region of Ghana and lived with her real mother and three other siblings in a rented wooden structure in an alleyway around the Kaneshie market area while her father who repairs electrical and electronic gadgets lived in a different neighbourhood with another wife and children. Her mother cooks and sells kenkey. Kawia and her three other siblings assist her mother with the preparation and selling of the kenkey and had been helping her mother since she was very young. Kawia assisted on weekdays after school and also over weekends and during holidays. Although Kawia is in class 4 she is not able to speak or read in English. Although Kawia’s mother is from Ada in the southern sector of Ghana, (Kawia) claims she is a northerner by birth but does not know exactly which village she comes from. Nonetheless she was able to communicate in Ga. She spoke with ease and a sense of pride as she narrated her daily routine and experience on the street. She also talked about how tedious a day

can be especially trekking to fetch water and to the mill to grind fermented corn for the preparation kenkey, but was happy to be contributing her quota to the family. Kawia spoke excitedly about her father's support but it turned out during the interview with her mother that the father she referred to was her maternal uncle. Her dress was worn out and sweaty.

#### 5.4.1.4 Participant 4: "Saka"

Saka is an eleven year-old male, was born in Kaneshie and lived with his mother and three other siblings in a wooden structure within an extended family compound house around the Kaneshie Market area. He is a *Ga* by birth and speaks *Ga*. Although Saka's mother had six children two are dead. His mother was nursing a baby at the time of the interview. His mother is involved in cooking and selling kenkey a family business owned by his grandmother. Saka and two of his other siblings are involved in the family kenkey business. Saka has been assisting with the kenkey business since he was six years and works on weekdays before and after school. He also worked during holiday periods. He is not able to speak or read in English although he is in class 4. Saka's family/household is multi-generational. His grandmother supports his mother financially in taking care of them by paying hospital bills and giving them money for school. He looked a bit thin and short for his age. He was shabbily dressed and looked dirty. Saka spoke in an open manner and excited about taking part in the interview. He spoke extensively about his daily routine and positively about his grandmother and therefore saw it as a duty he owed to his family especially grandmother to help in the kenkey business.

#### 5.4.1.5 Participant 5: "Kosali"

Kosali is a ten-year old male and was born in Yendi in the Northern region of Ghana and lived with his father around the Kaneshie Market area. He is a *Dagomba* by birth and speaks *Dagbani*. He is able to communicate in *Twi*. He normally scavenges for scrap and work at the scrap site by a dismantling the parts of electronic gadgets and run errands for the people in the scrap site. Kosali looked frail and fragile. He is not

able to speak English and could not articulate himself well even with the *Twi* language. His father lives with other friends in a kiosk rented. So Kosali sleeps on the veranda of a nearby local mosque with other colleagues. At age ten Kosali should have been in class 4 but at the time of fieldwork Kosali was not enrolled in school because he migrated from the north to join his father in October and therefore missed the beginning of the current academic year (the academic year in Ghana is from September to June). They gave an indication that he will be enrolled in school at beginning of the next academic year. Kosali worked every day of the week. At the time of interview and observation Kosali was being coached and trained on how to use the wheel barrow to cart goods for customers. Throughout the period I saw Kosali he was always in worn out oversized outfits, he looked dirty and had rashes on his skin. He was very enthusiastic about going back to school and spoke disparagingly about his experience in the city especially about his scavenging for scraps. Kosali also talked about the recklessness of drivers and their total disregard for traffic lights and regulations. Although he had not been long in the city he has seen quite a number of road traffic accidents.

Although it did not come out during the interactions of Kosali and his father, I was later informed that the so-called ‘father’ of Kosali could be either his elder brother or guardian in the city from the same tribe in North. It is common in Ghana for younger ones refer to older brothers or guardians as fathers since they are the ones taking care of them. These relationships may explain why Kosali is not in school and looked dirty and fragile.

#### 5.4.1.6 Participant 6: “Muniru”

Muniru is an eleven year-old male and was born in Yendi in the Northern region of Ghana and lived with his parents and another sibling in a kiosk owned by his father around the Kaneshie market area. He is a *Dagomba* by birth and speaks *Dagbani*, *Twi* and a little bit of English and is in class 5. He normally scavenges for scrap and work at the site by a dismantling the parts of electronic gadgets and occasionally combines that with wheel barrow pushing to cart goods for people in the market

depending on the workload at the scrap site. Muniru worked on weekdays before and after school and also on weekends and during holidays. Although Muniru gives his daily income from carting goods to his father, he is given some of the money as a form of motivation. Even though his clothes looked worn out, Muniru looked confident. The participation in the interview gave him a new surge of enthusiasm. He described his daily routine and activities and saw what he was doing as a duty to contribute to his family. Muniru talked less about his mother whom I later found out to be his stepmother. In the course of our interview Muniru's phone kept vibrating in his pocket. I did not know he had a phone. I enquired later and he said it was a call from one of his customers to come and cart her goods.

As these profiles indicate, all six children either sold or worked for their parents or (related guardians) as a survival strategy and gave their daily income to them. Data from observation and interviews suggested that children spend long hours working on the streets. Although their daily routines and experiences involved physical labour and can be arduous there seemed to be contentment on the part of the children except Dromor who seem a bit confused and Kosali who is felt lost in city life. Participants had different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, and migrated to the present site from various geographical locations. I realised that even though the participants are of similar socio-economic backgrounds, held similar attitudes and may find themselves in similar circumstances and experiences in the street, each participant's situation was unique, as they may experience them differently, and interpret them according to their own knowledge, past experiences and convictions.

#### **5.4.2 Key findings: Interviews**

The presentations in this section are key findings from the interviews with participants. The purpose of the interviews was to investigate how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally. Specifically the interviews were to investigate how the familial circumstances and life on the street affected the socio educational development of children of street vendors. It required participants to tell their own story and relate how they experienced the phenomenon being investigated.

I followed interview guides to elicit responses from six parents and six children (see Appendices H & I). For the purpose of presentation, I condensed the interview findings under ten headings as follows:

- Family composition;
- Housing and sleeping places of participants;
- Household access to services and food;
- Economics activities of participants;
- Effect of work on studies;
- Schooling;
- Friendship and play;
- Abuse;
- Street life experience(s);
- Aspirations for the future

In order to present a more comprehensive report, verbatim excerpts obtained from participants during interviews, are presented in boxes to illustrate, augment and support findings.

#### 5.4.2.1 Family composition

An important finding was the family composition and household setting of participants given the fact that the family represent the most important facet of Ghanaian traditional life (Hollingsworth, 2012:26). Apart from it being the primary setting where human development takes place it also serves as a main source of economic wellbeing and welfare support for its members. Six families participated in the study. Five families were made up of single parents while one family is married. Although both parents of the children are alive, they were not staying together. Findings indicated that because of desertion or absence of men and husband in the homes, all four women in this study have taken more responsibilities for their children without the support of the husband. Kawia reported that her father now lives in Mamprobi with another wife and children. Saka's mother reported that the fathers of her

children do not take care of them while Dromor's mother indicated that she has changed Dromor's surname to bear my father's name because Dromor's father is irresponsible. It was only Muniru's who reported that his father takes care of him. Although Kosali has a guardian, he fend for himself. Table 5.3 below show participants their parenthood and family size.

**Table 5.3 Family size and parenthood**

Participant	Parenthood	Family size	Whereabouts of spouse
Dromor's family	Single	4 (other relative live with them)	Desertion (Fathers of children deserted them)
Nyanyo's family	Single	5 (aunts with live them)	Desertion
Kawia'a family	Single	5 (lives with uncle his family in the same neighbourhood )	Desertion The father is in a different neighbourhood with another wife and children
Saka's family	Single	5 ( other family members live in the same compound with them)	Desertion (Fathers of children deserted them)
Kosali's family	Single	2	Not married yet
Muniru's family	Married	4	Living together with spouse

Apart from two participants who had migrated from the northern part of Ghana, the rest had come to the market from the various villages in the Greater Accra Region. As shown in table 5.3, the number of people living in each household ranges from four to ten. The northern migrants have the least members in the family comprising of two members in Kosali's family and four in Muniru's family. The period of stay in Kaneshie by participants ranged from four months to more than ten years. Those who have stayed shorter periods in the area were the migrants from the north. Most of the single parents had other relatives living with them in the same house or compound and assisted in taking care of their children as indicated in the table above.

“I live with my mother, grandmother, aunts and other relatives. We live together with people from the same village... My grandmother and mother take care of me” (Dromor).

“I live with my mother, grandmother, and my aunts who are always visiting us now and then. They take of my needs” (Nyanyo).

“We are a lot in our area ... my mother and my siblings and my uncle and his family ... My father (meant uncle) pays school fees and mother feeds me’ (Kawia).

“We are many in our compound ... my mother’s relatives. My grandmother takes care of us” (Saka).

I noticed that in most cases both parents and children gave contradictory figures as to the number of people living with them. This could be attributed to the nature of settlements they were in where members move in and out randomly. The children also were confused with number of siblings they have and number of people living in the house. I realized that the number of people in the household were more than the number of sibling living in the house. I noticed that the children did not differentiate between other relatives from siblings. For instance they call female cousins their sisters and male ones brothers and sometimes depending on the ages they even call them aunts and uncles which typify what happens within the extended family system in Ghana. For example when Kawia said a car hit her brother, while playing by the roadside and he died. She was in actual fact referring to her cousin and not her brother here.

#### 5.4.2.2 Housing and sleeping places of participants

Participants live in wooden structures and kiosks and children live with their parents in the same room. Kosali does not live with his father in the kiosk because his father lives (perches) with friends. He sleeps in a nearby mosque. Usually the temperature in the rooms is very hot that some of the participants indicated that they use the verandas of stores, pavements and open spaces available as sleeping places. The following are some of the responses of child participants as regards the temperature in the rooms they sleep in:

“It is very hot. So sometimes when the room is very hot we sleep on the veranda and pavement in front of our house. The boys in the area sometimes sleep on the rooftops of stores when the weather is hot. Sometimes the weather can be hot even outside” (Nyanyo).

Even Muniru whose family uses electric fan in the room still sleeps outside because the temperature can be very hot. Most of the houses do not have electricity and light systems. They therefore rely on lanterns and candles as well as lights in front of stores and shops and those by the roadside and streets lights. According to some of them:

“I depend on electricity from outside the house. There is adequate light on the pavement but we don’t have light in our room so we use candles in the room”(Dromor’s Mother, single-parent family).

“I use lantern or candle in the room and my children learn under light poles outside” (Nyanyo’s Mother, single-parent family).

“I do not have light but there are other wooden structures belonging to people in the area and they have been able to connect light to the area so I have light outside but not inside. I use lantern in the room” (Kawia’s Mother, single-parent family).

“I use candle in the room but there is light on the veranda in our compound” (Saka’s Mother, single-parent family).

Muniru’s father has illegally tapped electricity power from the main pole in front of their kiosk into their room so they have sufficient light to use.

#### 5.4.2.3 Household access to services and food

In most cases, relatives assisted parents in providing support for their children. With the exception of Muniru and Kosali who had no other relative apart from their fathers taking care of their need, the remaining four child participants had their extended family members supporting their mothers in one way or the other in taking care of them. Saka’s and Dromor’s grandmothers support their mothers in providing for their needs. Kawia’s and Nyanyo’s mothers were supported by the uncle and aunts respectively in providing their needs. It was only Nyanyo, who indicated that her biological father (who is not staying with them) had provided some kind of support.

Because participants have settled in urban spaces not designed for habitation, they lack basic facilities, amenities, and utilities. This means that these households have to pay for these services that are not readily available. For instance with regards to

access to health services the participants claim they do not have the financial means to provide adequate health service for their families. They buy medicine from the drugstore because they cannot afford to pay for medical services and hospital bills. The following quotations indicate the views of parents as regards accessing health care facilities:

“It depends ...when I have money I see the doctor when I am sick but if I don't have money, I go to the drugstore and buy drugs when I am not feeling well” (Dromor's Mother, single-parent family).

“I don't have health insurance – I can't afford for all of us – so we buy drugs from the drugstore or go to a local midwife for treatment” [The government has trained local midwives to assist in the community] (Kawia's Mother, single-parent family).

“I did not have to pay for medical bills during my pregnancy and antenatal clinic [because it is free for pregnant women and nursing mothers] Before then I was buying medicine at the drugstore” (Saka's Mother, single-parent family).

“I have never attended hospital here in the city. I do not have national health insurance but I buy drugs from the druggist to ease my pain from a hard day's work” (Kosali's Father, single-parent family).

Some of the children interviewed mentioned that they are sometimes supported by other relatives when they fell sick and needed to go to the hospital. Kawia, and Nyanyo said their fathers paid for them to go to the teaching hospital when they were sick while Saka and Dromor said their grandmothers paid for their hospital bills. This confirms claim that poor parents are incapable of accessing resources provided by organisations and institutions for their positive development and that of their children (see 2.3.5, 2.3.8, 3.4.3, 3.4.7).

Of the six parents interviewed, only one parent (Muniru's father) had registered with the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) and so has access to free health care, although some treatments are excluded from the NHIS altogether. Medical care is rendered highly unaffordable to the urban poor. This concern was expressed by Muniru's father as he lamented:

“But not all medicines we need are provided by NHIS so, honestly, every now and then I resort to buying medicine from the drugstore” (Muniru's father, two-parent family).

Almost all households pay for the usage of “bath houses” and public toilet facilities. Saka and Dromor’s families have managed to reduce payment for bathroom facility by building a makeshift bathhouse near their houses. Kawia’s family sometimes uses the bathhouse of their neighbours. When they cannot afford to pay, Nyanyo’s family usually baths very late in the night or wake up at dawn to bath outside in the open before daybreak. According to the children they bath once a day but the boys claim they sometimes forgo bathing especially during weekends. Saka and Muniru indicated that they sometimes forgo bathing due to the long distance they had to walk and buy water for bathing. Kosali sometimes forgo bathing and instead use the money to buy food.

Most of the families buy food already prepared although they claim they occasionally cook at home in the open where they have their kiosks. These street vendors spend a greater part of their food budget on street foods. Those who sell kenkey sometimes eat some of the kenkey as their meals. Kosali and his “father” do not cook but always buy food from the marketplace. In most cases street vendors and their children reported that they eat two times a day. The children had mixed feelings about their appreciation of the food they eat. Some of them claim they cannot complain but have to take whatever they are given to eat. Others think the food they are given is okay for them. Although Muniru’s father mentioned that his wife cooks food at home, Muniru mentioned that he is normally given money to buy cooked food from the market.

“Although we eat the kenkey my mother sells we also buy cooked food from the market”  
(Kawia).

“Sometimes my mother buys cooked food for us but we also the kenkey my grandmother sells”  
(Saka).

“My mother always prepares food in the house but mostly for my father. She gives me money to buy cooked food from the market” (Muniru).

“No, I don’t cook food every day. I give my children money to buy food from the market”.  
(Dromor’s Mother, single-parent family).

“Well not always but I try to prepare food as much as possible.” (Nyanyo’s Mother, single-parent family)

“No, not always. Because I sell kenkey we mostly eat that and also buy food – we are in a market place so they sell variety of cooked food (Kawia’s Mother, single-parent family).

Saka’s mother, who felt very frustrated, spoke about her inability to cater for her children, a fact which was confirmed by Saka.

“I really try to as much as possible to provide for my children, but it’s not always working out. Sometimes I just can’t manage so my mother takes up the responsibility.” (Saka’s Mother, single-parent family).

“My grandmother feeds us but we mostly eat the kenkey that she sells. My mother used gives me money to buy food but it’s been a while now since she did that” (Saka).

#### 5.4.2.4 Economic activities of participants

The interviews revealed that almost all members living in the various households were engaged in one form of economic activity or the other. Parents who took part in the study were into petty trading and other businesses by the roadside. All children who participated in the study helped with the work their parents were engaged in except Dromor whose mother sold foodstuff while she sold pure water. Table 5.4 below shows the trading activity and work of parent and children.

**Table 5.4 Trading activity and work of parent and children**

Participant	Trading activity / work of parent	Trading activities of child
Dromor’s family	Sells food	Sells iced water
Nyanyo’s family	Engaged in petty trading including selling iced water	Sells iced water
Kawia’s family	Sells Kenkey	Helps with selling Kenkey
Saka’s family	Sells Kenkey	Helps with selling Kenkey
Kosali’s family	Engaged in scrap work	Assists in scrap work
Muniru’s family	Engaged in scrap work	Assists in scrap work/ porter -carting of goods

The above table indicates the various trading activities of street vendors and their children. Dromor and Nyanyo sell pure water; Kawia and Saka assist in the

preparation and selling of kenkey while Kosali and Muniru scavenging for scrap work and work at the scrap site. In addition, Muniru works as a porter by carting goods with a wheelbarrow for customers.

Besides assisting with parents' work, the children of my study engage in a variety of activities. They all performed various household chores in their homes. Kosali performs such chores at the scrap site because he sleeps in a mosque. Additionally, they all run errands for adults. Table 5.5 below show some of the activities children perform besides the trading activities.

**Table 5.5 Other activities and chores performed by children**

Other activities and chores children perform	Child participants					
	Dromor	Nyanyo	Kawia	Saka	Kosali	Muniru
Scavenging for scrap					✓	✓
Assisting in cooking	✓	✓	✓			✓
Fetching water	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fetching firewood		✓	✓	✓		
Grinding mill			✓	✓		
Sweeping of room and compound	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Washing of clothes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Washing of cooking utensils	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Throwing refuse away	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Carrying younger siblings		✓				
Running errands	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Although the children did not see what they were doing as work but rather helped the family as part of their duty in an endeavour to subsist, they reported that the activities they embark on for their parents and guardians were strenuous. The children worked weekdays in the afternoon and evenings and on Saturdays and sometimes Sundays. They even work when the school is closed. Kosali works every day from morning till evening throughout the week. Kawia and Saka wake up at dawn and start work before they go to school. They also sleep very late because of the task involved in

preparing kenkey (see 5.2.3.2). According to Kawia she does a lot work on Sundays in the house.

The children in this study also reported that they started work very young with some not remembering exactly when they started. Saka has been assisting his grandmother since he was six years. Although Kosali has been in Kaneshie for only four months he had been working since he was six years in the north. Muniru started working for his father when he was seven years while in the north. Dromor started work at eight years, Nyanyo when she was seven years old and Kawia very young she could not tell the actual age.

Since these children live with their families they reported that they gave their profit or sales to their family members, mostly to their parents and grandparents. Kosali's father (guardian) kept the allowance he made for himself and gave his child some of it as chop money, that is, money to feed. According to Dromor she gave the profit she made from selling pure water to her grandmother and mother. Kawia and Nyanyo worked for their mothers. Although Dromor, Kawia, Nyanyo and Kosali worked for the family, they were not given any allowance except Muniru and Saka whose father and grandmother respectively give them money as a form of motivation. Muniru got his allowance from the money he made from carting goods and Saka for helping his grandmother in her Kenkey business. Nyanyo reported that her mother collected the money she made. Below are the responses of child participants regards their earnings:

"I usually give the money I earn to my mother and sometimes my grandmother" (Dromor).

"My mother collects the money I earn from me" (Nyanyo).

"I work for my mother" (Kawia).

"I work for my grandmother so I do not earn any money" (Saka).

"My father keeps my allowance" (Kosali).

"My father keeps the money I make but he gives me some as pocket money" (Muniru).

Participants viewed work as a means to supplement families' income. Apart from Dromor's mother who maintained that she did not ask her daughter to sell, the rest of the parents claimed their children worked to augment the family's income. Some of the children stressed that their parents specifically asked for their assistance and they had no choice but to work. Dromor's mother insisted that she did not ask Dromor to sell according to her Dromor sold when she was not around which contradicted Dromor's claim that her mother asked her to sell. Below are the reports of the children:

"My mother asked me to sell"( Dromor).

"I sell pure water to support our family with the extra income. I also assist my mother with her petty trade" (Nyanyo).

"My mother asked me to work with her to support our family financially" (Kawia).

"Initially I was not working but when my mother became pregnant and could not work with my grandmother she started giving me work to do so I work for my grandmother to support our family" (Saka).

"My father asked me to use the wheel barrow to cart goods for people in order to support our family income" (Muniru).

According to Saka's mother her children take part in the family business so that their grandmother could help her take care of them. Besides, being a nursing mother, she was not in the position to do any strenuous or tedious work so her children had to assist. The following expressions articulated parents view on child work:

"She sells the pure water to supplement our family's income" (Nyanyo's Mother single-parent family).

"She supports me so we can have enough to take care of family" (Kawia's Mother single-parent family).

"To help expand the kenkey business so that my mother can help me take care of my children. Because I don't have any other work to do I also help in my mother's kenkey business. A few times I have tried to sell petty items or get into some kind of trade but they all did not work out. I don't know why so this keeps happening to me so I am now helping my mother" (Saka's Mother single-parent family).

“He works to supplement our income...we must survive here” (Kosali’s father single-parent family).

“Extra hand needed to supplement our income and also to train him in the scrap business” (Muniru’s father, two-parent family).

All the children claimed they enjoyed the work they did for their parents and family and gave several reasons for that. Kosali, Dromor and Muniru enjoy what they did because sometimes they got money. According to Kawia and Nyanyo they help their mothers so that they can be taken care. Although Saka reported that he liked the work he did, he insinuated that he was not comfortable with waking up at dawn when he should be enjoying his sleep. He also said that work interfered with his time to play with friends.

When asked whether the work they did made them tired, all participants answered in the affirmative and mentioned that they carried very heavy loads, run errands and they walked a lot. They all had to walk a long distance to fetch water and throw rubbish away. Saka and Kawia carried very heavy loads and walked long distances to the corn millers. Those at the scrap site carried heavy equipment, off-loaded and up-loaded scrap onto vehicles and used very sharp objects in their line of work. Muniru mentioned that he got tired most of the time. He had bruises in his palms because of using gadgets and equipment and especially from pushing loads with a wheelbarrow. Dromor and Nyanyo indicated that they become tired because they carried the pure water on their heads and ran in the sun scavenging for customers. According to these children the water they carried was heavy. Kawia disclosed that she did not become tired always but even if she got tired she still would have to work for her mother. Kosali divulged that he was always tired from the work he did at the scrap site since he had to be there every day from morning until evening working.

#### 5.4.2.5 The effect of work on studies

Although the children claimed the work did not interfere with their schooling, they mentioned that they sometimes forgot to do their homework and were punished by their teachers. Most of them got tired by the time they were about to do their

homework. Below are some of the effects of work on children and the consequences as they reported:

“I work till late at night and I wake up very early before day break and work before going to school so I am always late to school and my teacher canes me for that. Hmm...Sometimes I forget to do my homework so I will quickly do it before the teacher ask for it and she is not happy that I get it wrong most of the time” (Kawia).

“I wake up at dawn to assist with the kenkey work so I sometimes sleep in class and I am caned by my teacher” (Saka).

“We are always carrying heavy equipment and using very sharp objects. I have been cut by sharp knives a few times. I feel pain at my joints and you can even step on sharp metal” (Kosali).

“I feel bodily aches and pains because of the truck pushing so I sometimes sleep in class and work at the scrap site is dangerous I must say” (Muniru).

They also revealed that they sometimes skipped school because of exhaustion, sickness or when parents asked them to stay home for a few days to help raise money for their schooling. Dromor sometimes skipped school when she was tired and/or had not done her homework. According to Nyanyo her mother had asked her on several occasions to skip school and sell when they did not have enough money. The following are some of the reasons they gave:

“Sometimes I skip school when I am tired and or when I have not done her homework” (Dromor).

“Anytime we do not have enough money, my mother asked me to stay and sell for sometime before going back to school” (Nyanyo).

“I don’t go to school sometimes because of tiredness or sickness and when we are sacked for school fees” (Kawia).

“When I don’t wake up early I don’t go to school because I will be caned by my teacher. The issue is we wake up at dawn to help and then bath and sleep again. So sometimes I am not able to wake up early when it is times to go to school” (Saka).

“I don’t go to school only when I am sick” (Muniru).

Child participants’ reports show that work interfered with their schooling although they claimed the contrary. Kawia worked deep into the night and woke up at dawn to

continue working so she is late for school most of time and with her homework shoddily done or sometimes not done at all. Because Saka wakes up at dawn to assist he gets tired in school and sometimes sleep in class and is caned by teacher. Kosali could not comment on whether work interferes with attending school as he was not attending school at the time of interview. Muniru claimed he felt bodily pains especially due to truck pushing but managed to do his homework and learn although he sometimes slept in class. Although the children claimed that work to all intents and purposes did not pose problems to their schooling, considering the length of time spent on working and household chores, one stands to question when exactly they were able to find time for their studies and school. Compare the following:

“I get tired ... because we carry the container of pure water on our head and run in the sun. You have to walk up and down to take the pure water from the shop owners and sell. I get tired when I get to school and sometimes I sleep during classes” (Dromor).

“Well sometimes I do get tired because the water I carry is heavy. I sometimes get school late due to household chores ... it disturbs me. You see... we have to go out and buy water for everything we do in the house” (Nyanyo).

“Sometimes I become tired but I have to work for my mother because I have no choice. I sometimes get to school late and I am spanked by my teacher” (Kawia).

“The loads we carry are very heavy and we walk long distance to the corn mill. It interferes with my studies and sometimes I forget to do my homework and I am caned by my teacher” (Saka).

“I get tired most of the time. My palms become sore due to the pushing of the wheelbarrow. I use the wheelbarrow to carry water and other items for my mother” (Muniru).

In eliciting their views on the effect of work on their children’s studies, I got parents to tell me what they thought work could do to their children. Although parents agreed that making children work was unfortunate, they mentioned that they were compelled under the circumstances to engage their children in work. Dromor’s mother was emphatic that selling would affect her daughter’s studies and claimed that although she frowned on that, her daughter sold when she was not around. Although Nyanyo’s mother thought that her child might feel tired or might not be able to complete her homework as a result of work, she did not think that work would have any serious effect on Nyanyo and her studies or else someone like her (with all the

work is has done since childhood) should be dead by then. According to Kawia's mother work would affect her child's schooling as it happened to her but given her present economic situation she had no other alternative but to let Kawia work.

Saka's mother was not sure whether work affected her children's schooling but according to her because they normally woke up early to work, they sometimes looked tired even before they went to school. Kosali father could not address this issue as he had not been able to send Kosali to school but agreed that work usually affected studies, because he suffered the same fate resulting in him not doing well in Junior high school final examination and therefore could not continue to senior high school. Muniru's father acknowledged that work affects his child's schooling and stated that he would make sure Muniru stop working for him when business started picking up so that Muniru could concentrate on his books. Apart from Dromor's mother the rest mentioned that they engaged their children in work for the following reasons:

"I don't think that work would have any serious effect on them else someone like me should be dead by now. But this is not to say that they should go through what I went through in life. If they study hard in school then they will do well" (Nyanyo's mother, single-parent family).

"You see in my case because I could not continue schooling it didn't help me. If my brother had not brought me to the city I would be languishing in the village by now and only God knows what will become of me in the village. Although life is difficult here it is still better than the village. I know that work will affect Kawia's schooling as it happened in my case but because of my financial situation I have no alternative but to let Kawia work at least for now" (Kawia's mother, single-parent family).

"I am not sure. Maybe work will affect them. They wake up early to work and sometimes they go back to sleep again before going to school and it is always a daunting task trying to wake them up to go to school. They seemed tired. I always have to force them out of bed to go to school" (Saka's mother, single-parent family).

"Work does affect him. This scrap work is tedious and will not prepare him for the future" (Kosali's father, single-parent family).

"Yes-scrap work is very hectic but it will make him learn how to survive. Because we are not from the South we are from the North he has to learn a trade while schooling. Muniru will stop working and concentrate on his books when the scrap business picks up" (Muniru's father, two-parent family).

While the children maintained that work did not interfere with their schooling, the first child I interviewed could not answer whether he could read or not so on the spur of the moment I asked him to read the question “can you read?” from my interview schedule and he could not. While reflecting on the day’s activities and considering what to do in my next meeting, it dawned on me that I could ask all the children to read the same question. Even though some of them said they could read, when I asked them to read the question “can you read?” They could not with the exception of Muniru who managed to read that and many of my interview questions albeit with some challenges. Again when I asked the first child I interviewed to write his name at the back of the assent form, I noticed that his writing was not legible so after each interview I asked the children to write their names at the back of the assent form. Here again it was Muniru who could write properly.

#### 5.4.2.6 Schooling

Dromor and Saka’s grandmothers and mothers pay for their school fees, Nyanyo’s mother pays her school fees but her father also contributed money for her school fees on a few occasions. Muniru’s fathers paid his school fees while Kawia’s uncle supported her mother to pay her school fees. The children mentioned the following as those who pay their school fees.

“My father does not pay my school fees -my grandmother and sometimes my mother have been paying my fees” (Dromor).

“My mother pays my school fees but on two occasions she sent me to collect my fees from my father” (Nyanyo).

“My father [uncle] and sometimes mother pay my school fees” (Kawia).

“It is my grandmother who pays my school fees” (Saka).

“My father pays my school fees” (Muniru).

Apart from Muniru, the rest revealed that they had been asked at a point in time to stay home for a few days to assist in raising money for their school fees. That was when they were sacked from school for non-payment of school fees.

All the children, except Kosali, were not in school at the time of the interview and although Kosali would have preferred to be in school, he missed the new academic year so he had to wait for the next school year. For those in school Muniru was the only one in his actual class the rest were in classes lower their ages. The children claimed they brought homework from school but parents did not ask about children's homework except Muniru's father who always helped him with his homework. According to the children it was usually their siblings, relatives, neighbours who assisted with homework as recounted below:

"My senior sister teaches me outside the house. I don't learn on my own". (Dromor).

"My cousin helps me" (Nyanyo).

"My brother helps me" (Kawia).

"My uncle and a neighbour. I am in the same class with his child" (Saka).

Lighting facility at home is either non-existent or inadequate so for most of the children who participated, homework was done outside where there was available light. The children ended up studying under light poles, verandas, and pavements outside their homes as reported below:

"There is enough light on the veranda in front of stores in our area where we learn...but we are disturbed when learning outside" (Dromor).

"We do our homework under lights in the area. There are lots of light in front of shops in our area so we study under them" (Nyanyo).

"We don't have light so I study outside our house. We study on the veranda which has sufficient light" (Kawia).

"Not in our rooms but there is adequately light in our yard. We sit outside and do our homework. We have no lighting facility in our rooms. We use candle in the house" (Saka).

"Yes we have light that my father has connected from the main pole in front of our house" (Muniru).

It was also reported that the temperature and atmosphere in the environment were not conducive to studies, because the marketplace was overcrowded and the

weather was always hot with stench emanating from refuse dumps, choked gutters, open drains and the market.

“It is hot and sometimes when it rains your books get wet because we sit under sheds and canopies” (Dromor).

“It is not a conducive environment. It is hot and the place has a foul smell” (Saka).

The areas where these children studied were noisy with people selling and shouting at the top of their voices; vehicles passing around, blowing and tooting their horns; friends playing around and disturbing them. One participant complained about a beer bar (local pubs) across her house that always disturbed her studies with their loud music. Below are some of participants’ complaints with regard to noise in the neighbourhood:

“The place we live is noisy...when we are learning our friends come around and disturb us. Lots of cars and trucks pass around blowing and tooting their horns” (Dromor).

“It is not a quiet place. It is very noisy because our friends come around while we are studying and they disturb us” (Nyanyo).

“It is very noisy ... lot of sellers screaming on top of their voices to attract buyers... There is bar across our house the owner plays loud music deep into the night which disturbs all of us in the area” (Kawia).

“The area is very noisy. My brothers and my cousins always sack the children who come around to disturb while we are studying” (Saka).

“The place is very noisy. Lots of people sell at night and vehicles come to park so they make a lot of noise. Some of the mates (conductors) for the buses and taxis sleep in the vehicles so they also make lots of noise” (Muniru).

Nyanyo revealed that while doing their homework or studying at home, their aunts and older people around would be calling them and sending them on errands. Nyanyo lamented that:

“In the evening when I am studying my aunts and their friends...they will always call me and send me on errands. They sometimes send me to buy beer for them” (Nyanyo).

I asked parents about their educational level in trying to determine links between parents' education and child work. Two parents completed Junior Secondary School, one had never been to school and the rest dropped out at a point. Those who had completed JSS were from the north. Dromor's mother dropped out in class 5 because her aunt did not send her to school when she went to stay with her. Nyanyo's mother claimed she dropped out in class 3 because all those she was sent to or lived with, did not send her to school. Kawia's mother dropped out in primary school but was not sure of the class. She followed her mother to the market and was not attending school regularly and finally stopped.

The children claimed they preferred school to work and that schooling was important. They indicated that they were taught lots of things in school such as mathematics, science, English and Ga. Nyanyo further said schooling was important because she met friends and they played. Kawia indicated that they learnt how to become good citizens and how to perform duties in school. All the parents also agreed that schooling was important.

#### 5.4.2.7 Friendship and play

The children had friends in school and within the neighbourhood. They all said they played with their friends in school and in the neighbourhood. They played by the roadside, at a nearby park and at the places they worked but that was usually done only when they had time available as they were always busy. For instance Dromor mentioned that most of her friends also sold by the roadside so they did not have enough time to play. Saka was punished when he sneaked out to play while there was work to be done. Kawia reminisced that they were entertained during Christmas at the marketplace where people hired spinners to play music in the market. (The interview was done just after Christmas). The children of the study hence reported to play mostly in school and occasionally when they found time at home:

"No ... not always ... because most of us sell by the roadside so we don't have enough time to play. But I am able to play at school" (Dromor).

"Sometimes around the home but mostly I play in school" (Nyanyo).

“Sometimes around my school and the neighbourhood when I am able to finish my chores on time. And during Christmas the market people hire spinners to play music in the market so we all enjoy and make merry. They mount large speakers at vantage places and people dance to lots of music” (Kawia).

“Yes we play on the road and at a park nearby but we are beaten when we sneak out to go and play while there is work to be done. But I enjoy playing with my friends” (Saka).

“Yes... when time is on my side ... we chase each other around” (Kosali).

#### 5.4.2.8 Abuse

Although no one has physically abused Kosali, he lamented about daily stress he had to go through and complained that he worked too much and the work at the scrap site was very tedious. This is what he had to say:

“Madam the older men at the scrap site are always sending me and I have to cross the dual carriageway and I am always scared. We lift heavy equipments and work with sharp objects ... we sometimes work very late into the night. I become so tired but I have to still work” (Kosali).

The children referred to caning at school and the home as a form of physical abuse, a measure to correct them when they did what was not acceptable.

Here I am not sure if my explanation of physical abuse to them was accurate or not. I felt that I could not clearly distinguish between physical abuse and punishment to correct children when they go wrong in the *Ga* and *Twi* languages. I wanted to know whether any of the children suffered physical abuse from any adults (parents and others in the community) as well as older children in the neighbourhood. So although the children did not complain about any physical abuse, they reported that they were caned in school and at home as a means of correcting them when they go wrong. Thus the children took caning in classroom and at home to mean physical punishment. According Dromor, Saka, Nyanyo and Kawia when they do what is wrong their teachers canes them. Saka and Nyanyo were caned at home to correct them when they went wrong.

When asked whether they had experience any form of physical abuse the children referred to caning at school and home as abuse. All child participants thus stated they were beaten when they did something wrong. Some reported that their parents and teachers sometimes caned them. According to participants it was normal to be caned, because it was certain that they have done something to deserve the punishment. For example children were caned for not finishing homework as well as talking and sleeping in class. They did not imagine caning as a way of physical violence. Most participants were convinced that they deserved to be beaten as reflected in their comments below (see 5.4.2.8).

“If you do what is wrong teacher canes you” (Dromor).

“Nobody has abuse me ...But I am caned in school by my teacher and at home to correct me when I go wrong” (Nyanyo).

“I sometimes get to school late and I am spanked or punished but my teachers. My parents do not beat me” (Kawia).

“When you do what is not right teacher canes you. When I forget to do my homework my teacher spans me” (Saka).

“I am caned by my teacher...and my step mother use to cane me but these days she has stopped” (Muniru).

Although none of the children interviewed had been sexually abused, they all claimed to have seen or heard of stories of people being abused within the community. Nyanyo said she had not been abused, but had heard about stories of abuse of girls in her locality. Saka said he knew of some girls in that area who had been lured by men and abused. Muniru also indicated that some of the drivers' mates (conductors) who slept in parked vehicles in his area abused girls whom they lured into the vehicles. According to Dromor sometimes some of the men and boys who bought pure water tried to touch them and made sexual overtures towards them and they stopped them. Kawia heard that her elder sister had been sexually assaulted. She said that:

“Some time ago I overheard my mother and father (uncle) talking to some people in our house about someone who had sexually abused my senior sister” (Kawia).

#### 5.4.2.9 Street life experience

According to Dromor's mother, she was left with no other alternative but selling was good for her because that was the only economic activity readily available that she could engage in. She complained about government and metro officials who sacked them from the roadside and sometimes seize and/or destroyed their goods. Nyanyo's mother exclaimed that life on the street was not easy at all. She indicated that people exploited them and took advantage of their vulnerable situation and promises were never fulfilled. For her it was very difficult as a single parent taking care of her children who were in school. According to her the street was full of accidents, stealing, fighting and harassment by authorities. According to Kawia's mother there were so many unscrupulous people and drivers in her neighbourhood. They fought, stole and abused people especially children.

Saka's mother was unhappy about the situation in her family. She claimed that any work she had decided to do have not been stable and attributed that to spiritual forces manipulating her life and that of her family. According to her, several incidents and car accidents occurred in the area and they were always sacked by the authorities from the roadside. According to Kosali's father, the street had a lot of experiences one would not want to think about or be reminded of, because he was already in the situation and had to devise ways and means to survive the hardship of city life. Muniru's father disclosed that life in the south was different from the north because in the south their parents and family members were not around to offer any form of support in time of emergencies so they managed on their own. Again the cost of living in the south was higher than in the north.

Street vendors and their children had different and diverse forms of traumatic experiences on the street. When asked about what her worst experience on the street was, Dromor just said she did not want to sell and that she disliked the noisy chaotic and filthy trading environments. According to Nyanyo she was startled and ran to her mother one day when she saw a speeding car hit someone on the dual carriage way. Since that day she had always felt sad when she heard about car accidents. Nyanyo spoke about the competition between children of street vendors

and older sellers as they struggle for customers, which sometimes resulted in fights and loss of items. She spoke about frequent harassment from city and metropolitan authorities. According to Kawia a car hit her brother (cousin) as he was playing by the roadside and he died. She was also scared when her friend's father died through a car accident. She was also terrified when thieves were caught and lynched in the area. The Kaneshie market area was prone to road traffic accidents.

Because Kosali migrated from the village to Kaneshie (an urban centre) only four months ago, he could not talk about any abuse but for him street life in the city was frightening and overwhelming. Kosali also talked about the recklessness of drivers and their total disregard for traffic lights and regulations. Although he had not been long in the city he had seen quite a number of road traffic accidents and so he indicated that he was scared of the big trucks and cars moving. He was terrified when walking alone in search for scraps because he might get lost in the city. But for him, his worst fear was when he was not able to make money. He felt sad and thought about his survival. According to Saka a car hit him some time ago so whenever he heard about car accidents or heard cars screeching his stomach twitched. He also narrated how two of his siblings died out of sickness. One according to him died out of food poison and the other fell sick. His mother's interview corroborated the story. Muniru felt sad sometimes because he had classmates who did not have to work before they could go to school while some of them had no option but to work. His mobile phones had been picked by pickpockets who disrupted his work because he ended up losing customers and it took time before he was able to acquire a new phone to start building a customer base. He detests the numerous road accidents and fighting in the neighbourhood. His worst experience was when a load he was carrying for a client spilled. He was carrying palm oil that spilled and he had to use his daily sales to defray the cost.

According to Dromor's mother her worst experience on the street had been to take care of her children alone on the street without their fathers to support. Nyanyo's mother's worst experience was when all her goods and money were stolen. According to Kawia's mother the Kaneshie market neighbourhood was not good for her and her children. She also blamed herself for a car that hit and killed her

brother's child as he was playing near where she sold her kenkey. Saka's mother's worst experience was when she lost two of her children within two years as result of the exigencies of street life. Kosali's father stated that unlike in the rural areas, life in the city was very expensive in that one had to pay for everything and because of that one had to work extra hard in order to survive. Muniru's father recounted an ugly incident where he was conned of his life's saving when he wanted to buy a kiosk. The person who pretended to be an agent, took his money and disappeared. Thus almost every participant (children of street vendors) interviewed had unpleasant encounters at the Kaneshie marketplace directly or indirectly. The table 5.6 below summarizes the traumatic experience of participants.

**Table 5.6 Traumatic experience of participants**

Traumatic experiences	Participants					
	Dromor's family	Nyanyo's family	Kawia's family	Saka's family	Kosali's family	Muniru's family
Car accidents		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Personal accidents				✓		
Death			✓	✓		
Theft		✓				
Fraud						✓
Fighting	✓			✓		✓
Seizure of goods/wares		✓	✓	✓		
Harassment by city authorities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Stigmatization	✓			✓		✓
Desertion	✓	✓	✓	✓		

#### 5.4.2.10 Aspirations for the future

Parents had better aspirations for their children and they also had better aspirations for themselves, although they all said different things concerning what they expected. Dromor's mother indicated she was leaving what her child would become to the will of God but added again that she wished her daughter to become a nurse or doctor or an accountant. Muniru's father wanted him to become a medical officer. Nyanyo's mother wanted her to become a teacher. Kawia's mother dreamt of her becoming a teacher or a nurse but indicated that it will depend on the will of God. Saka's mother

envisaged him to become a doctor or a lawyer. Kosali's father wanted him to become a banker.

"What God will make her or turn her into... A nurse/doctor or an accountant I will be glad" (Dromor).

"I want my child to become a teacher. hm I don't know maybe one of them will become a businessman" (Nyanyo).

"I want my child to become a teacher or a nurse but it will depend on what God says" (Kawia).

"I want my child to become a doctor or a lawyer" (Saka).

" I want him to be a banker" (Kosali).

"To become a medical officer" (Muniru).

The children wanted to become the following in future: Saka, a bank manager; Kosali, and Dromor teachers; Muniru, an engineer or a teacher; Nyanyo, a doctor or a nurse and Kawia, a doctor or a nurse. Although currently out of school, Kosali exuded a strong sense of determination as he spoke about going back to school and being successful to be able to help others in his circumstances. According to him:

"I believe that one day I will become a teacher ... If I am able to go to school and complete I will have the knowledge and skill I need to get a well-paid job in the future which I can use to take care of children in my circumstances"(Kosali).

Kosali divulged that life is better for those who attended school. Below are some of the views of participants:

"I can see that my teachers are okay in life. I want to become like my teachers" (Dromor).

"I know a lot of people who are doing well because they went to school" (Nyanyo).

"I want to become a bank manager so I am learning and working" (Saka).

"If I want to become a teacher I must go to school and study hard... life is better for those who went to school. All those who go to school have good jobs. They do not struggle" (Kosali).

"If I learn hard then I can become an engineer or a teacher in future" (Muniru).

As to whether they thought the work their children were doing then would prepare them for their occupation in future parents had the following to say. Dromor's mother indicated that selling would affect Dromor's schooling because it would make her too tired to concentrate on studies. Nyanyo's mother was in a dilemma there. While thinking that her children assisting with work could be a form of preparation for their future occupation she was also sceptical about that given the fact that she had worked all the years and she had nothing to show for it. Kawia's mother was emphatic that working would not prepare her child for future occupation because her case was a typical example. She dropped out of school, which affected her economic status.

Saka's mother thought that since her children worked and still had the opportunity to go to school, they should be able to learn hard and excel academically because the situation could have been worse. Meaning her children could rather be working and might not have had the chance to go to school. Kosali's father mentioned that scrap work would not prepare Kosali for future occupation. School was very good according to him but due to circumstances Kosali was not yet in school. Muniru's father acknowledged that scrap work was very hectic but at the same time Muniru would learn how to survive in the city and in the south since they were from the North. Muniru's father revealed that an extra hand was needed to supplement income and also to train Muniru in the scrap business. He however indicated that he would make sure Muniru stopped working when the business started growing so that Muniru could concentrate on his books. Some of the children indicated that:

"I help my mother to sell so she can get money and take care of us" (Nyanyo).

"I help my mother so she can take care of me" (Kawia).

"No, no scrap work cannot make me become a teacher. If I want to become a teacher I must go to school and study hard". "Scrap work can give me money to go to school to learn to become a teacher" (Kosali).

"No and yes. I am learning a trade at least. Now I know how to dismantle electronic wastes and recycle by burning to recover the valuable materials inside them to sell and get money. This works what my father does and sends me to school. If I learn hard then I can become an engineer or a teacher in future. If there is no money how do I go to school?" (Muniru).

Although in the opinion of the children schooling was more important, some of them were in a dilemma as to how to separate the two due to their family circumstances. The children were not sure how the work they were engaged in presently, could guarantee a better future but were certain that schooling guarantees better future. Kosali at one point agreed that school was important but again said work sometimes was important. He seemed to be in a dilemma because according to him it was the gains from work that would help him get back into the classroom and study for his future career. They further agreed that school help prepare one for what one aspired to become in future because in school children learnt lots of things that could prepare them for a brighter future. Below are some of participants' views on whether school help prepare them for what they aspired to become in future:

"Yes it does because of the things we are taught" (Dromor).

"Yes we are taught a lot of things in school and I know a lot of people who are doing well because they went to school" (Nyanyo).

"Yes. We learn in school about how to become good citizens and our duties. And also mathematics and English" (Kawia).

"I am not sure" (Saka).

"Yes it will help me. All those who go to school have good jobs. They do not struggle like the people who are here in the scrap yard. Lot of them have not been to school. I don't want to be like them... If I am able to go to school and complete I will have the knowledge and skill I need to get a well paid job in the future"(Kosali).

"Yes. They teach us a lot of things in school. I like maths and science" (Muniru).

Indeed, discussing their future dreams and aspirations constituted an important part of the interviews with the participants especially children, who were anxious to convey their wish for the attainment of something better in life. Kosali and Muniru spoke enthusiastically with great ideas and expectations.

The children expressed the fact that they had gained some skills as a result of the work they were doing. Kawia for instance stated that she had learnt how to prepare kenkey. According to Muniru he was learning a skill of how to dismantle scrap and taking out copper and aluminium to sell and get money. Muniru indicated that

paradoxically it was the work he was assisting his father to do, that was enabling his parent to send him to school so the work was helping prepare him for the future. Although Muniru mentioned that if he learnt hard he could become an engineer or a teacher in future he wondered how without working to earn money he could be able to go to school to achieve his aim. Kosali shared the same view with him. According to him he had seen a lot of people who were doing well because they went to school.

“I have learnt how to prepare kenkey and my friends don’t know how to do it. No but emm I want to be a doctor or nurse” (Kawia).

“I want to become a bank manager so I am learning and working” (Saka).

“School and sometimes work. Well the work will give me money to go to school. Without work how can I go to school? Scrap work can give me money to go to school to learn to become a teacher” (Kosali).

“I am learning a trade at least. Now I know how to dismantle electronic wastes and recycle by burning to recover the valuable materials inside them to sell and get money. This work that my father does can send me to school. If I learn hard then I can become an engineer or a teacher in future. If there is no money how do I go to school”? (Muniru).

In the next section I discuss in details the observations carried out during the field observations and interviews.

### 5.4.3 Key findings: observation

The purpose of field observation was to record social phenomena directly which was done by writing down in my field diary the activities that the children engaged during the period that I watched them. Data of this type are valuable because they allow the different perspectives and slices of social life of the people being studied to be understood. Through observation and interactions I gained first-hand insight into the kinds of activities children engaged in while working for their parents on the streets. Observation as data collecting technique not only helped to reduce bias, but also gave deeper insights into the mode of operation of street vendors and their children and corroborated their stories about their livelihoods and situations within the street community. According to Lofland *et al.* (in Saldaña, 2008:14) “social life happens at four coordinates, the intersection of one or more *actors* [participants] engaging in one

or more *activities* (behaviours) at a particular *time* in a specific *place*.” In line with the above, I watched the activities and behaviour of my participants at specific places on the street over a period. In observing how children responded to the demands of their peculiar settings, I followed an observation guide (see Appendix J) which focused on the following factors:

1. *Space*: the physical place or places;
2. *Actor*: the people involved;
3. *Activity*: a set of related acts people do;
4. *Object*: the physical things that are present;
5. *Act*: single actions that people do;
6. *Event*: a set of related activities that people carry out;
7. *Time*: the sequencing that takes place over time;
8. *Goal*: the things people are trying to accomplish;
9. *Feeling*: the emotions felt and expressed (Wolfinger, 2002:91).

Knowing that my presence might affect behaviour and normal routines, I needed to be familiar with the setting and interact with the participants over a period in order to build confidence and gain their trust so that it would be easier for me to conduct the actual observation. According to Irvine and Gaffikin (2006:129) the more frequently the observer was present, the more her presence was taken for granted, and the more likely it would seem that the observed would behave in the normal way. I therefore visited the Kaneshie market area (see 4.4.1.2) several occasions at different times walking through the place to acquaint myself with the research community and with the operations of street vendors and their children. I was present at the scene of the action, identifiable as a researcher, but not actively participating. After a while most of the participants got used to my being around and would walk over to me anytime I visited the setting.

After the numerous familiarisation visits it became pertinent to observe each child in his/her setting, because of the individual unique and peculiar situations. I also aimed at observing the children’s exposure to numerous activities and events within the Kaneshie market area. I watched what they did and listened to what they said which

made it possible for me to jot down in my field diary the children's stories in relation to the phenomenon under investigation. From the distance I took, it was possible for the observation to be conducted unobtrusively, such that the children did not notice that I was observing them although they were aware of my presence.

#### 5.4.3.1 Observation of Dromor

I started the observation of Dromor in the morning on a sunny Saturday. I was at the area before she appeared in the scorching sun balancing her container full of sachet water on her head, which seemed too heavy for her to carry and weighed her down. As indicated earlier Dromor sold pure water for her mother at the Kaneshie market area (see 5.4.1.1). Particularly these pure water sellers position themselves on the pedestrian pavements and would step into the streets anytime the traffic light showed red and when traffic is jammed to sell to customers in vehicles. At a point when traffic ceased for some time Dromor went under a shade where other children were resting to relax. There, she counted her profit.

A lot of girls and women sold pure water so there was competition for Dromor and her colleagues. I observed that Dromor's relationship with old and young sellers, friends, and other persons she came into contact, with was not cordial. Dromor expressed anger at and was rude to older vendors who tried to bully her and the younger ones. I particularly overheard one seller telling Dromor: "Why are you so disrespectful? Ugly girl...if you dare utter a word I will beat the hell out of you ...fool" (an adult seller). Dromor was also seen hurling insults sometimes at her peers and at customers who touched or fidgeted with her water and did not buy.

I could not observe any interaction between Dromor and her mother because her mother sold foodstuff on a different street. Dromor was exposed to difficult working and living conditions. Selling pure water left her with little time and energy for school. Lifting and carrying heavy loads caused pain all over her body and the way Dromor tilted the load of pure water on her head caused pain in her neck. There was all indication that the selling of pure water was straining for Dromor mentally. The

manner in which Dromor interacted with other members at her selling place showed that she was unable to cope with the physical demands of the work. Her body language portrayed someone who was ill-mannered. It could be that having to sell by the roadside greatly influenced her behaviour. Because behaviour is moulded by the immediate environment the unhealthy attitude and behaviour she displayed, reflected the lifestyle of people at the marketplace.

On several occasions I had noticed Dromor wearing very short dresses and worn out dresses exposing part of her body. The way she dressed could contribute to sexual advances/overtures from the male customers thereby exposing her to sexual abuse. She was left alone most of the time at the marketplace to manage on her own.

Dromor's family main source of livelihood was selling foodstuff and pure water. The money Dromor tried to make from selling pure water, seemed to help in providing for their daily needs, like food, shelter, and other social amenities and utility services. Dromor's family lived at the Kaneshie market area together with people from the same village. They lived under impoverished and filthy conditions that did not satisfy their basic human needs. Dromor's family lived very close (about 30 metres) to the street where she sold.

I noticed that Dromor and her mother kept giving conflicting answers to the interview questions. For instance while Dromor's mother during interview indicated that she did not allow her child to sell and that the child did the selling during her absence, Dromor also mentioned that she did not want to sell but it was the mother who asked her to sell and that she gave her earnings to her mother. Dromor's mother sometimes was not too sure what to say. She was not consistent with the number of children she had. This confirmed my conviction that she must have influenced Dromor's answers to the interview by warning her not to divulge some information especially concerning her selling at the roadside.

#### 5.4.3.2 Observation of Nyanyo

I observed Nyanyo in the afternoon on a weekday after she had returned from school. A few minutes after schools closed, Nyanyo appeared with some girls in a small group conversing. Upon reaching her mother's stall, I noticed that she took an apron from her pure water container from under her mother's table and wore over her dirty school uniform before selling. She quickly ate a meal of rice and beans (*waakye*) took her container and went to the store where they buy the pure water for her first consignment for the day. Nyanyo's mother vending table was located near the Kaneshie traffic light so she could oversee the activities of her child and Nyanyo was often seen going to where her mother sold to collect change for buyers or relax when the traffic clears. Nyanyo sold the pure water for her mother and I saw her giving her money/profit to her mother.

Nyanyo usually strolled on the pedestrian pavements selling to passers-by and customers and stepped into the streets on several times running after vehicles or passengers to transact her business. After some time she appeared tired and moved slowly to where her mother was to relax although she still sold to those buying her mother's wares. Nyanyo's container was broken at the bottom so very cold water kept draining onto her dress and body under extremely hot temperature and she was often seen squeezing water out of her dress.

Due to the proliferation of street vendors and street dwellers, Nyanyo had to strive harder to reach customers, which seemed a daunting task for someone her age although she managed to pull through albeit with lots of stress and difficulty. Working on the streets exposed Nyanyo to many risks. The lifting and carrying heavy loads on her head and manoeuvring through vehicular and human traffic sometimes resulted in injuries, pains and illnesses. Work hindered her time to play and study and she does not attend school regularly. The longer she stayed on the street the more likely she would be exposed to street mores, behaviour and attitudes that were unacceptable and frowned upon by society.

I observed that Nyanyo interacted cordially and positively with various people in the marketplace except for a few older sellers who tried to intimidate her and she reacted. Her social relationship with the girls and peers was cordial. Nyanyo related very well with her mother and listened to her mother who kept instructing and directing her to customers as she went about selling. I could not help but notice that Nyanyo's mother appeared to be too domineering towards her.

Nyanyo lived in a household whose main source of livelihood was petty trading. She therefore sold pure water to supplement her family's daily needs. Nyanyo and her family lived in a place not suitable for human habitation around the Kaneshie market, which was about 30 metres close to the major street.

#### 5.4.3.3 Observation of Kawia

Kawia was observed on a sunny Saturday morning. Kawia's mother was at the place where she (Kawia) worked. She was observed helping her mother sell kenkey in a crowded area on one of the Kaneshie market streets. She was seen on several times running errands for mother and customers and moving into the street to deliver orders and collect money from customers. She served food and water to customers and cleaned the area where the kenkey was sold. She had been moving to and fro in the selling place to the market to buy things and to bring items to the roadside. Under extremely hot temperatures she usually carried heavy load of corn or Kenkey, firewood, fish and gallons of water, among others. She was exposed to fire. I observed that Kawia was dressed in a dirty oversized dress and wore a worn out slippers.

Kawia was exposed to risks and stress, as a direct consequence of the nature of the tasks she performed. The work she does is quite physical. Mentally the work was damaging for Kawia given her age. Her mother continually gave more tasks than she could deal with to the detriment of her physical and psychological wellbeing. Kawia claimed that due to work she is not able to sleep enough, which made her tired even before school starts.

I noticed that Kawia's interaction with other users on the streets was cordial more especially with those who patronised her mother's Kenkey. Kawia sometimes got tips from the customers she served (especially men) which she kept to herself. I however found out that Kawia paid so much attention to male customers which her mother disapproved of and at one point reprimanded her thus: "Why are you always excited when you are serving male customers ...are you a prostitute? ...Let me warn you if you get pregnant do not bring it to my doorstep" (Kawia's mother, single-parent family). Kawia seemed not to be happy with her mother because she felt emotionally abused by her mother's use of degrading, and humiliating words to her. She was vulnerable to a wide range of lifestyles and as a child could easily be lured by unsuspecting adults.

I observed that Kawia helped with her mother's kenkey selling business which was their main source of livelihood and which provided for their daily needs. Kawia's family lived and slept in substandard housing facility among wooden structures that had been built near the market under unclean conditions, which lacked basic human necessities. They shared the same compound with her uncle (her mother's brother) and his family. The area was quite close to a minor road, which was less than 20 metres where her mother sold her kenkey and 50 metres from the major street.

#### 5.4.3.4 Observation of Saka

Saka was observed on a weekday in the afternoon after school as he helped his mother and grandmother sell kenkey by the roadside at the Kaneshie market. Although Saka went home to change, once he returned from school, he wore a shirt on top of his school uniform shorts and was bare feet. He had a meal of kenkey and fish, went to sit on a nearby bench playing with friends until he was summoned to perform tasks that had been piled up for him.

Saka's grandmother kenkey business was very popular in the area as it enjoyed lots of patronage, which made them very busy and therefore needed all hands on deck. Saka performed several tasks and ran errands for his mother, grandmother and

customers. He delivered orders to customers and served food and water to customers who ate there. He washed plates and swept the area, where the kenkey was sold, and took refuse created from the kenkey business, to the nearby refuse dump.

Saka did not interact with other sellers on the street and pavement except with his friends who passed by or played nearby. At a point, Saka attempted to sneak out to go and play but was caught and brought back to where they were selling kenkey by his mother. He was seen teasing, joking and hurling insults and uncouth utterances at friends who also teased, joked and laughed at him when he was caught and sent back to work. He kept calling out and/or chatting with friends as he worked. He was anxious and fidgety and seemed inattentive which drew anger and insults from his mother who scolded and gave him some knocks on the head for his naughtiness. She warned him: “If you leave this place without performing your chores then look for who will feed you” (Saka’s mother, single-parent family).

Work was straining for Saka and he showed signs of exhaustion towards the end of the day as he complained of pain and tiredness to his grandmother. Saka seemed not to concentrate on work he had been assigned to do but rather paid more attention to friends, colleagues and peers. Work inhibited Saka’s studies, play and recreation, because by the time the day’s activities came to an end, he was left with little time and energy to study. Because he was left with no time to play with his friends he felt looked down upon by friends and peers around him.

From all indications, Saka stood the risk of living and working on the streets for a long time. Due to his unstable nature Saka ran the risk of exposure to peer pressure and juvenile delinquency given the threatening environment at the marketplace and the neighbourhood.

Saka’s family had serious health issues and Saka’s physical condition was often weak. Life on the streets for Saka is characterized by hunger as his household and other extended families had to be fed by his grandmother. The children had to always rely on the kenkey their grandmother sold which was full of carbohydrate for their

meals. The effects of malnutrition, had led to lower heights and weights in Saka making him look stunted and younger than his age. When asked about his age during our interactions he kept mentioning ages between ten and twelve and his mother could not be of help as she was an illiterate although the research assistant cross-checked and confirmed his actual age for me.

Saka lived a bit far (more than 100 metres) from the major street together with his mother, siblings, grandmother and other extended family members in a cluster of wooden structures which lacked basic amenities owned by his grandmother. Although Saka lived with his real kin, and his family the main source of livelihood was a home-based kenkey business venture which seemed to flourish, he was still in abject poverty due to the number of children and grandchildren his grandmother had to look after. Saka was therefore compelled to work for his grandmother so that his family's daily needs could be provided for. This could be the reason Saka asked me for money to buy food during one of my visits.

#### 5.4.3.5 Observation of Kosali

Observation of Kosali was done on a sunny Saturday and he was already working when I got to the place. The scrap site was a makeshift wall of wood, jute bags and old aluminium sheets used to demarcate the area where a group of youth work on old electrical and electronic gadgets for scraps metals which were then displayed on the pedestrian walkways and pavements for dealers to buy. The yard was not enclosed so one could see whatever happens there from a distance. Kosali's father was not at the site when I started the observation but appeared as I was about to finish. Kosali worked close by an adult at the scrap site who would periodically observe Kosali and gave him instructions. Kosali used hammer and other tools to remove copper and aluminium from the scrap materials. He also helped in off-loading and up-loading vehicles with scrap materials. He and other youngsters at the scrap site took turns to sweep and clean the place and took refuse to the refuse dump. He performed other tasks, which included scavenging for metals making him walk longer distance in the scorching sun, which made him tired.

Although he did not require many skills to perform them, the work Kosali did was very dangerous. Those who worked at the scrap site were exposed to severe health challenges. They were exposed to sharp, heavy and dangerous tools. For instance I noticed that the implement Kosali was using to work looked heavy and weighed his hands down. The nature of Kosali's work was straining and energy sapping resulting severe health hazards.

During the three hours observation Kosali was sent on errands several times by older men in the scrap yard, although there were other children in the yard. After about an hour of observation, Kosali bought food, ate and went inside an abandoned vehicle to rest but was soon summoned and sent on an errand. He looked haggard and dirty in his oversized 'T' shirt and wore a worn out flip flop even though it was dangerous to expose his feet at the due to the sharp objects that were littered all over the place.

I got insight into Kosali's vulnerability as I observed his living conditions. Kosali lived, slept and worked on the street and it appeared his means of livelihoods might depend on the streets and marketplace for a long period to come. Kosali's financial situation was deplorable, as his money was only sufficient to provide for the daily needs, like food and making use of public toilets and bathrooms. Generally Kosali's life was unsupervised and unprotected and adults in the scrap yard were already exploiting him and making him work in unhealthy conditions to the detriment of his physical and mental wellbeing. Several health risks occurred as a result of being on the street meanwhile nobody monitors what Kosali consumed in terms of food and he did not take care of himself so had skin rashes and scars.

Kosali was cordial with people around him but most of the time he was very quiet. He looked confused, moody and all by himself. Although there was a widespread reliance on personal ties among the people in the scrap yard as majority of them migrated from the north, Kosali seemed to be alone. I noticed that Kosali's relationship with significant adults, friends, and colleagues was nothing to write home about and he seemed to live one day at a time. Although Kosali said he would want to be in school as he poignantly indicated during our interview session, my instincts

told me that he might never see the inside of a classroom. The work he did was demanding and left him with little time to play.

Kosali existed outside the family framework. He did not live with his real kin in the Kaneshie market area. He had been 'adopted' by a member of the scrap workers who lives on the street. Kosali was seemingly new to the urban setting, away from his family and familiar terrain and had to rely on new bonds of friendships (which could yield both positive and negative result). Kosali slept in a mosque which is about 200 metres from the scrap site and the major street. Living under squalid conditions and impoverished environment, life on the streets for Kosali could be characterised by profound deprivation and inequality. Kosali situation was overwhelming and from look of things Kosali face the risks of living or working on the street permanently. I realized that he always felt relieved whenever he saw me. I had on several occasion given him chop money (although this was after my interview with him).

#### 5.4.3.6 Observation of Muniru

Muniru was observed on a sunny Saturday working for his father at a scrap site which was very close to the pavement at the Kaneshie market area. He worked in the same scrap site as Kosali and was at the site before I got there to observe him. Muniru's father was also at the site and Muniru worked closely with him who monitored Muniru intermittently and gave him instruction as to what to do. Muniru was also involved in truck pushing. On two occasions he was summoned and pulled his wheelbarrow and left the scrap yard for a period. Usually after his clients finished shopping, they called his mobile phone and he carried their shopping items to the bus stations or to the clients' car.

Throughout the period of observation his father sent him on errands about three times and he also scavenged for scraps walking long distance except that he uses his wheel barrow to cart the scrap items. The very nature of Muniru's work exposed him to injuries and pains as the heavy load he carried for customers affected his body. Muniru was in dirty overall apparel and wore worn out boots.

I observed that apart from the strong relationship Muniru had with father, he seemed indifferent in his relationship and interaction with friends, colleagues, and customers. Muniru's family migrated from the north to an urban setting, away from their family so they had to foster new ties and relied on relationships they had cultivated to survive. Muniru's father thus settled with a group of scrap workers who were living and working at the Kaneshie market areas. However Muniru's father later bought a kiosk, which was a bit far away from the scrap site where his people domiciled. Muniru and his father lived about 30 metres from the major street although the access route to the road was about 100 metres.

His family relied on scrap business as their main source of livelihood and lived in a substandard housing unit. I realised that Muniru's additional work of truck pushing, contributed to their daily needs, like food, shelter, payment of school fees. Even though the scrap trade was relatively new in the Kaneshie market area, the scrap dealers faced stiff competition because of the numbers that join them daily, that was why Muniru had to push truck to supplement what his father was able to make.

Although Muniru indicated that his parents were married, he kept referring to his father and did not talk about his mother throughout our interactions. I later came to know that the woman was his stepmother and Muniru was not fond of her due to her cruel treatment. Psychologically Muniru felt inadequacy in the sight of his classmates and peers, as he had to work at his age for survival while majority of them did not work. Although work was demanding and left him little time Muniru claimed that he managed to study.

In a nutshell the familiarization visits served as precursor to subsequent visits. One thing was certain; children in the context of extreme poverty working on the streets of Kaneshie market and other markets of Ghana were commonplace. The various visits revealed that a variety of children in very different contexts, were all over the Kaneshie marketplace, evidence of significant socio-economic deprivation and child poverty. I noticed that lots of children spent much more of their time in the urban environment and city streets working as street vendors or engaging in menial jobs for their survival. I detected that although work was hard and strenuous for the children

in my study, it sometimes was fun and pleasurable and provided positive rewards especially for those who got money for school and personal needs.

That there were problems was undeniable, as the whole exercise was time consuming especially during the informal observation which came with its costs. But in my opinion staying in the settings for hours was fruitful because being able to see and record first-hand how these street vendors and their children actually tried to survive in everyday life on the street was reassuring that it was not an exercise in futility. In all, the informal visits and interactions, meetings and the non-obtrusive observations around the marketplace and its environ yielded positive results and provided more useful data as to the extent and gravity of the issue under investigation.

I observed that street life was complex. These observations informed me about the social interactions that existed between street vendors and their children, these children and other members of the settings, their work, vulnerability of life on the street and aspirations. The above-mentioned activities were accomplished by focusing my observation of the children on the following factors. Hence, I observed the physical and social characteristics of the setting that impacted the social interaction of street dwellers in the Kaneshie market. I watched and recorded the main characters and actors involved in the setting and the activities and set of related acts they carried out. While at it I also took note of the physical things that were present in the setting. I observed also the single actions that the participants embarked on as well as events and set of related activities carried out by participants in relation with other people within the setting. I further observed the time and sequence that events and activities occurred over time; the goal that participants were trying to accomplish; and the feelings and emotions felt and expressed by them (Wolfinger, 2002:91).

I committed a large part of the day visiting the settings of the street vendors and their children and staying for several hours to be able to follow the street life activities. I could not stay to observe nocturnal activities at the market and especially the street vendors and their children. The insight I obtained from the observations turned out to

be deeper than I originally anticipated. Most of it confirmed what the children reported with regard to their experiences with life on the street. These observations, altogether, gave a comprehensive picture of the children's activities, which afforded me the opportunity to capture, grasp and communicate their stories.

#### **5.4.4 Themes and categories**

This section explains the procedure I employed to sort and code data to identify forms and patterns in terms of themes as well as categories (subthemes) that emerged from the data in relation to my research questions, theoretical framework and literature.

Coding is a crucial aspect of analysis and Lockyer (2004:137) defines it as “a systematic way in which to condense extensive data sets into smaller analyzable units through the creation of categories and concepts derived from the data.” According to Saldaña (2008) every recorded fieldwork detail is worthy of consideration, for it is from the patterned minutiae of daily life that we might generate significant social insight. Richards and Morse (in Saldaña, 2008:8) disclose that coding “leads you from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea”. I started the analysis of the data by coding as I collected and formatted my data while in the field and continued after returning from the field.

I followed the iterative process (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2001) of reading, thinking and writing, and re-reading, re-thinking, and re-writing looking for patterns from the slices of social life recorded in the data, that is, activities, perceptions, assumptions produced by the participants (Saldaña, 2008:15) as well as from my own reflective data and comments in field notes. The data I analysed therefore included comprehensive interview transcripts, observations, reflective journal entries and field notes. These latter notes were hand-written, taken either at the time the activities took place, or immediately afterwards. I developed codes inductively after data collection and during data analysis by directly examining and engaging my data.

Qualitative inquiry requires meticulous attention to language and deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings of human experience (Saldaña, 2008). I therefore transcribed the audio-tape recording of interviews into written text verbatim, because I needed a comprehensive account for an in-depth analysis of data. I carefully read through my transcribed data several times while jotting down tentative ideas for codes, topics, and noticeable patterns or themes. I started open coding by analysing the text word by word, phrase by phrase and line by line which assisted me in detecting concepts as a starting point in organising and understanding the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors. I divided the data into meaningful units and coded meaningful segments as and when I located them by marking those segments of data with symbols, descriptive words, or category names or unique identifying names (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

As I continually went through my texts and reflected on the data to decipher the core meaning, whenever I found a meaningful segment of text in my transcript, I assigned a code or category name to signify that particular segment. I continued this process until I had segmented all of my data and had completed the initial coding. The initial set of codes were descriptive codes from the texts which included *in vivo* codes (codes are taken directly from what the participants themselves say) to keep the data rooted in the participants' own language and to preserve the voice of the participants.

Table 5.7 shows some examples of my *in vivo* coding.

**Table 5.7 In vivo coding**

Participant	Quote	In vivo code
Nyanyo	"I sell pure water to support our family with the extra income. I also assist my mother with her petty trade."	"....to support our family".
Kawia	"My mother asked me to work with her to support our family financially."	
Saka	"Initially I was not working but when my mother became pregnant and could not work with my grandmother she started giving me work to do so I work for my grandmother to support our family."	

Muniru	"My father asked me to use the wheel barrow to cart goods for people in order to support our family income."	
Dromor	"We pay for public toilet facility and but we have a bathing place behind our house so we do not pay for bathing."	"Pay for public toilet facility".
Nyanyo	"We pay for public toilet facility and most of the time I wake up early at dawn to take my bath outside so I do not always pay for bathing."	
Kawia	"We pay for public toilet facility and use our neighbours' bathing facilities."	
Saka	"I pay for public toilet facility but we have a bathhouse in our compound so I don't pay for that."	
Kosali	"I have to pay public toilet and bathing facilities."	
Muniru	"My family had to pay for public toilet and bathing facilities."	
Dromor	"We sometimes buy cooked food."	"Buy cooked food".
Nyanyo	"Sometimes I buy cooked food."	
Kawia	"Although we eat the kenkey my mother sells we also buy cooked food from the market."	
Saka	"Sometimes my mother buys cooked food for us."	
Kosali	"I always buy cooked food from the market."	
Muniru	"My mother prepares food in the house but mostly for my father. She gives me money to buy cooked food from the market."	
Nyanyo	"I was scared when I saw a car hit someone by the roadside so I run to call her mother. When I hear about car accident I become sad. There are a lot of accidents in this area."	"....car accident".
Kawia	"Some years back my brother had a car accident. A car hit him and he died while playing by the roadside."	
Saka	"I had a car accident. A car hit me and it was traumatic – it hit my knee while crossing the road."	
Kosali	"I just came to this Kaneshie place but I have seen so many car accidents."	
Muniru	"There are lots of car accidents and fighting in this neighbourhood."	

As part of the initial coding strategy, I read through the coded transcripts and clustered the concepts that share common characteristics or meaning into categories by applying colour coding to the identified concepts. I worked with different colours of pens, and highlighters to explore data on hard-copy printouts as well as using text highlight colours, font colours, symbols and tables on data on the computer monitor. I ensured that the codes that were emerging were jotted down manually and electronically and were either bracketed, underlined, capitalized, italicized, coloured or bolded distinctively.

According to Saldaña (2008) coding is a cyclical process that requires recoding not just once or twice (but sometimes even more) because rarely will anyone get coding right the first time. After I had finished the initial coding of my data, I summarized and organized my data. I also continued to refine and revise my codes searching for relationships in the data. As I coded and recoded, my codes and emerging topics became more refined as patterns in the data emerged to show similarities and differences. Some of my initial codes were later replaced by other codes as I progressed with further coding and I reanalysed codes. It became pertinent to rearrange and reclassify my coded data into different and even new topics. Through this process I began defining and categorizing the data and finding relationships among codes in order to answer the research questions. Coding and recoding thus helped me manage, filter, highlight, and focus the salient features of the qualitative data recorded for generating themes and categories, (Saldaña 2008) thus encouraging careful scrutiny of social action represented in the data.

As I sifted the data to allow the themes to emerge naturally from the data itself, I kept in mind my research concern, theoretical framework, primary research question and goals of the study. In analysing the initial topics I looked for and related what street vendors and their children said and did with regards to the socio-educational development and challenges of those children.

I found that coding the data was challenging, tedious and time consuming, I sometimes became frustrated giving the time and mental energy required and being

unsure how to manage the volume of information available. In the end the themes that emerged from the coding process enabled me in answering the main research question and the various sub questions as regards the phenomenon that I set out to investigate. The five broad themes are shown in table 5.8:

**Table 5.8 Data themes**

Themes	
Theme1	Home environment
Theme 2	Street work
Theme 3	Educational development
Theme 4	Social development
Theme 5	Future aspirations

Table 5.9 provides the outcome of the data analysis as a comprehensive list of themes and categories

**Table 5.9 Themes, categories and sub-categories**

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories
Theme 1 Home environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Type of housing facility of family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shelter</li> <li>Sleeping place</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic social amenities and utilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Availability</li> <li>Accessibility</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Feeding of family</li> </ul>	
Theme 2 Street work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The street as part of participants' environment</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Street as a sources of income</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Street vending/trading activity of family</li> <li>Street work as contribution of one's quota to supplementing family's income</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personal experiences on the street</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abuse</li> <li>Neglect</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerability</li> </ul>
Theme 3 Educational development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Funding</li> <li>• School attendance</li> <li>• Class performance</li> <li>• Educational progress</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for school work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homework</li> <li>• Parent support</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Effect of work on schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time for studies</li> <li>• Ability to read and write</li> <li>• Fatigue and tiredness</li> <li>• Attitude of parent</li> </ul>
Theme 4 Social development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship with parent</li> <li>• Relationship with siblings, relatives and other adults</li> <li>• Peer relations and friendship</li> <li>• Sharing and cooperation</li> <li>• Time for recreation and play</li> </ul>	
Theme 5 Future aspirations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work as preparation for future occupation</li> <li>• Schooling as preparation for future occupation</li> <li>• Personal aspirations</li> </ul>	

## 5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, the findings from data collected during field work, are presented. The chapter began with the discussion of the research process, which focused on the anecdotal narrative of gaining access and data collection. Next I presented the biographical data and key findings from data gathered. The chapter ended with a description of the procedure I used in codifying and categorizing data for identification of themes and categories. I found the whole field work and data analysis process insightful, rewarding and enriching. On the field I encountered different types of people with their divergent views and perspectives and horrid conditions but the excitement of accessing new information to enhance my knowledge and career made me always look forward to each trip and fieldwork with enthusiasm.

According to Irvine and Gaffikin (2006:129) the intricacies of conducting research field work can be challenging, exhausting and anxiety-producing. A typical day on the field that involved travelling, trekking, walking about, talking and interacting with people; conducting either interviews or observations and taking notes in and around the rowdy Kaneshie marketplace, was exhausting. As social interaction does not occur in neat, isolated units I nevertheless managed to get my thoughts, however fleeting, documented in some way (Saldaña, 2008:16). In this particular setting, I was faced with a myriad of things happening and as it was not possible to note them all. I have attempted to report aspects of the world of street vendors and their children, which largely depended upon the questions I wanted to answer. Data collection and analysis allowed me to gain insight in both the explicit and tacit aspects of the life routines of street vendors and their children as it revealed the way participants interacted with the world. Transcription of all the interviews was the most demanding and time-consuming activity.

The interpretation of the themes and categories will be presented in detail in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE DATA INTERPRETATION

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 focuses on the interpretation of themes and categories generated from the data. The essence of the interpretation phase is to attach meaning and significance to data I collected through different sources, interviews, field observations and interactions by interacting with six street vendors and their six children.

The discussion of the findings, is done according to each of the five themes that arose during the coding process to give meaning to data and provide answers to the socio-educational challenges and developments of children of street vendors. This is done with reference to research questions (see 1.4.1), theoretical framework (see 3.2.1) and literature findings (see 2.2, 2.3). The chapter deals with participants' home environment; the activities they engage in; their perceptions, attitudes, behaviours; social interactions and the social dynamics; their vulnerability and how they were able to cope with the harsh realities of street life and their ambitions and aspirations. The chapter concludes with a summary of information garnered.

#### 6.2 THEMES, CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES

It is necessary that a clear picture is created to illuminate the research findings. I therefore present an interpretive commentary of an integrated account of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors, which is discussed under the following themes (see 5.4.5).

- Home environment;
- Street work;
- Educational development;
- Social development;
- Future aspirations;

Although the data drew together the stories of twelve participants living on the street, the significant themes are presented holistically in relation to the research questions that guided the entire investigation (see 5.4.5).

Commencing this section is the discussion of theme 1, which deals with the home environment of participants.

### 6.2.1 Theme 1: Home environment

Theme 1 Home environment		
Theme	Categories	Sub-categories
Theme 1 Home environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Type of housing facility of family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shelter</li> <li>Sleeping place</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic social amenities and utilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Availability</li> <li>Accessibility</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Feeding of family</li> </ul>	

This theme discusses the home environment of street vendors and their children and provides a detailed discussion of the type of housing facility of family, accessibility and availability of basic social amenities and utilities and feeding of family.

In the ecological theory, human development is inseparable from the environmental contexts in which the individual develops (see 3.2.1). The home to all intents and purposes should provide warmth and safety, be a place of comfort, support, nourishment and belonging, intimacy, security, relationship, identity and selfhood (see 2.3.5). Events at home, according to Bronfenbrenner (1979), can affect the child's progress and development (see 3.2.1). Since the influences of the family (and for that matter the home) extend to all areas of the child's development, Bronfenbrenner (1979) postulates that the family invariably becomes the medium through which economic hardship permeates the child's life and shapes the course of subsequent development (see 3.2.1).

As indicated in chapter 2, (section 3.5), shelter is irrefutably one of the basic necessities of mankind, a basic human right and a critical component in the social and economic fabric of all nations (Jiboye, 2011:14; Yeboah & Appiah-Yeboah, 2009). According to the United Nations Population Fund (see 2.3.5) “decent shelter provides people a home; security for their belongings; safety for their families; a place to strengthen their social relations and networks; a place for local trading and service provision; and a means to access basic services. It is the first step to a better life” (UNFPA, 2007). However the Government of Ghana’s National Development Planning Commission Policy Framework (NDPC, 2010:84) mentioned that the rapid increase in population has led to a large housing deficit which corroborates International Labour Organization’s (ILO) claim that the formal housing market in the developing world supplies not more than 20% of new housing stock (see 2.3.5).

The majority of new urban dwellers and families, consequently out of necessity turn to find accommodation or improvise with their housing in environmentally uninhabitable or insecure areas (see 2.3.5). Home for most of the participants of this study thus meant no more than a dirty floor and makeshift roof so they rather spent most of their time around the pavements and verandas in front of stores, which exposed the children to severe health issues and other problems associated with the street (see 3.4.7). According to Mizen and Ofoosu-Kusi (2013:17) people in such environments live in multi-occupancy buildings and overcrowded rooms, lack electricity, portable water, and toilet facilities, with no chance for privacy. The absence of the above in the lives of participants of this study means that they had to either improvise or spend their income on such facilities, which are very expensive. The participants needed protection and a better place for the upbringing of their families. They found it increasingly difficult to maintain a decent home, because they lacked the resources to acquire a better place for shelter. Less indoor space and filthy surrounding meant an increase in respiratory and other health problems, as a result of indoor and outdoor air pollution which could take a toll on the already scanty income of street vendors and their children. They are likely to experience accidents, fires or disasters. Participants of this study in effect might not be able to enjoy life to the fullest as they continue to live in deprived settlements. Dwelling in such

settlements thus have the potential of exacerbating the already precarious situation of participants and could further push them into absolute poverty.

Most of the participants were unaware of or had reduced access to the institutions, private and public services and resources and vital necessities available because they were disconnected from the main city life (see 2.3.5, 2.3.8, & 3.4.7). The participants tended to suffer deprivation of economic capital although they live close to these facilities. They lacked general economic infrastructure because of the nature of the settlements and participants had access to only limited choices of goods and services for their positive development (Bornstein *et al.*, 2012:19; see 2.3.8, 3.4.3, 3.4.7, 5.4.2).

A critical feature of life in the cities and on the streets is the fact that the participants had to pay for virtually all the amenities and facilities they access; most importantly shelter and utilities. The money earned by participants was mostly spent daily necessities, such as food, sanitary facilities (making use of public toilets and bathrooms), water and other health issues. They were, therefore, left with nothing to cushion them in times of trouble and they are not able to save to push them out of the poverty line.

The government of Ghana launched a National Insurance Health Scheme (NHIS) in 2003, to provide affordable medical care to the populace particularly the poor and the underprivileged among the 24 million people of Ghana. Although NHIS is available its accessibility was limited to participants, as a result of their financial status. The NHIS package itself did not completely cover the essential medical care needed, because certain medicines or medical treatments are excluded from the NHIS altogether and require own contributions or supplementary insurance rendering medical care highly unaffordable to the urban poor. Participants consequently resorted to buying medicine, herbs, powders and other mixtures from local herbalists, drug peddlers and from the drugstores around the markets when confronted with illnesses. Participants stood the risk of falling prey to quack and fake medicine men and herbalists, which might lead to serious health problems and in some cases even death. Participants were putting their health and life in danger as they resorted to self-medication and

relying on quack doctors and herbalists who will go at any length to sell anything to make money. It appeared that out of poverty and ignorance participants seemed not to be aware that they were endangering their lives by not consulting qualified medical doctors and professionals.

A lack of safe water is an issue in Ghana. Fetching water is a daunting work and it is not so uncommon to see children walking with buckets on their heads to the nearest water source. In the Kaneshie market areas water is sold at designated spots where pipe lines are operated by individual operators. Many health problems encountered by participants of the study who lived in slums and shanty towns, were linked to the water supply.

Similarly households of this study spent a relatively high proportion of their total income on food. Buying already prepared meals from the market for their families meant that they spent a greater part of their food budget on street foods. One of the coping strategies in dealing with the feeding situation and cut down expenditure is to reduce consumption as in the case of majority of participants who eat twice a day. Not having enough to eat, meant that these participants did not get proper nutrients and nutritional requirements although they expended energy as they worked. This had far-reaching health concern for participants' physical growth. It also meant that participants might go hungry for long stretches of time and might fall prey to street gangs and peer pressure, drug syndicates, and those who operated commercial sex businesses

Children living in slums and poor urban settlements do not get proper nutritional requirements, which have consequently led to lower heights and weights than is found in the average child (see 3.3.1, 3.4.7). For instance, due to malnutrition Saka (who always ate kenkey which is full of carbohydrates) looked stunted and much younger than his chronological ages. Kosali was underweight due to hunger as he fended for himself by buying food from the market out of the meagre allowance he was given by his guardian.

The home environment is crucial to the development of participants of this study as the home is the space where the child socializes and receives his or her first training in life. The participants under discussion, lived in squalid conditions, due to their socio-economic status and were compelled against all odds, to improvise with almost all the vital necessities in life, which adversely impacted their social and educational development. Participants were from households who were food insecure and their children are in dire need of medical care and social services. Where they were not able to improvise participants were compelled to use all their earnings to access such services. They virtually paid for everything– they paid for the public place of convenience, water, and for the use of bathhouse facility. At the end of the day, they were left with nothing. Again, the health situation of these participants was related to the availability and quality of food and water, health care and daily necessities, which they often lacked due to lack of money in the household. A background of household poverty and socio-economic survival needs might lead to challenges in participants’ social and educational development.

### 6.2.2 Theme 2: Street work

Theme 2 Street work		
Theme	Categories	Sub-categories
Theme 2 Street work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The street as part of participants’ environment</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Street as a sources of income</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Street vending/trading activity of family</li> <li>Street work as contribution of one’s quota to supplementing family’s income</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personal experiences on the street</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abuse</li> <li>Neglect</li> <li>Vulnerability</li> </ul>

The aim of this theme is to discuss street work of participants as it relates to their social and educational development. I deliberate on this theme in relation to Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi's (2010:442) statement 'street life as labour' by examining the street as a source of income for participants. I also discuss the street as part of participants' environment, and their personal experiences as street dwellers.

The African family has experienced remarkable changes over the years, which can be ascribed to socioeconomic and political restructuring of African societies that accompanied colonization (see 2.3; 3.4.3). Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory proposed that, "social change may occur gradually or may be spurred by sudden, dramatic transformation of economic, political, and social institutions" (see 3.2.1) as happened in Ghana during the period of economic downturn and political instability (see 2.3). It has been established that these structures and policies were not favourable to the well-being of the participants of this study (see 2.3.1.4) as it led to drastic social changes and problems in the life of participants. These events resulted in the poor especially rural dwellers migrating to the cities in droves swelling the numbers of families and their children living and surviving in the streets. This study interestingly revealed that the rural poor in the villages are becoming the urban poor in the slums. Consequentially it led to a widespread incidence of informal sector merchants and workers in the urban areas on a small scale, who dealt in various forms of activities, services and items (see 2.3.4.1). Furthermore employment opportunities in a formal job market have always been limited to a few literates in the society thus pushing the marginalized poor to find and create jobs in the informal sector resulting in the poor participants occupying and dwelling in urban public spaces with their children (see 2.3.4.2).

The use of the streets as both a living space and place of work signifies a state of misery for millions of children, youth and families worldwide (see 2.3.5, 3.4.7). Participants of this study are street families, who despite the presence of dangers in street-life and the absence of protection, are forced to reside in the Kaneshie market area as a result of their low financial status. This affirms Duncan and Brooks-Gunn's (2000) assertion that low income may lead to residences in extremely poor

neighbourhoods characterized by social disorganization and few resources for child development.

Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:576) state that “environmental conditions and events originating outside the family are likely to be the most powerful and pervasive disrupters of family processes affecting human development throughout the life course” (see 3.2.1). It must be noted that the neighbourhoods in which the participants resided were crucial to the development of children as living under squalid conditions and in impoverished environment had physical and social repercussions on those children who grew up under such conditions. It must be noted also, that participants in this study were influenced by events and conditions outside the home, as they made contact with various groups and individuals in the market environment (see 3.4.7).

Much of a child’s behaviour is acquired in the microsystem, though as children grow, the other, more distant, systems will have more influence on them (see 3.2.1). It is apparent that the participants of this study were shaped by all sorts of experiences during their life course. In fact Okoli (2009) states that children are the product of the society in which they live and are raised. It must be noted that the child participants of this study existed and subsisted outside of the physical places that are conventionally attributed to childhood (see 3.4.7, 5.4.2). They were confronted with a wide range of complex and conflicting challenges, as they attempted to negotiate life’s course, in their daily encounters with people, which manifest in their social and educational development (see 3.4.7).

Street life can have extremely damaging effects on street vendors and their children (see 3.4.7). As discussed extensively in chapter 2, (sections 3.5), and chapter 3, (section 4.7) the streets are not safe for participants of this study who face imminent dangers from a variety of sources. Oblivious of these dangers as a result of their ages, these children may fall prey to gangs, drug syndicates, criminals, peers some of whom may be street children, social miscreants and street urchins and those who operate commercial sex businesses (see 3.4.7). This line of reasoning would imply that Dromor, Nyanyo and Kawia could fall prey to men who sometimes touch them

and make sexual advances towards them. Kawia at her age seemed to be unaware of the dangers of being unnecessary friendly to the men who patronize her mother's kenkey and accepting tips from them. This conforms with Hollingsworth's (2012:4) view that children who dwell on the streets have become pseudo-adults at very early ages as they are exposed to and observe behaviours and activities that are not appropriate for their age and are sometimes compelled to engage in them (see 3.4.7). For instance Nyanyo's aunts had been sending her and other siblings to buy beer from the drinking bars for them irrespective of the ages of these children. Although alcohol is not to be sold to children less than 18 years, these laws (like most of the laws that are supposed to protect children) were not enforced so these children were exposed to alcohol at a very tender age which can be dangerous to them.

As long as poverty exists, the problem of living and working on the street will continue. It has been recorded in literature that street work invariably is only the first step of becoming a street child (see 3.4.5, 3.4.6, 3.4.7). It is known that the longer parents keep their children on the street; the more likely it is for these children to adapt to the street and the more likely they will enter into illegal activities (Mercer, 2009). Boys according to reports are likely to involve in petty crime while girls might engage with prostitution (Desai 2010; Mercer, 2009). Those with incomplete schooling and who are self-supporting like Kosali are in a much more vulnerable position and susceptible to any form of manipulations by peers, adults and criminals. Hunger could also push Saka and Kosali to give in to the pressures and "lure of street life" (Mercer, 2009:1).

Child participants of this study had been pushed to the streets – particularly a market place ill-suited for raising children – by factors largely out of their control. Most of the parent participants maintained they did not consciously or intentionally neglect or abandon their children to the woes of the streets. However economic necessity, poverty, rapid migration and urbanization, income disparities, breakdown of the extended family system, single motherhood, large families, parental alcohol use, caregivers getting sick, death of parents and neglect are some of the factors that

drive children out of the home and end up in the streets (Mercer, 2009:37; Orme & Seipel, 2007).

The Bronfenbrenner ecological theory of human development focuses on the complexities of environments and their links to development (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010:15). It has been established through literature that where the alternative is intense poverty for families, parents will compel their children to join them in the streets and marketplace in search of means of livelihood (see 2.3.8, 3.4.5, 3.4.6). Similarly my empirical revealed the same pattern as children are compelled to join parents on the streets due to financial constraints (see 5.4.2.4). Thus children's accounts from the present study indicate that there is a causal relationship between poverty and street work. While urban poverty can be regarded a root cause of street life in the study area, issues such as type of family and parenting style were also inherent contributory factors that perpetuated street dwelling and street work in this study.

Due to economic hardships and increasing urban poverty participants were forced to engage in any type of trading activity irrespective of the risks involved which is in consonance with Bronfenbrenner's claim that "events from exosystems influence individual development indirectly, mediated by microsystems" (see 3.2.1). Thus as a result of poor economic structures and policies participants of this study were engaged in dangerous work to the detriment of their mental health and physical growth. In effect, this may explain why in spite of the hazardous nature of the scrap business lots of the youth who migrated from the northern part of Ghana venture into this business.

Being a porter (*Kaya kaya*) is one of the worst jobs children can perform, because it means carrying heavy loads for other people which requires endurance, strength, and a willingness to sweat (Hollingsworth, 2012:59). Muniru experienced some difficulties as a porter at some point in time. Of significance to him was when the goods he was carting spilled which cost him his earnings – it could be that the load was too heavy. At the time of data collection Kosali had been given instructions on how to use the wheel barrow to carry goods despite the hazardous nature of the porter job. Kosali

already looked frail and fragile and it would be disastrous for him to be given addition task when he is currently finding it difficult to cope with scrap work.

Traditional African beliefs encourage the persistence of child work (Bruscino, 2001) which is perpetuated by traditional perceptions of the family and the corresponding obligations placed on members in that family. Hollingsworth, (2012:62) also expressed a similar view that children in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) work because it is a cultural phenomenon that has existed for centuries in Africa, and added that, although Africa is changing, children are still engaged in working (see 3.4.7). This is because economic activities of children are commonly accepted in society as a base for future development (see 3.4.7) and so participants readily accepted to work for their parents and saw the work they do as playing their role in the family.

According to Hashim (2007) in the contemporary urban settings in SSA and for that matter Ghana, children, are important contributors to the domestic environment of the family as they assist in their parents work supporting Mensa-Bonsu & Dowuna-Hammond's (1996), view that customarily, children are expected to support their parents and guardians in their enterprise of life. Children of street vendors are required to work – as a sense of obligation to one's family – to meet or to supplement their family's income. A typical example is Saka grandmother's kenkey business where almost all members in the extended family were involved. The above-mentioned supports Okoli & Cree (2012) claim that there are “complex inter-weavings of understandings of work, family and kinship”, because work children performed for family members is seen more as an obligation than a choice (see 5.4.2.4). All the children in the study assisted their families in work and chores. In the Ghanaian culture individuals usually subordinate their interest to those of the family group even when that will make them uncomfortable. It does appear therefore that work for the child participants was the fulfilment of family expectation and family pressure.

Parents' decisions concerning their children's work depend on their socio-economic status. Participants of this study were vulnerable to economic crisis and were managing to survive on meagre incomes, as such parents get their children involved in work on the streets so as to contribution to the household (see 3.4.5, 5.4.2.4).

Practically, these children needed to work because the family need money to survive as they pay for virtually everything on the street.

Literature review carried out for this study revealed that poverty compels parents to engage their children in work at a very tender age and be exposed to street lifestyles that are dangerous to their development (See 3.4.5). Mba *et al.* (2009 :4) assert that children (persons less than 18 years) in particular are more vulnerable in a situation of high poverty incidence (see 3.4.4) a view corroborated by Hollingsworth (2012:54) that the first 12 years of life of children living in poverty is likely to be a period characterized by work or other adult activities (see 5.4.2.4). This no doubt reflects the extent to which participants of this study who fall within the ages of seven to eleven were made to work at the insistence of their parent and guardians which had had an adverse effect on the socio-educational development.

Desai (2010:19) reveals that because parents have the authority to control and discipline their children, child abuse becomes institutionalised within the family. With regard to child abuse (especially sexual abuse) within and outside the family settings, it became apparent that not many participants were willing to discuss it, in view of the fact that it is regarded as a taboo to talk about such issues. Thus the subject of sexual abuse, although part of the interviews, was not addressed convincingly and exhaustively (even among the adult participants) because it was seen as a sensitive issue, and discussion was also hindered by the age (seven to eleven) and understanding of the issue by child participants. It seemed therefore that one may not have an idea about the enormity of sexual abuse because, many attempts of sexual abuse stays in the family. For instance it was only one child participant (Kawia) who overheard (eavesdropped) a discussion in her house about her big sister who had been sexually abused (see 5.4.2.8). This could perhaps explain why Kawia's mother was always cross with her (and sometimes rained insults on her) when she felt that Kawia was paying too much attention to the men customers who patronize their kenkey.

It is difficult to elicit information on the facts of sexual abuse as the actions are not always reported and although the female child seems to be the first victim of sexual abuse; information available nowadays indicates that, male victims are also subject to sexual abuse as the way girls do (Desai, 2010). These acts endanger or impair the physical, psychological, socio-emotional, educational and sexual health and development of the child. It is cautioned that a sexually abused child may start taking drugs and alcohol, might injure her or himself, escape from school, and they might have unsuccessful school records (Desai, 2010).

Vulnerability embraces defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress (Desai 2010; see 3.4.7). Part of the vulnerability of participants of this study is the fact that they were raised by families, who were unable to provide adequate food, shelter and support. Furthermore, the child participants worked for their parents because they asked them to work and it was evident that some parents demand more from the children than they actually could perform (see 5.4.2.4). This corresponds with Desai's (2010) claim that children vulnerability also stems from the adult-child power imbalance, where children are obliged to obey the elders and have little say in or no decisions, concerning them. It is indisputable that all child participants in this study suffered abuse of their rights and had been neglected. Although they did not personally suffer any physical and sexual abuse, their circumstances indicated that they were exploited, due to the nature of work and chores they do and time they spend it performing these duties.

It cannot to be refuted that the continued stay on the street by participants would aggravate their exposure to dangers of the streets which offer little more than violence, hunger, exploitation and addiction. One can deduce from the above discourse that the female participants faced imminent sexual exploitation as can be inferred from some of the reports. Kosali and Saka faced hunger and starvation as they continued to be on the street and with no support, they stood the risk of being exploited.

Given the exigency of the situation at the marketplace some children may be compelled to engage in illegal activities especially as they stay long on the street and get used to having money, they might become easy target for street gangs. For instance Kosali was left on his own most of the time to face the risks and shocks on the streets as he went about his daily livelihood and when the going gets tough he might easily yield to the pressures of street life in order to survive. I must state here that it was not only Kosali who faced the imminent dangers of the street, the rest of the participants also stood the risk as they gradually became independent and were confronted with the harsh realities of their continued existence on the streets. Desai (2010:24) further cautions that neglect or abuse, may lead to participants losing their childhood and could further result in susceptibility to neglect, abuse which may lead to problems with mental, psychological and emotional health as well as social relationships as reflected in the way some of the participants related to people in the marketplace (see 3.4.2, 3.4.7, 5.4.3).

Being on the streets further alienated the participants from the possible services and comfort of conventional society and aggravated their burden. Although participants of this study might not see themselves as street children because they lived with family, they were exposed to the same issues and challenges that confront the conventional street children. It is pertinent to note that participants' exposure to street work was only the first move to becoming a street child.

Children who work on the street do not think that they might start sleeping on street one day. Apparently children begin their journey towards taking to the street when they start associating with street peers, earning money on the street, and indulging in other street network activities (Mercer, 2009:38), becoming increasingly more independent and more likely to refuse school, disconnect from their families, and engage in survival strategies including criminal and illegal activities.

### 6.2.3 Theme 3: Educational development

Theme 3 Educational development		
Theme	Categories	Sub-categories
Theme 3 Educational development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Funding</li> <li>• School attendance</li> <li>• Class performance</li> <li>• Educational progress</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for school work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homework</li> <li>• Parent support</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Effect of work on schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time for studies</li> <li>• Ability to read and write</li> <li>• Fatigue and tiredness</li> <li>• Attitude of parent</li> </ul>

As an identified theme viz.: educational development, I discuss the schooling of children of street vendors. I also discuss the various types of support for the children's school work as well as the effect of work on the schooling of children of street vendors.

The World Bank emphasizes that "education is a basic human need", which acts as a crucial step towards meeting further basic needs such as clothing, shelter, health care, safe drinking water and food (see 2.3.3.1). The participants' educational development therefore becomes significant if they have to escape the present socio-economic predicament they face. Education is again seen as a means of increasing the quality of the life of individuals and society, and can protect people from falling into destitution and poverty (see 2.3.3.1). Empirical data however show that the benefits of education and for that matter schooling notwithstanding, not all participants were able to access education fully, due to a number of reasons one of them being funding. So for parent participants ensuring that children enrolled in school was admirable, but whether parents would be in the position to ensure that they completed their education was another issue altogether.

It must be noted that the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the World Bank in Ghana (which included the removal of government's subsidies on education) reduced educational opportunity for the poor and disadvantaged as they now have to pay for schooling (see 2.3.3.4). Again, despite educational reforms such as the fee free policy, capitation grant and the school feeding programme, the direct costs of basic education still remain a serious obstacle to access in Ghana for disadvantaged groups (see 2.3.3.4). For instance the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) reform which was to make education free could not reduce much of the schooling costs to poor households because of indirect costs (see 2.3.3.4).

Empirical data showed that families of participants in this study had to bear the indirect costs of schooling which are even seen as greater obstacle to schooling than tuition fees (see 5.4.2.6). It is further argued that the average education expense incurred by urban school pupils especially transportation and feeding costs are much higher than that of rural pupils (see 2.3.3.4). Given the financial background of the participants of this study, funding of education thus becomes crucial for the participants as parents are mostly not in the position to pay these fees (see 5.4.2.6). Of most urgent concerns is the case of Kosali who, due to lack of resources and sponsorship for his education, missed the beginning of the present academic year and had to wait for the next academic year. If ever Kosali is able to get back to school he will automatically lose an academic year (see 5.4.2.6).

It is sometimes argued that if the perceived costs of the kind of education available outweigh the perceived benefits, it becomes difficult to convince parents to educate their children (see 2.3.3.4). This seemed to be the case of Kosali who was not in school because his guardian was adamant about Kosali not going to school but rather was interested in Kosali's work at the scrap site because to him, that would bring income (see 5.2.3.3, 5.4.2.6).

The poor socio-economic background of children of this thesis, challenged regular school attendance and hindered educational development. Opportunities for attending school regularly and progress in school were likely to be more limited for these children because of their households' poverty level. Empirical data show that parents' decisions about their children's schooling sometimes have adverse effects on the children's education (see 5.4.2.5). Sometimes parents compel their children to skip school for a few days to help raise money for their schooling and up-keep especially when they are sacked from school for non-payment of school fees. This confirms Bronfenbrenner's (1986:723) theory that "events at home can affect the child's progress in school and vice versa" (see 3.2.1). It thus emerged from findings that the practice of withdrawing children from school to work for some time is still endemic, especially among the urban poor. The reality as indicated from the data is that the use of child labour is still common in Ghana.

Although I did not visit schools of child participants and therefore could not establish how much impact work had on their academic performance, the classes they were in indicated that four of them were in classes lower than the prescribed age for the primary grade thereby falling out of their cohort group in school. Failure at school could be attributed to long hours of work which did not allow adequate time for school work which was the case with Dromor, Nyanyo, Kawia and Saka (see 5.4.2.5). It seems very likely these children lost years because they could not keep up with their school work due to a heavy workload on the streets and domestic chores. Given the load of work participants perform, it was obvious that they do not have enough rest and time to do their school homework (see 5.4.2.5).

Children are often given lots of exercises from school to do as homework but the attitudes and reactions of parents towards events in school and their way of perceiving the education and schooling leaves much to be desired (see 2.3.3.4). The majority of parents (five out of six) in this study are not capable of helping and/or monitoring their children's educational progress and to assist with homework due to work load or illiteracy (see 5.4.2.6).

It is also argued that parents' education (especially that of mothers) is crucial because, they are the ones who spend more time with children (Hollingsworth, 2012). Because the educational background of parents of this study is low they tend to neglect their children's school work altogether. Empirical findings show that parents made no attempt to create an environment conducive to learning for their children to study neither do they help their children with their homework (see 5.4.2.6). Given that any gains arising from schooling are tempered by parents engaging children in work, it was important to scrutinize what impact such heavy schedules make on participants' academic performance and educational achievements.

Coming from low income households and having to start chores at very early age, participants in this study did not perceive street trading and work as abusive though it was involving and taxing (see 5.4.2.5). It was uncertain how much time and attention the participants in this study were able to devote to their school work because they were always saddled with work and performed many domestic chores before and after school. Considering the length of time spent on working and household chores, one stands to question when exactly they were able to find time for their studies and school (see 5.4.2.5). Work, without a shred of doubt, is harmful to these children looking at the amount of time and energy spent on these chores (see 5.4.2.5). Long hours spent working may result in fatigue that can impair cognitive and intellectual development.

There are some legitimate concerns about child work because of the physiological and psychological repercussions it can have on participants of this study (see 3.4.7, 5.4.2.5). These concerns stem from the fact that children are still developing and the work they do is quite a physical activity such as lifting and carrying heavy items and walking long distances which affect their bodies (see 5.4.2.4). Desai (2010:11) divulges that: "...even scientific wisdom on child development states that human competence is essentially a function of age".

The participants of this study, were from poor socioeconomic family situations and therefore were engaged in work (Krauss, 2013). Working children are not able to attend school properly, their grades decrease, which could eventually result in some

dropping out of school at a later stage and eventually abandoning school due to poor adult supervision (Mercer, 2009). It was feared that due to non-attendance Kosali might end up quitting school altogether.

Child participants also experience parental and adult interference as they are pulled from school from time to time, for a number of reasons already reported (see 5.4.2.5, 5.4.2.6). It therefore becomes apparent that some abilities would not be developed because these children were deprived of the full benefits of education. The children working to support the family was by extension a confirmation that they had to work to support their schooling. Prolonged street influence on the participants of this study as they continued to labour and spend more time on the street might lead to irregular attendance, faring poorly in school examinations, becoming truant, which might eventually lead to school drop-out. This was, however, not the case with any of the participants in this study, because they were still very young and there was the possibility of this happening as they grow and become used to the intricacies of life on the street.

#### 6.2.4 Theme 4: Social development

Theme 4 Social development		
Theme	Categories	Sub-categories
<b>Theme 4</b> <b>Social</b> <b>development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship with parent</li> <li>• Relationship with siblings, relatives and other adults</li> <li>• Peer relations and friendship</li> <li>• Sharing and cooperation</li> <li>• Time for recreation and play</li> </ul>	

The goal of this theme of social development is to discuss the social interactions and negotiations that go on between children of street vendors, their families and friends and some of the adults that they come across in their environments. Specifically, I discuss situations in which children of street vendors actually live and develop, as

they grow up among family and community support. The children's relationship with parents, siblings, relatives, peers and other adults, are also discussed. I further discuss participants' friendship, sharing and co-operation with others and time for recreation and play. The ecological approach proposes that all aspects of development are interconnected (see 3.2.1). Bronfenbrenner (1974:3) postulates that social institutions such as the family, school and classroom; play group and peer; community and neighbourhood or the world of work and institutions "do not function in isolation, but rather exert mutual influence on the system's other dimensions" (see 3.2.1).

The street life phenomenon is a social problem and Hollingsworth (2012:5) hints that social problems are social because they are so widespread. They alter life trajectories and they affect society itself. Relationships, structures and networks are in different forms and shapes and people are members of many different social circles. These relationships, structures and networks are very important assets that can be relied on by individuals especially in hard times, to facilitate individual goals and aspirations.

The participants of this study were positioned within the environment of their parents and other adults and therefore were influenced by them through their daily interactions. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory "recognizes that human beings operate within connected or nested environments: the home (primary relationships), the community and wider society, in what can be thought of as a constant process of reciprocal interaction" (see 3.2.1).

As has already been stated, the child's family is considered his or her primary social environment (see 3.4.3). Bronfenbrenner (1986:723) states that the family is the principal context in which human development takes place (see 3.2.1). The family performs essential and important functions such as socialization as well as the social, emotional and economic protection of children (see 3.4.3). The role of the family and its members notwithstanding, families in present times are affected by and adapting to changing cultural, economic, and social conditions (Bogenschneider *et al.*, 2012:516).

Parents are the primary socializing agents in the early life of a child so they have profound influence on their children's development (Desai, 2010:211). More specifically, the role of a parent "is to educate and socialize children in ways that are appropriate to their stage of childhood and to prepare children to adapt to a wide range of life roles and contexts they will occupy as they grow" (Bornstein & Putnick, 2012:46). Ideally children are expected to form close bonds with parents, explore the world, and develop harmonious relationships with people outside the family (see 3.4.1, 3.4.3).

The ecological systems theory (see 3.2.1) proposes that every child needs at least one adult (in this context a parent) devoted to his or her health, education and welfare (see 3.2.1) and who will encourage certain behaviour and beliefs and discouraging others among children. This seemed to be absent in the life of Kosali whose guardian was not always present and therefore he might grow up not knowing how to act and think in ways that society deems appropriate as well as not knowing which behaviours are acceptable in the society and which ones are frowned upon (see 5.4.3.5). The other child participants also lacked parental care and control, (see 3.4.7, 5.4.2.1) which means that there was the absence of that one caring adult who would be devoted to their lives as proposed by Bronfenbrenner (see 3.2.1). One must bear in mind that the lives and social contacts of participants of this study revolved around the marketplace which raises issues of indiscipline, and a pugnacious life style. The lack of adult control for the child participants dwelling in the marketplace renders them unsafe and it left them at the mercy of street urchins and social miscreants and exposed them to negative street behaviours.

Fathers have increasingly been absent in family life (Hollingsworth, 2012; Mercer 2009). The fathers of Dromor, Nyanyo, Kawia, and Saka have shirked their responsibilities to ensuring the welfare of their children by abandoning them to their mothers (see 5.4.2.1). Divorce of parents, separation of the parents, and broken homes and family relations are some of the situations that have a direct impact on children's socialization (see 3.2.1, 3.4.4). Hollingsworth (2012:25) also divulged that in Ghanaian society men usually leave their homes and seek employment in other

towns or move to cities to improve their chances of finding higher-paying jobs. This has created a situation whereby there are more female-headed families. Four out of six families in this study were female-headed. Children who are caught up in the above situation are compelled to engage in work along the streets with their mothers, a situation which can eventually lead to the adoption of street life (see 3.2.1, 3.4.3, 3.4.5, 5.4.2.1; table 5.1).

According to Hollingsworth (2012:38) children learn best when they feel safe, calm, protected, and nurtured by their parents but instability in the family setting may expose children to an array of negative developmental outcomes (see 3.2.1, 3.4.4). Bronfenbrenner (1979) “sees the instability and unpredictability of modern family life as the most destructive force to a child’s development” (see 3.2.1). Hollingsworth (2012:38) supporting the above warns that when a child’s attachment process is disrupted, the child’s brain will focus on meeting its survival needs and abandon the emotional and cognitive growth. This is the case of Kosali who was striving to survive on his own, because of abandonment, and also the rest of the children who were neglected because of poverty and lack of parental care (see 5.4.2.1).

Desai (2010) and Twumasi-Danso (2009), claim that because children in Ghana are obliged to respect and be obedient to their parents and adults and have little say in decisions made concerning them, they find it difficult to decline to assist their parents and guardians in work when they were asked to do so. By compelling their children to work, parents of this study put the children in harm’s way as these parents were themselves busy with their daily activities and hardly supervised their children on the street. It is obvious from this study that the parents did not invest efforts and time in rearing their children as a result of socio-economic demands (see 5.4.2.4, 5.4.2.5).

Van der Hoek (2005) mentions that children do not only act and function within their own families. They go to school, play on the street and visit their friends’ homes. Thus although socialization starts in the family, school life and environment are also a part of the socialization process which has a great impact on the social and educational development of children of this study. In ecological terms, the mesosystem portrays a situation where the growing child is taking part in more than

one setting and it comprises those interacting with the child regularly; including teachers, peers, and neighbours, hence playing fundamental roles in the child's life (see 3.2.1).

According to Okoli (2009) "the African kinship system emphasises mutual support and reciprocity amongst kins..., and members, including children, have expected roles and responsibilities in the provision of material and emotional support to one another in a mutually rewarding relationship". This kin network explains why some of the participants of this study lived amongst their grandmothers, uncles, older brothers and aunts (see 5.4.2.1, table 5.1). There is typically a mix of biological children, nieces, nephews, cousins and other relatives in the households of the participants' families. Older family members usually take it as a personal obligation to assist other members.

Extended families are important particularly for poor people, where social safety nets are incomplete or non-existent and households must deal with the harsh realities of severe poverty (see 3.4.7). Just as gathered from empirical data, (see 5.4.2.1) within the extended family network, kinsmen and women provide material and emotional assistance in the absence of public social welfare system (Orme & Seipel, 2007). There existed a strong relationship between participants of this study and the extended family members (see 5.4.2.1, 5.4.2.3). They receive lots of support from extended families members which negates the claim by Orme and Seipel (2007) that the child welfare system in the extended family system is weakened and gradually breaking down. My empirical findings clearly demonstrate Owoaje, Adebisi and Asuzu's (2009:13) assertion that the majority of working children still live with their families which reflect the fact that there is still recognition of kinship in society (see 5.4.2.1). This corroborates Hollingsworth's (2012:22) claim that within the indigenous culture, families still live together, work together, own property together, and raise children together.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) ecological transition where people move from a familiar setting into a less familiar setting or context with different and diverse actors, norms, routines, and social regularities is crucial (see 3.2.1). This transition can be a

turning point that can severely impact on people's psychological, educational, and social development (Seidman & French, 2004:1144). It was therefore of great importance to Kosali and Muniru's fathers having migrated to the south to look for employment or to start up a business to co-habit with people from the same locality (see 5.4.3.5, 5.4.3.6). The most important ties or bonds for these parents are the relationships they are presently sharing with colleagues and contemporaries from the same community.

Participants of this study were exposed to many people and events within the marketplaces, both pleasant and unpleasant. These include significant adults who were supposed to provide resources, advice and other supports needed by child participants for their positive development (see 3.4.3). Some of these adults, however, ill-treated, abused and exploited their vulnerability which sometimes resulted in tension (see 5.4.3.1, 5.4.3.3, 5.4.3.4). Participants of my study had a great sense of attachment, respect and responsibility to their families. Some family members of participants however abused the relevance of networks and misused the services of the members who were not financially sound. Children are the most disadvantaged in this situation. This buttresses Boakye-Boaten's (2008:77) contention that the dominion of childhood has been invaded, threatened, and polluted by adults (as in the case of Nyanyo whose aunt sent her to buy beer despite her age) (see 5.4.2.6).

The ecological theory (see 3.2.1) suggests that in dealing with the child, it is vital to consider events at various levels of the human ecology including the individual, family, peer, school, work, and community settings (Bogenschneider, 1996:128). Peer relations and friendship although a condition that takes place outside the home, have profound effects on the social and educational development of the child (see 3.4.8). Peer influence occurs in different ways. Children whether they work or live on the street, are always within a peer group. It is evident in this study, that the work environment also serves as an arena where child participants interact with one another, cultivate friendship as well as build peer relations (see 3.4.8). Saka's friends were around him at his workplace and Kosali played with friends at the scrap site.

It is generally assumed that families deter their children from committing crime, whereas friends and peers lead them into it (see 3.4.8). In tandem, is the presumption that families protect their young ones, whereas peers increase their likelihood of being harmed (see 3.4.8). The above-mentioned views notwithstanding, indicate that friendships can augment and/or substitute the relationship, support, and other resources that families sometimes fail to provide (see 3.4.8). Findings of this study show that the child participants had a great sense of attachment, respect and responsibility to their small groups which provided them security and protection especially when threatened. This was portrayed in Saka's group whose friends were always around his workplace (see 5.4.3.4).

Being on the street could expose participants of this study to negative peer influence as they would come into contact with street urchins and miscreants who were in the habit of stealing, causing havoc and luring unsuspecting victims. I found a clear case of peer influence and peer pressure here as these children may be compelled to learn some of these street habits and behaviours. For instance Kawia started receiving tips from male customers (some of who are street guys) which could expose her to sexual advances and abuse from these men (see 5.4.3.3). Dromor and Nyanyo sold pure water with other street children and while Dromor and Nyanyo's daily earnings went to their parents, street children who sold for themselves kept their earnings which could send wrong signals to Dromor and Nyanyo (see 5.4.3.1, 5.4.3.2). It appeared that the display of cash by other street children, could tempt the peers who gave their earnings to their parents, to seek avenues for keeping money for themselves on future occasions as well. As a result, participants might become more susceptible to negative influence which can critically jeopardize their social and educational development.

My empirical data revealed that it was particularly through social contact and interaction with peers, that the limited circumstances that children of this study lived in came to the fore (see 5.4.2.9). It was, for instance, at school among his peers that Muniru felt sad and distressed because while others did not have to work, he had to work for his livelihood and sustenance (see 5.4.2.9). It was obvious through interaction with Saka that he would have preferred to be playing with friends (who are

not working) rather than work for his family (see 5.4.2.7). In short, most of the participants of this study wished they did not have to work and feel that people around them looked down upon.

For those who migrated from the north, those are Kosali and Muniru's families going to the south were seen by peers in the villages as somewhat prestigious (see 2.3.6, 3.4.8). This indirectly motivated the families of Kosali and Muniru to leave their villages to seek for greener pastures in the city, to improve and better their life, have a sense of self-worth and gain respect from their families, friends and peers.

Support from friends and families is crucial in the lives of street vendors and their children (see 5.4.2.1). The need for these sources of support binds them together and forges solidarity and co-operation which is often strong and consistent. Thus in the hustle and bustle of cities where people sometimes encounter difficult situations they fall back on such solidarity and co-operation to survive. Mercer (2009) hints that in most situations collective survival becomes essential as against individual survival. My findings also revealed that collective survival plays a crucial role in the lives of participants of this study who are managing to survive under routine adversity on the streets (see 5.4.2.1). Participants' working and living conditions might cause stress and affect them negatively (see 3.4.7, 5.4.2.5). Looking up to one another for assistance and support thus becomes very important to participants' socio-emotional and psychological well-being (see 5.4.2.1). When the above is non-existent people may feel isolated and rejected which has emotional consequences.

One important feature of childhood is play and several key personalities have written about the importance and functions of play among children (Desai, 2010; Fiore, 2012; Hollingsworth, 2010). Notable among them is Jean Piaget (1973) who states that play allows children to practice their competencies and acquired skills in a relaxed, pleasurable way (see 3.3.3.1.v). Piaget (1973) viewed play as a medium to help children advance their ability to learn to think properly (see 3.3.3.1.v). Other developmental experts also have agreed that play is a way for the child to safely explore and seek out new information (see 3.3.3.1.v). Children are expected to develop mentally and physically, by partaking in games that reinforce social values

and the morals of the society (Hashim 2007:914). In accordance with Hollingsworth (2012) my findings show that the setting in which adult-work takes place have become the setting for both play and work for participants (see 5.4.2.7 ). So for the child participants of this study, the market area and the school served as the settings where they played (see 5.4.2.7). This study reveals that children do not have enough time to play when their workload is too heavy (see 5.4.2.7). Thus, they lose out on the benefits of play and so they do not cultivate the ability to explore, invent and create; may not have the stimulation and physical activity they need to develop their brains for future learning. They may be denied the knowledge and skills of how 'rules of the game' can shape their understanding of teamwork, sharing, respect of their peers and valuing rules in general.

Play is not guaranteed in environments like that of the child participants of this study where poverty exists (see 3.3.3.1.v, 5.4.2.7). More often than not other issues for survival such as work becomes the priority. Findings show that because street vendors and their children are too busy trying to work to support their families, the children have very little play-time (some do not at all), hence they play mostly in school and occasionally when they find time at home (see 5.4.2.7). Participants of this study lacked recreation and cultural life because they were restricted to life at the marketplace with its own negative sub-culture which could result in loss of self-respect and dignity.

From the aforementioned, we see different ways in which social relationships exist and observe the importance of social networks. The various circumstances that affect the social development of participants of this study, and how much impact these experiences make on lives of these children, were discussed. It is evident that children do not only grow and function within their own family. They also spent time in school and on the street with peers and other adults in the community which form part of the socialization process of participants of this study. It became clear from findings that support from friends and families were crucial in the lives of participants of this study. Again findings indicated that the relationships that existed between the children and other members in their setting were often reciprocal. Child participants of

this study respected and showed a sense of responsibility to their families, however, due to the nature of their setting, the children scarcely found friends to play with.

### 6.2.5 Theme 5: Future aspirations

Theme 5 Future aspirations		
Theme	Categories	Sub-categories
<b>Theme 5 Future aspirations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work as preparation for future occupation</li> <li>• Schooling as preparation for future occupation</li> <li>• Personal aspirations</li> </ul>	

This following discussion aims to interpret vital aspects of the theme that highlights future aspirations of participants. The section is about the importance of work and education and personal aspirations of children of street vendors.

For many Ghanaians, child work is viewed as an important component of a child's socialization process in that it presumably helps children to get better accustomed to the skills needed later for employment (Krauss, 2013:4). For participants of this study work had become a way of life where they learnt to acquire occupational skills and a trade and therefore saw the work they were doing as preparation for their future occupations (see 3.4.5, 3.4.7).

In a complex multicultural society like Ghana, children are just assigned duties and responsibilities and from those they acquire the knowledge they are expected to get (see 3.4.5). Whatever one is trained to do and learn, is embedded in work (Krauss 2013). Child labour, for most parent participants, was thus seen as equivalent to child training such as in the cases of Kawia and Saka, who learnt how to prepare kenkey, Dromor and Nyanyo who learnt the intricacies and competition of petty trading and hawking and Kosali and Muniru who learnt how to dismantle and extract valuable materials from obsolete gadgets, to sell for profit (see 5.4.2.10, 5.4.3).

These examples indicate that some trade and occupations demand little schooling because such skills and competencies are attained mainly through ‘learning by doing’. The general impression that I gathered was that work helped participants of this study to develop productive competences which are non-existent in school. This finding echoes Okoli’s (2009) assertion that operating in a fiercely competitive marketplace may enhance children’s skilfulness and inventiveness to negotiate and take decisions on how to meet best their daily challenges and expectations and to attain their future aspirations. Thus although participants are in school, they see the skills they are acquiring through work as a preparation for their future. They understand that the skills they are acquiring now will become useful as they grow.

Some participants were somewhat torn between what in their opinion was more important (whether work or school) (see 5.4.2.10). Apparently, work supported the children in school as lamented by Muniru and Kosali (see 5.4.2.10). Kosali was in a dilemma as to what was more important because for him, school and work were all important depending on the situation. According to them it was the work they were doing for their parents that would generate the money they needed to go to school. For them without working for the money they might not have the opportunity to go to school. Yet, it is of essence that participants of this study were not forced to be in the situation where the value of education would be replaced by the attraction of work and economic well-being.

For participants of this study, there were several reasons for the lack of returns on schooling. The unprecedented high unemployment rates for the educated groups and high informal employment rates for the less educated had rendered support to the above assertion that working, as opposed to schooling, was important (Okoli, 2009). Considering the quality of education in SSA and the conditions of some schools in Ghana, it appears that some people are of the opinion that a child would be better off learning a trade than depending on an education (see 2.3.3.4). A case in point is the plight of Kosali’s and Muniru’s parents who reported that after JSS education they could not find any employment so they are struggling with scrap business in Kaneshie market (see 5.4.2.10).

The perceived value of education is a critical motivating factor in children's future aspirations and attitude with regard to schooling. Education is articulated cultural knowledge, which is passed on by generations (see 2.3.3.1). It has allowed participants to fashion out their plans and aspirations and prospects for the future. Education thus allows people to look out on the world, to understand it and to prepare to take their place in it (see 2.3.3.1). In giving the value and importance of education, Rust (2003) elucidates that:

Education may be seen as a process which begins in our earliest years by the transfer from parents to children of the skills required for the survival in life. Those skills, in the poorest communities, may simply be those required to produce food and shelter. As communities become more complicated and sophisticated, this education becomes institutionalised. The process then involves the transfer of a given culture pattern from one generation to the next, including patterns of behaviour and the training of society's leaders, as well as teaching the skills required for the future. These skills include earning, or making a living and hopefully, improving the standard of living from one generation to the next.

Parents' (especially the poor ones) lack of interest in formal education is sometimes due to low perceived benefits and lack of relevance in education (see 2.3.3.4). It follows therefore that the premium placed on education is higher when people are convinced that education will add value to their lives in terms of better job opportunities and waged employment or that education would eradicate poverty and advance their social status among others (see 2.3.3.4). My findings show that child participants attend school with the anticipation of acquiring knowledge and skills for their future life (see 5.4.2.6). Parents were of the view that school helps to prepare their children for what they aspire to become in future (see 5.4.2.6).

The participants in this study valued education and school but the truth remained that they could not have been in school without the income they make from work; therefore, for these participants work and school were inter-connected (see 5.4.2.10).

Although not in school, Kosali was working to raise money for his education in the next academic year (see 5.4.2.10). These children realised the potential value of working for their career enhancement in later life. Kosali was hopeful, optimistic and enthusiastic about going back to school (see 5.4.2.10). Kosali's attitude and view about schooling revealed that education had not lost its value for him.

It is important to note that the views of participants on what is important (school or work) manifested in contrasting ways. All child participants were more interested in schooling than in the work their parents had been engaging them in, because according to them school would prepare them for better careers as they saw in the lives of those who were educated. Even Kosali expressed his desire for school, because according to him he had seen that those who were educated were better off economically (see 5.4.2.10). Participants believed that there were better job opportunities for those who went to school to become economically independent (see 5.4.2.10).

Some parents thought that work was more useful and therefore saw the jobs of their children as skill-building, and deemed it to be the crucial first steps toward their occupations although they also go to school (see 3.4.5, 5.4.2.10). To them if the children worked, they were likely to get the money needed for their schooling (see 2.3.3.4.i, 5.4.2.10). It is obvious that the relationship between work and education is a complex social phenomenon, which must be looked at critically from many perspectives if suitable policies are to be developed that can adequately address the needs and aspirations of these children and their families (Okoli, 2009; Okoli & Cree, 2012).

For participants of this study planning one's life and discussing future dreams and aspirations may be significant and important survival strategies and perceived indicators of personal success (Payne, 2004). It is believed that experiences and contacts in childhood affect the development of attitudes and aspirations of children. The participants' experiences of home, school, work, social relationships, imbued them with the necessary skills required for their dreams and aspirations for the future (see 2.3.3.4, 3.4.5).

It was vital to discuss with the children of this study how they managed to cultivate a sense of confidence and self-esteem and hope for a brighter future (see 5.4.2.10). Such deliberations awakened the aspirations and dreams of children of street vendors and gave them the assurance that there is hope for the future. Thus despite their poor socio-economic status and background, I saw in the children and even their parents what the critics Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2013:17) refer to as the urge for “ways of living that hold value, the refusal to be negated, the capacity to live, withstand and survive in the context of such privations” (see 3.4.7).

Indeed, discussing their future dreams and aspirations constituted an important part of the interactions with the participants (see 5.4.2.10) which created an enabling environment that acted as a driving force especially for children, who were anxious to communicate their desire to attain something better in life. So for them to have a better future, they were willing to work and learn now. Participants of this study believed that what they were doing then was crucial in advancing their individual goals and aspirations (see 5.4.2.10).

In accordance with Payne (2004) I detected that many of the plans the children had about their choice of future occupation (see 5.4.2.10) focused on fulfilling conventional ambitions by aspiring to enter mainstream occupations (Payne 2004:64). Apart from Nyanyo’s mother who listed businessman as one of the jobs she wished for her child, the rest of the parents listed jobs you would find in the mainstream occupation (see 5.4.2.10). This explains the notion people have about mainstream occupation that it guarantees job security and financial stability.

Although the idea of school suggests economic benefits and that after graduation one will be in the position to secure employment with better remuneration, child participants of this study saw it as a far-fetched reality (see 5.4.2.10). This is because sometimes, the challenge of realizing a dream can become a daunting one. It is feared that Kosali and others might become apathetic, surviving on dreaming alone as they continued to be on the street. Despite the importance dreaming holds for children of street vendors sometimes apathy on the part of many of them and their parents can actually stifle the zeal and zest in striving to achieve them. During the

interview I sensed a degree of apathy on the part of Kosali's guardian (see 5.4.3.5). Some of the aspirations of the children of street vendors may be out of reach as they continue to spend most of their productive times in the street working rather than studying and doing their homework.

This theme has focused principally on the extent to which participants' (children's and parents') perception towards work and school may be instrumental in maintaining or breaking cycles of poverty for the children as well as their attitudes and aspirations for their future life. Participants of this study might have dreams and plans for their future but their background of poverty and socio-economic survival needs and multidimensional contexts might force them to abandon those dreams. Given the wrong signals, children may be motivated to seek avenues for pursuing economic activities to the detriment of their education.

In a nutshell, my findings support Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) (see 3.2.1), which indicates that children require and deserve five basic needs for positive development: "a personal one-on-one relationship with a caring adult; a safe place to learn and grow; a healthy start and a healthy future; a marketable skill to use after graduation; and a chance to give back to peers and community".

### **6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In this chapter I had attempted to interpret the findings of the empirical investigation in terms of five themes that were generated (see 5.4.4) to answer the research questions as presented in chapter 1 (section 4.1). The aim of this study was to investigate the social and educational challenges in the development of the children of street vendors. Undoubtedly, the investigation of how the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affected their socio-educational development became clearer as I explored the crucial role family plays in the socialisation of children. Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory (1979) was the framework that helped in analysing the themes. The theory indicated that much of a child's behaviour is learned in the microsystem, though as the child ages, the other, more distant, systems (meso, exo, macro, chronosystems) will have an increasing influence. Again

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory on mesosystem and exosystem, postulates that events and conditions outside the home environment affect children and the participants experienced these influences as they mingled with various groups and individuals in the market environment.

Education was again, highly valued by children and their families, but although compulsory at the basic level, it was not entirely free and therefore children had to work to augment the indirect cost of education. The impact of work on the participants was vital to this study because as gathered through literature and empirical findings, many school going children actively work in the poor urban settings. For most SSA families work entails teaching children with real world skills, knowledge and cognitive development required to secure their livelihoods as adults. Some of the participants believed that street work exposed them to positive learning opportunities which enhanced their school performances.

As one of the aims to be investigated, the discussions emphasized parts of the street life of participants and how these affected their socio-educational development; and what their strategies were to survive there. It came to the fore that street-life may be full of dangerous experiences and risks for street vendors and their children. It is argued that the longer participants of this study stayed on the street, the easier it became for them to switch to illegal sectors. Participants of this study discussed their dreams and aspirations for the future and according to Payne's theory (2004) in telling their dreams, they were indirectly expressing their dissatisfaction with life on the street, despite maintaining that the street currently offers them with a better option.

The whole empirical study was interesting and intriguing and provided me with an insight into the views and perceptions of participants and also provided rich information that allowed me make meaning of the street life and street vending phenomenon. Participants expressed their views on various issues related to street life, which once explored, examined and analysed, were invaluable in coming to a profound understanding of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana. I realised that these children were not mere passive recipients of

knowledge and skills but they have well developed ideas and information which revealed their consciousness of their settings and their zeal to excel despite their present circumstances.

In chapter 7, I summarize and synthesize key issues emerging from the study. Conclusions and recommendations from the findings of the study and areas for further research, are also highlighted.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 6, I presented an interpretation of the findings of the study according to the five themes that emerged during coding to provide answers the socio-educational challenges and developments of children of street vendors in relation to the research questions, theoretical framework and literature studies.

This final chapter serves to summarise all the information garnered during literature review and empirical investigation conducted with twelve participants and synthesizes the key issues to arrive at a conclusion. The puzzle was to understand how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally as they live and work with their parents on the streets and why there is a dearth of information on this category of street dwellers. To this extent, the purpose of this study is to explore the socio-educational development of children of street vendors in Ghana. The chapter also presents recommendations from the findings of the study and highlights areas for further research. The thesis concludes with a reflection on the overall research process, and discusses the strengths and limitations of the study.

In order to carry out a meaningful research an exhaustive literature study was conducted prior to the field work. Thus a review of the relevant literature, with specific regard to the socio-educational development of children of street vendors was presented in chapters 2 and 3 while the data collection process was presented in chapter 4 and the data collected deliberated upon in chapters 5 and 6. In addition, the discussion provided evidence to support the theoretical framework that was used as a lens to analyse an understanding of the phenomenon researched. The inferences made and conclusions drawn in chapter 7 are a consequence of my analysis and interpretation of data presented in chapters 5 and 6 respectively which culminate in answering the research questions as posed in Chapter 1 (see 1.4.1). The thesis is expounded in seven chapters, closely linked to the research objectives.

## **7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS**

A brief overview is provided of the preceding six chapters of this study, highlighting key areas that were of significance and relevance in this research. This overview serves as the basis for the ensuing discussion of the synthesis of the findings and recommendations.

### **7.2.1 Chapter 1**

Chapter 1 as the background of the study, introduced the area of study and presented details on the rationale, the research problem, and the research questions as well as the study goal and objectives of the study. Definitions of the key concepts are provided and paradigmatic approaches of the study are clarified. An introductory review of literature, as well as theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, was outlined in order to establish some of the factors that led to the socio-educational challenges of children of street vendors. This chapter also mentioned the research design, research methodology, the ethical considerations, and quality criteria for this study.

### **7.2.2 Chapter 2**

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature. The literature introduced the Ghanaian context and highlighted a brief geographical and historical background as well as relevant information on Ghana. I then moved on to review the socio-economic, political, educational and other related issues that prevailed before, during and after independence in Ghana. This background information provides a backdrop that enables the reader to understand why street vendors engage their children in work, and the consequences of street life phenomenon on the development of the child. These were followed, by a review of empirical studies on the factors that contributed to the proliferation of street vending and trading activities and the street life phenomenon in Ghana. The idea was to achieve an understanding of the perspectives of the phenomenon under investigation by reviewing the following key

factors: informal sector economy, urbanization, unemployment, overpopulation, migration, poverty posited by different individuals, experts, organisations, and institutions within my field of enquiry.

### **7.2.3 Chapter 3**

Chapter 3 continued with the literature review begun in chapter 2 but is focused on theoretical, conceptual and contextual frameworks in which the study is grounded. The framework of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) was used as a lens to analyse an understanding of socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors. Literature based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is explored looking at the position of the child at various levels of the ecological systems and how these impact on children of street vendors and the implications thereof. The development of the child as a conceptual framework for this study, was discussed focusing on Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1973). The chapter concluded with the detailed presentation of the various contexts involving children of street vendors.

### **7.2.4 Chapter 4**

The chapter commenced by explaining the methodological position of the study by highlighting the research assumptions and paradigm and focusing on the methodology and methods for engaging children as research participants. A qualitative case study research approach, which culminated in the formulation of themes to provide an in-depth explanation of the socio-educational development of children of street vendors, was pursued as the most apt approach. The study was conducted and data analysed within the interpretive paradigm. The chapter further discussed thoroughly the research design, methods, instrumentation, and selection of participants, the strategies employed in data collection, analysis and interpretation. The chapter shed light on the research area and context; explained the procedures used in analyzing the field data; issues of credibility and trustworthiness and the

justifications for adopting that approach. The chapter concluded by addressing in detail the ethical considerations and challenges of the research process.

### **7.2.5 Chapter 5**

Chapter 5 analyzed the empirical results of the field research in order to answer research questions posed at the beginning of the study. Data collected during fieldwork was analysed according to each case in order to present the findings that were produced in this study. The anecdotal narrative of gaining access and data collection and the biographical data of each individual participant were discussed. A subsequent discussion of the key findings based on data gathered as well as a description of how the data were organised followed. Then the procedure for identification of themes and categories in order to make sense and give meaning to data in Chapter 6 and to answer the research questions in Chapter 7 were next. I included verbatim quotations and reflections contributed by participants during our interactions as I present the analysis of findings the study.

### **7.2.6 Chapter 6**

Chapters 6 addressed participants' understanding and interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, and the ways in which contextual issues both within and external to the children's environment interacted in a complex way to perpetuate their condition. The interpretation of five themes and various categories generated with reference to the research questions, theory and literature review meaningful and relevant to the discussion of the results of this study were presented. This involved the process of attaching meaning and significance to data I collected to establish how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally. I drew on the views of both street vendors and their children in the research community to establish similarities and differences in perception in order to present a balanced view of issues. The summary of report on results of this study will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

## 7.3 SUMMARY

This section summarizes the literature findings in chapter 2 and 3 and empirical findings in chapters 5 and 6.

### 7.3.1 Summary of literature findings

Political, socio-cultural and economic changes and other related factors that took place in Ghana after independence and over the past 50 years shook the very foundation of almost all sectors with the effect permeating various facets of development. Economic stagnation, unstable political climate, poor implementation of educational reforms, migration, unemployment, and rapid urbanization and over-population, massive brain drain by Ghanaians professionals, and other external shocks worsened the situation leading to the proliferation of informal trade/street trade in Ghana.

As a result of the worsened economic situation, Ghana was compelled embark upon Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) which impacted negatively on other sectors such as education, health, politics, housing, migration, urbanization, employment, amongst others and created conditions which contributed to the proliferation of street trade in Ghana. The majority of the people for whom sending a child to school became a difficult choice because of the consequences for economic survival either withdrew their children from school or made them work alongside schooling.

There had been several educational reforms in Ghana to improve the educational system especially at the basic level. Notable among these were the 1987 education reforms; the free compulsory universal basic education initiative (fCUBE); and lately capitation grants scheme (CGS) and the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP). These reforms were to make education responsive to the human power needs of the country. Despite these reforms, lack of access to basic education is concentrated among poor such as street vendors for whom indirect costs of schooling are

unaffordable. These households sometimes engage their children in work while schooling in order to generate resources to support the costs of schooling.

Poverty is complex, multidimensional and interwoven. Poverty has social and political as well as economic dimensions. Global crisis, economic stagnation, SAPs, urbanisation, migration, conflicts and political instability has caused much poverty and inequality affecting street vendors and their children. Many of the economic activities available to the urban dweller provide inadequate income to enable them to rise above the poverty line rendering them vulnerable (Ashong & Smith, 2001:35). The vicious cycle of poverty thus leaves families broken; children abandoned or compel them to send their children to work whiles going school.

Individuals required protection against violence, abuse, neglect exploitation, harmful traditional and cultural practices, discrimination and injustice since these create obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights especially by children (Mba *et al.*, 2009). The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) CRC and the 1992 constitution of Ghana seek to advocate that the child as an individual has rights to privacy, respect, reputation, honour, dignity and that, the child is eventually able to exercise rights (Christensen & James, 2008; Daiute, 2008; Morrow, 2010; Munoz, 2010). Regrettably children become victims of child labour, child abuse and neglect, child trafficking, deprivations, sexual exploitation, severe physical beatings and smacking, emotional abuse, killings and are subject to the effects of armed conflict and the lack of access to education, health care and safe water and sanitation (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008; Marks, 2012; Umar, 2009; Windborne, 2006). Education is a basic human right and although Ghana recognized the importance of education with the Education Act of 1961 and the Constitution of 1992, many children in Ghana do not have access to education.

Childhood is supposed to be a time to play, to become educated and socialize (Brooks, 2008:9; Desai, 2010). Although children are to be protected, cared for, and trained in a skill that will be useful to their adult life, for many children in Ghana, this has not been the case as factors mentioned above have tremendously weakened the

ability of social institutions in the Ghanaian societies to sustain the values and child care practices. Many children in Ghana work in hazardous conditions and it invariably interferes with their education and is harmful to their health and full development (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 1997; Krauss, 2013; Mba *et al.*, 2009).

Unfortunately, socioeconomic and political restructuring after colonization negatively affected the family as a social unit, resulting in declining extended family, rising divorce/separation rates, and single parent family (Desai, 2010; Hollingsworth, 2012; Mulinge, 2002). These social and structural changes on parents (especially single mothers, who are left to cater for the children) affect children indirectly. While parents may seem to have a positive attitude towards schooling (Akyeampong *et al.*, 2007; Hashim, 2011) children had to be withdrawn from school to work to supplement family income because of economic hardship.

Many children in Accra and for that matter Kaneshie, live with their parents, do not attend school regularly because they work and/or sell for their parents on the streets. Life on the streets consists of a nearly complete absence of privacy, education, nurture, and security, a situation that places subsistence and survival beyond the grasp of children who spend the majority of their developmental years in the streets (Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2010; Trussell, 1999). They live in environments not suitable for human habitation (Hollingsworth, 2012; Mizen & Ofosu-Kusi, 2013). Literature further indicates that street working children spend most of their time on the street with minimal supervision from parents and guardians and no access to any social or recreational activities. Most of these children carry heavy loads, work from dawn to dusk, sleep very late and little and wake up very early to work before going to school. It is argued however that, while street life and street activities may be perceived as diverting the child attention from school, they also provide positive survival skills that can be useful once the child grows up (Densley & Joss, 2000).

Peers take on a significant role in shaping behaviour when the growing child's dependency on parent the shift to a fully autonomous adult (Grosbras *et al.*, 2007). Friendships are important, and children learn much from spending time together with each other. Although peers are blamed blatantly for the onset of risk behaviours and

peer-derived influences, it is argued that it can have both both negative and positive consequences (Grosbras *et al.*, 2007; Maxwell, 2002; Ryan, 2000).

On the whole the literature overview supplied useful information that provided insight into what has already been researched about the topic. The literature has demonstrated that several factors, events and conditions led to proliferation of street life and street vending and provided vital information, which is very useful in understanding the street phenomenon. It gave an understanding of the different issues and nuances that were relevant to this study.

### **7.3.2 Summary of empirical findings**

Participants of this study are street dwellers living in abject poverty. An important finding was the family composition and household setting of participants given the fact that the family represent the most important facet of Ghanaian traditional life (Hollingsworth, 2012:26). Apart from it being the primary setting where human development takes place, it also serves as a main source of economic wellbeing and welfare support for its members. Six families who participated in the study, consisted of five single parents while one family is married. Although both parents of the children are alive, they were not staying together and mothers had to take care of their children alone on the street without their fathers to support. Most of them are single parents living with other relatives in the same house or compound and who assist them in taking care of their children such as paying for their school fees, health care issues and assisting with homework.

Participants live in wooden structures and kiosks and children live with their parents in the same room and depending on the temperature in the rooms, some use the verandas of stores, pavements and open spaces available as sleeping places and as where they study and do homework because there is available light outside. Most of the households lack access to basic facilities, amenities, and utilities and experience food insecurity, therefore spend a greater portion of their income on these services.

Parents who took part in the study were into petty trading and other businesses by the roadside and almost all members living in the various households were engaged in one form of economic activity or the other. All children who participated in the study helped their parents with the work, run errands and performed household chores. Children in the context of extreme poverty working on the streets of Kaneshie market and are a commonplace. The children who participated in this study also started to work very young. Although the children claimed they enjoyed the work they did for their parents and family and that they were performing their duties as part of the family obligation, they indicated that the activities they embark on were strenuous.

The very nature of the tasks and jobs exposed these children to great danger as the work they did was strenuous, straining, time and energy sapping. The children carried very heavy loads and heavy equipment in their hands and on their heads, ran errands and they all had to walk a long distance to fetch water and throw rubbish away. Some use very sharp objects, gargets and equipment. They ran around to scavenge for customers and scraps metals. Participants were compelled to compete with vehicles and pedestrians and other sellers on congested roads as well as the market areas. Although the children start the day's activities with energy after sometime they look frail and tired as the day's activities take a toll on them. The children always looked unkempt and were shabbily and shoddily dressed. They were at the mercy of the weather sometimes in the scorching sun and in the rain.

Apart from two parent participants who had completed Junior Secondary School, one had never been to school and the rest dropped out at a point. All the children except Kosali were in school. All the parents also agreed that schooling was important and the children claimed they prefer school to work. Most of them got tired by the time they were about to do their homework and sometimes forgot to do their homework. The children sometimes skipped school because of exhaustion, sickness or when parents asked them to stay home for a few days to help raise money for their schooling and up-keep. The children also had friends in school and within the neighbourhood who they play with as and when they are able to find time because they were always busy with work or household chores.

The children did not report about any form of child abuse (be it physical or sexually) but mentioned that they were caned in school and at home as a means of correcting them when they went wrong. They also claimed to have seen or heard of stories of people who had been abused within the community. Some especially the females reported that sometimes some of the men and boys who patronize their wares tried to touch them and make sexual overtures towards them and they had to stop them.

The Kaneshie market area where these children live and study is volatile, unsafe and noisy. For most of the parents being on the street is a last resort because that is the only economic activity readily available that they can engage in. Street vendors and their children are compelled to work in horrid labour conditions. The streets of Kaneshie are full of accidents, stealing, fighting and harassment by city authorities. There are so many unscrupulous drivers and people in the neighbourhood. They fight; steal and abuse people especially children and engage in fraudulent activities.

Both parents had better aspirations for their children and children also had better aspirations for themselves although they all said different things concerning what their expectations were. Although in the opinion of the children schooling was more important, some of them were in a dilemma because for them work supported their schooling as such they did not know how to separate the two. The children expressed the fact that they had gained some skills that could be ascribed to the work they were doing.

I observed that street life in its entirety, is complex with a variety of children in very different contexts all over the Kaneshie marketplace, an example of evidence of grave socio-economic deprivation and child poverty. My interaction provided information about the social interactions that exist between street vendors and their children, these children and other members of the settings, their work, and vulnerability of life on the street and aspirations among others.

Collecting empirical data made it possible to record social phenomenon directly and also gave firsthand insight into the kinds of activities participants engaged in which were relevant to the study. In line with the literature, what emerged from the participants show that the conditions both within and externally to the home environment of the child, prompted their engagement in work.

The contribution of empirical data to this study is that they offered an opportunity for vulnerable people to voice their concerns in a way that might give in-depth insights into a fuller definition and understanding of the street life problem and that might help to bring positive changes to the street life phenomenon.

#### **7.4 RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS**

The following section provides the research conclusions in accordance with questions formulated in chapter 1 of the study (see 1.4.1). I begin by answering the sub-questions and close with the answering of the main research question. Sub-question 4 however will be addressed in the recommendation section.

The primary research question was the following:

What are the social and educational challenges in the development of children of street vendors?

The sub-research questions that guided this study are as follows:

- 5) What is the nature and prevalence of children of street vendors in Ghana?
- 6) How do the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development?
- 7) How does life on the street affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors?
- 8) What recommendations from the findings of this study can be made to mitigate the socio-educational problems that children of street vendors experience in their development?

#### **7.4.1 Sub-question 1: What is the nature and prevalence of children of street vendors in Ghana?**

This thesis explored an aspect of the street life phenomenon in Ghana. Children of street vendors fall under the wider phenomenon of street children which is a major problem worldwide. Literature shows that there is no clear definition of street children and that the factors leading to the street life phenomenon are overlapping and synergistic. Interactions with participants of this study as well as literature illustrates that the causes of streetism are varied and complex. Street children are not a homogeneous group but rather a heterogeneous population that are difficult to define and classify. Although UNICEF currently estimates the number of street children to be between 150-170 million worldwide there has been some controversies about the number.

Indeed, in any country, the numbers of street children are a small fraction in relation to the total number of children living in poverty and in misery. Whilst the large number of street children is seen as one of the most alarming social problems of children in the world, it is argued that it only is the 'tip of the iceberg' of a much larger number of poor children, who live with their families in dire circumstances that compromise their development.

Street children worldwide, have been widely researched. In Ghana, the multifaceted realities of street living and the diversities of experiences and responses to street life (from the perspective of the street children) have been acknowledged, extensively studied and considered in intervention programmes designed by government and non-governmental agencies. Thus while much of the literature has focused mainly on street children, it is worth noting that a number of researchers have identified the different and diverse categories of children living on the streets. It is now being accepted, that the phenomenon encompasses a large group of children who find themselves in similar circumstances as the 'typical street children'. As this thesis has shown, street children and for that matter street life, manifest in an extremely diverse category with people especially children experiencing street life in contradictory and complex ways.

It is evident that research on children of street vendors is a grey area and information is scanty. Care should be taken so that children whose characteristics fall outside the street child's stereotype do not become invisible to policy-makers, stakeholders, service-providers, and the public in general. It would be erroneous to focus on the street child as representing child poverty because it deflects attention away from the much larger population of other children, who fall under very low-income families. There are now records of a group people who can be referred to as street families managing to eke out a living on the streets with their families. All participants of this research are living with their families on the street. It is realized that addressing the issue of children of street vendors is but one of the necessary components to fully comprehending the complexity and multiplicity of different factors of the street life phenomenon. Investigating the socio-educational development and challenges of children of street vendors is thus actually addressing only a minute aspect of the challenges faced by children of street vendors and even street children as a whole.

#### **7.4.2 Sub-question 2: How do the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development?**

Both literature and empirical findings show that there are street families who live on the street alongside their families. Economic stagnation, social disintegration, rural-to-urban migration, urbanization and urban poverty, unemployment, high birth rates, inadequate housing, and unequal distribution of income and the absence of government assistance programmes are amongst the conditions that changed and affected the family system in Ghana. Family breakdown, through domestic violence, separation, divorce, have plunged families deeper into poverty and despair resulting in single-parent households (particularly mothers) to carry the economic burden of caring for their children alone.

It has been established, that where the option available to families is intense poverty, parents will always engage their children in work in order to supplement their means of livelihood. Child participants of this study were from poverty-stricken families. They are children of migrant families, whose parents had low education status, and

live in poor neighbourhoods. These families live in impoverished households in urban slums and lack access to basic economic and social amenities and facilities which alienate them from the services and comforts of conventional society. Families of these street working children are only barely able to meet their basic needs. Their days are consumed by providing for their most immediate needs. Families of participants are large and single mothers head the majority of these households. The families are food insecure yet it is these children who need food the most.

Parents with weaker purchasing power are compelled to use their children as a source of income support to augment their already precarious situation which undoubtedly results in worse situation of the children as well. The parents and guardians responsible for the welfare of children of this study were most often unable to provide within their means and abilities, the necessary conditions of livelihood for their children's development especially in the face of inadequate formal credit and a minimal social welfare.

This study revealed that the extended family system and network is still relevant in the lives of poor urban dwellers. For child participants of this study work carried out for family members seemed more of a duty. The family circumstances of Dromor Nyanyo, Kawia and Saka show that the extended family network continues to play a significant role in the socialisation of children and an important role in maintaining family linkages even in modern times. Findings confirmed that during hard times the extended family provides many forms of security and protection, and provides material and emotional assistance for members especially in the absence of a public social welfare system. Some participants live within a compound with other family members and relatives who offer numerous kinds of supports.

Adult support, encouragement and guidance are usually required for a child to be able to develop to his or her full potential. Although families are the most important source of social support for children, parents' inability to provide for children compel parents to engage their children in work and eventually pushing them into adopting life on the streets. Given the already impoverished condition of children of street vendors, it must be noted that it only takes one small problem or trigger within the

household to cause any of these children to leave home to gravitate towards the streets. For instance food insecurity, may result in a children leaving school for the streets.

This research was carried out in order to highlight the plight of children of street vendors and thus understanding the family circumstances of these children is necessary in order to fully comprehend the economic, social and educational challenges they face as they dwell and work for their parents on the streets. The perspectives of participants will help to design intervention programmes to respond to the perculiar needs of the various types of street dwelling children and their families, and to ultimately prevent the next generation of children from ever taking to the street.

#### **7.4.3 Sub-question 3: How does life on the street affect the socio-educational development of children of street vendors?**

Streetism represents a rapidly growing socio-educational challenge to the entire world and poverty is the underlying cause for the proliferation of street vendors and their children living and working on the streets. The children's social environment reflects the severity of the conditions under which poor people live coupled with societal neglect, and lack of effective social policy.

Being on the street signifies that the street vendors and their children live a life on the margin of society. Empirical findings indicate that participants of this study live in a highly deprived environment without the basic necessities of life such as public services, and community programs among others. Findings show that street life is full of dangerous experiences and risks for street vendors and their children and denies these children of benefits that most 'normal' children enjoy and are by right entitled to. They are exposed to social or environmental circumstances that might adversely disrupt their social and educational development. Findings show that children do not eat enough, sleep enough, and do not have access to adequate health services. These factors have severe impact on their schooling. The sleeping, working and recreational places for participants are highly insecure and they are

exposed to several hazards. There is also the problem with physical health and development of these children. Participants of this study were restricted to the marketplace with its negative sub-culture and loss of self-respect and dignity.

One of the pitfalls of living on the street is that education is ignored. These children do not attend school regularly in the way the other children do owing to the fact that they work for their parents alongside schooling. This could result in the disruption of their education.

It is unfortunate that society sometimes perceives children on the streets as criminals and sees them as a nuisance that need to be driven away from the street. Much of the literature has however confirmed that it is untrue that children found on the streets are criminals and delinquents. Rather they render invaluable services to the general public and are indirectly involved in nation building. However as they stay longer on the street they may be faced with some barriers and challenges which could prevent them from escaping street life. Street life increases one's vulnerability and may deny one of negotiating power, making it impossible for street children to unlock their potential. For instance when they get used to having money and start becoming financially independent, children might engage in illegal activities in order to earn more money and might become an easy target for street gangs. Therefore, the longer children of street vendors stay on the street, the easier it becomes for them to switch to illegal sectors.

#### **7.4.4 Primary research question: What are the social and educational challenges in the development of children of street vendors?**

The development of children of street vendors fell short as a result of their circumstances, which have affected them socially and educationally. Most developmental changes occur during childhood where the child has to imbibe social norms and behaviour required to operate in the social world, such as the family, school, neighbourhood and work life. The research found that poverty disrupted the social and educational situations which affected the child's social life. As long as

children's time is used for work, rights to education and socialization, as well as to play are undermined.

Participants of this study interact within nested sets of contexts such as the family, extended family, peer and community. Thus for participants of this study, various relationships in their (social) settings existed. Participants reported on these relationships and how those relationships affected them. Although child participants of this study participate in family life, they are mostly engaging in work for parents or guardians. They need to cultivate friendships, join social groups, have role models and confidantes, but unfortunately this is generally not the case. Their busy schedules leave them with no time and space to explore such opportunities and adventures.

Although it is argued that children are able to learn a number of survival techniques that help them to adapt to the street, given the ages of participants of this study, they may end up looking for attention in inappropriate places bearing in mind that the street has its own culture be it negative or positive. As they grow and get lured and enticed by the activities of the street, some will end up engaging in anti-social behaviour or criminal acts in order to survive especially for those whose expectations and aspirations are not met. Meanwhile, the negative influence street life has on psychological development, education or future opportunities, cannot be overlooked.

Child participants of this research were unprotected and unsupervised. This could be attributed to the ignorance of parents of the need to provide proper child care for their children; or that the workload of parents especially that of mothers, leaves them with little time; and also as a result of the continued absence of the fathers in the lives of these children. Most of the fathers were absent in the upbringing of the child participants. Some participants had been neglected by their guardians and left to their fate at the marketplace. Participants of the study share the same locality and interact daily with the stereotype street children, who were seen in every corner of the market and on the streets. In fact, they are their peers and neighbours who interact, share recreation ground and play together with them on a daily basis. Kosali seemed to be a typical street child as he was almost always on his own.

Since children of street vendors spend most of their time on the street, they witness and are likely to be involved in common phenomena that characterise urban cities. There is traffic congestion, violence, accidents, and high exposure to pollution of different kinds on the streets. These children are predisposed to obnoxious behaviour viz.: bickering, arguments, wrangling, petty squabbles, heckling, swearing, hurling abuse, fighting and all sorts of street-networking activities. Children of street vendors are exposed to dangers such as child abuse (physical and sexual), juvenile delinquency, premature parenthood, prostitution and they are susceptible to HIV-AIDS and STDs.

Education is widely recognized as a public good and it is argued that education is a catalyst for unleashing potential, widens ones horizons and future employment prospects. Education thus becomes a major factor to be considered in any effort at reducing poverty in Ghana and alleviating the plight of street dwelling children such as children of street vendors.

Although governments have made strides in the educational sector, the formal education system often fails to provide all primary-aged children with schooling access. Children who can be described as "hard-to-reach" (eg. orphans, street children, child soldiers or indigenous groups) are more likely to be victims of educational exclusion.

Work incontrovertibly impeded the school performance of the participants. Thus work impaired their educational and intellectual development, because the work they performed left them with little time and energy for learning. Although parents acknowledged that they were aware of the effect of work on their children schooling, most of them still made them work and attributed that decision to the financial situation they find themselves in.

It is assumed that some parents especially those from poor socio-economic background are too ignorant of the value of schooling. Participants had little time for their studies and homework while work and household chores made them tired. The

result of engaging in work is that some children may experience failure and discontinuation in the course of their schooling, which has implications for school completion and motivation for education. Parent participants should be adequately resourced so that they would not engage their children in work but would rather free the children to be able to concentrate on schooling.

It is the duty of governments to embark on educational policies and infrastructures, that will support the indigenes and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes that will enable people realise their potentials, enhance their future employment opportunities and contribute their quota to the development of the nation as a whole. This makes a very strong argument for the expansion and accessibility of education in Ghana, especially for those in economically destitute communities where it is needed most. Government must make education more attractive and relevant to those who are ignorant and sceptical about the benefits of education.

The extent of human waste in terms of human capital (as a result of children who are irregular in school and eventually drop-out) could impact negatively on Ghana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth as a prospective middle income country. Government needs to stimulate the growth of the economy by concentrating on the human resource base which starts from the quality of education provided to the citizens especially at the basic education level. Literature and empirical findings show that there is currently a large number of street working and dwelling children in Ghana. This situation if not reversed could have a negative multiplier effect on socio-economic development of Ghana. While there have been instances of street dwelling children (children of street vendors) who despite all odds and the vagaries of life in the face of stark deprivation, have been able to break through the poverty line to develop to their full potential, quite a larger number are stuck in poverty, due to the economic status of parents and the household.

Despite the prevailing poverty situation and the perception of street life and street activities as hazardous and dangerous which diverts the child's attention from education and school, It is evidential that street vending made it possible for child participants to attend school, and also made them more resilient.

I must stress here however that there is potentially positive aspects of children's participation in vending and street work. In Africa, children's participation in labour and other forms of economic activities as well as domestic chores are part of the childhood and a way of life. As already indicated society expects it and the children accept it. Empirical findings thus support the view that work is a form of social participation that has empowered child participants of the study to acquire skills ahead of others as portrayed in the skills these participants mentioned to have acquired. Street vending and street work may lead to self-improvement and integrate children into the adult world.

The above thus suggests that children's participation in the workforce serve some useful functions within the communities and as such they deserve support and protection from society.

## **7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study fills a gap in the existing literature on street children and street life phenomenon. The study has shown that the street life phenomenon is an outcome of a process set in motion by contextual factors both within and external to the child's environment. Based on the literature review, the theoretical framework, main central research question, the analysis of data and goals of the study it became apparent that there is no one solution to the complex and multifaceted challenges posed by street life phenomenon. The recommendations are thus based on the findings of the study in chapter 5 and the data interpretation discussions in chapter 6. The recommendations are strategies, guidelines and pointers for improving life of the children.

### **7.5.1 Recommendation 1**

The government of Ghana (GoG) should devote more resources to achieve the numerous goals it has set in terms of education to make education responsive to the human power needs of the country. The government should implement to the letter

the strategies in the 1987 education reforms; the free compulsory universal basic education (fCUBE); capitation grants scheme (CGS); the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) and the free school uniform programme. The Ministry of Education (MOE) in Ghana has defined five National Education Goals in 'Vision 2020' which including provision of basic education for all, opportunities for open education for all, and facilities for ensuring that all citizens, irrespective of age, gender, tribe, religion and political affiliation, are functionally literate and self-reliant. Government must ensure that it meets all the targets set for the implementation of the above vision.

### **7.5.2 Recommendation 2**

The Non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry Of Education in Ghana exists to improve the life of the illiterate adult especially the rural poor and women by providing quality functional literacy. The program aims at reducing the number of illiterate adults in the country and equipping participants with developmental information and functional skills in the domains of life skills, occupational skill, civic awareness and health. Most parent participants are struggling on the street as a result of lack of education/illiteracy. It is therefore recommended that the objectives of non-formal education be rigorously implemented so as to achieve the goals Education for All (EFA), and meet the educational needs of the more marginalized members of society.

### **7.5.3 Recommendation 3**

The Government of Ghana (GoG) set up the National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) later called Ghana Youth Employment Development Agency, (GYEDA) with the objective of providing employment, livelihood options, and technical on the job training for the country's teeming unemployed youth. This initiative with its good intentions and laudable programmes has also been politicized and associated with corruption and fraudulent activities. It is recommended that government decouples politics from governance and put the rightly qualified people in place to manage such

outfits so as to curtail the surge of youth unemployment that has engulf the nation which is reflected in the number of youth trading on the streets of Ghana.

#### **7.5.4 Recommendation 4**

The Government of Ghana (GoG) established the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) to create economic opportunities in the savannah areas of the country and make it unnecessary for the youth in the three regions of Northern Ghana (Northern, Upper East and Upper West) to travel south to engage in menial jobs and live in deplorable conditions. Once again such a laudable programme which will promote sustainable development and improve livelihoods of the most vulnerable citizens in the area is in shambles as a result of politics. It is recommended that the government should not politicize such social welfare projects that have the potential of freeing the masses from their plights and push them out of the poverty line.

#### **7.5.5 Recommendation 5**

Ghana has a poor welfare system for her aged and children. It is recommended that the National Social Protection Strategy by the government of Ghana be looked at critically again. Government need to review policy in this important sector to provide a holistic programme of social welfare development for the nation and address policy gaps in the areas of reproduction and home based care, redistribution, social protection, and social integration.

#### **7.5.6 Recommendation 6**

The concept of strategy usually considered as vital in alleviating poverty, has had little or no effect on the well-being of the poor for whom such policies, programmes and activities have been established. In view of these aspects, the government will have to make provision for poor people who cannot normally afford the full user fees

to make interventions sustainable. Some of the social welfare programmes such as conditional cash transfer (CCT) which worked for the Latin Americans be replicated here in Ghana by the government.

#### **7.5.7 Recommendation 7**

The Government of Ghana, NGOs community based organizations (CBOs), churches, mosques, and volunteers who are all working in the area of street working children, embark on the following. Strong investment in quality education and increasing access to education especially at the basic level; improving the situation of women by enhancing their participation in economic development; private sector development; and greater involvement of civil society.

#### **7.5.8 Recommendation 8**

Given the economic conditions street vending parents find themselves in, it would be erroneous to solely blame them for the conditions of their children. Parents should rather be recognized as victims of careless governmental and institutional policies which do not make adequate provision and put safeguards for the susceptible and 'at-risk' sections of population. In the same vein, it is recommended that there should be provision of support to the families by governments and the institutions that take those decisions. Interventions should address the needs of families as well as those of children and should provide long-term solutions.

#### **7.5.9 Recommendation 9**

Street vendors and their families need economic support. Families need solutions that enable them to escape poverty and help them to provide for their children consistently. Government should provide microfinance loans and business training for parents, especially mothers to provide them with much needed capital to start viable

income generating projects to help sustain the family and ensure they provide for their children to remain in school.

#### **7.5.10 Recommendation 10**

In order to reduce the spread of the informal sector and for the poor and marginalised (rural poor), to both contribute to the market growth and reap some of the benefits, the various educational reforms initiated by the government should be critically examined and reviewed to address their shortfalls. This problem must be given attention with as a matter of urgency.

#### **7.5.11 Recommendation 11**

The political party in power which is the National Democratic Congress (NDC) has outlined specific social and economic goals in its manifesto termed the “Better Ghana Agenda”. The government must fulfil its mandate to the people by implementing to the fullest the goals set in the manifesto. The “Better Ghana Agenda” encompasses, but is not limited to the understated social and economic goals:

- Putting food on people’s tables;
- Providing citizens with secure and sustainable jobs;
- Rehabilitating and expanding infrastructural facilities;
- Expanding access to potable water and sanitation, health, housing and education;
- Guaranteeing the security of persons and their property;
- Embarking on an affirmative action to rectify errors of the past, particularly as they relate to discrimination against women;
- Reducing geographical disparities in the distribution of national resources;
- Accelerating economic growth rate to at least 8% per annum;
- Ensuring environmental sustainability in the use of natural resources through science, technology and innovation;

- Pursuing an employment-led economic growth strategy that will appropriately link agriculture to industry, particularly manufacturing;
- Creating a new social order of social justice and equity, premised on the inclusion of all hitherto excluded and marginalized people, particularly the poor, the underprivileged and persons with disabilities;
- Ensuring that the benefits of economic growth are fairly shared among the various segments of society; and
- Maximizing transparency and accountability in the use of public funds and other national resources (NDPC, 2010:1-2).

#### **7.5.12 Recommendation 12**

Many laudable policy programmes by government to address poverty in Ghana lack effective implementation due to inappropriate project design and delays in administrative procedures. The Government of Ghana should establish the required strategic institutional and policy frameworks and bodies to ensure effective and timely implementation of projects that will lead to real social change in the lives of street vendors and their children.

#### **7.5.13 Recommendation 13**

Parents are advised to stop seeing their children as an economic resource and resist from engaging these children in any work that is likely to interfere with their education, or harmful to their physical and mental health as well as their social development. Parents must be encouraged live up to their responsibilities of providing and protecting their children's right to education, association and health.

Children who are supposed to be still attending school, should be barred from hawking or rendering any services during lesson hours when they are supposed to be learning in school.

#### **7.5.14 Recommendation 14**

Important people and personalities who have made it in society should volunteer to support and mentor young children within their community towards developing skills and talents which instead of street trading.

#### **7.5.15 Recommendation 15**

There should be television and radio messages which are pro social and educational in nature aimed at enlightening parents to send children to school and also to expose the side effect of not sending children to school. Jingles, aimed at changing people's attitudes towards, specifically the street life phenomenon, can be used by the media to educate the masses.

### **7.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

While findings of this study are important and provided valuable insight into the street life and street vending phenomenon, as indicated earlier, it was not without limitations. A number of critical information emerged during the study that affected the socio-educational development of children of street vendors but which remain under-researched. There are several avenues for future researchers that can cotton on to results found in this research endeavour, hence, the recommendations for further study to provide more insight into the magnitude of the street life phenomenon:

- The research should go beyond the current state into an intervention research where participants will be given some form of intervention and support to cushion them in their present predicament. Results from this study should be used to develop informed and practical strategies for helping children and families escape street life and poverty.
- Further research should be carried out to broaden the knowledge base of the street life phenomenon to encompass the various types of street dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa. This will allow for policy or programme development to

be focused on supporting and assisting a much larger and diverse group of children and youth in low-income families.

- Studies to follow-up on children of street vendors from households will be beneficial in determining the intervention they will need to deter them from eventually adopting to street life.
- Studies that compare impoverished families (street vendors), whose children work with or for them in the streets and those whose children do not work with or for them on the street, are also needed.
- This research did not look at specific factors (such as gender, the north-south dichotomy) in the study of children of street vendors. A further study is required to determine whether gender or children's contexts have influence in the adoption of children to street life and how that may affect intervention efforts aimed at preventing children gravitating to and eventually adopting to the streets.
- Further research to elicit the views and opinion of relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, and Departments of Social Welfare and Community Development on their views on the street child and street vending phenomenon, should be carried out.

## **7.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Although the research work was successfully executed, there however, were also some limitations as listed below:

The Kaneshie market community is found in an area in which a great deal of activities and programmes take place. It has become apparent that researchers focused on streetism and poverty, and investigations have already been conducted by various NGOs and CBOs who dole out cash and items for people who participate in their research. Although I am not in the position to conclude that the research site could

be suffering from 'research fatigue' some of the prospective participants especially children expected much from me as they kept asking for cash and activities such as taking them out for an excursion.

It is my view that the age bracket of the participants limited the amount of rich information that could have been generated, should other age groups also have been included. This is highlighted by the fact that child participants could not elaborate much on critical and sensitive issues such as abuse (physical and sexual) during the interview sessions. Thus if the scope had been broadened to include children within the formal operation stage of Piaget's theory of cognitive development (12 years and above), it would have captured the perceptions of these categories of children as they could more articulate their views of these critical and sensitive issues concerning the phenomenon.

The selection of Kaneshie market although ideal for the study is volatile, unsafe and far from my place of abode and I had to travel long distances and also spent considerable time within the market area for data collection and had to leave the marketplace very late at night which was dangerous. Furthermore, on several occasions, I travelled to the venue for interviews and participants did not show up for one reason or the other.

Ghana is a multi-lingual society although English is the official language but neither the children nor their parents could express themselves in English. Though the interview questions were written and asked in the English language, the actual interviews, were conducted in *Ga* and *Twi* languages, which were later translated and transcribed into English. Knowing that there are certain vocabularies that are non-existent in English and *vice versa*, I made every attempt to provide the true and accurate meaning of the *Ga* and *Twi* languages expressed during interviews as I translated them into English. However, I acknowledge that there were limitations to this process, my proficiency in the two local languages notwithstanding. I was not sure if I clearly distinguish and explain certain English words and phrases to

participants more accurately which could negatively have an effect on the quality of the data I generated.

## 7.8 FINAL REMARKS

This research, though important to me, was addressing only a particular part of the street life phenomenon and the challenges faced by children of street vendors and street children as a whole. The primary significance of this study is the opportunity it afforded me to listen to the stories of children of street vendors and bring their stories to the fore. By so doing, participants had the opportunity to provide detailed descriptive accounts of their lives, experiences, circumstances and revealed information of what the social world looks like. As I interacted with the street vendors and their children, I came across new realities. I also gained firsthand insight into the kinds of activities children engaged in out of school. Not even the preliminary literature review that I had consulted prepared me for some of the new realities about street life. I was somehow, emotionally disturbed by the conditions of and situation which my participants live. I could not help but notice during fieldwork that poverty reeked out of every crack and corner of the setting and I occasionally expressed my surprise at what these street dwellers revealed. It was heartbreaking experiencing how some of the participants lived in abject poverty especially when I felt powerless to protect the children or doubtful whether I should take action or not. Given the disposition and opinion I had of streetism before embarking on this study, I consider myself as one of the principal beneficiaries of the outcome of this study.

In research just like every endeavour, unforeseen circumstances often surface. As I felt frustrated at times when I had run short of ideas, it dawned on me that rich ideas need time to be formulated and that with time things may emerge. I came to the realization that every recorded fieldwork detail is worthy of consideration, for it is from such patterned minutiae of daily life that one might generate significant social insight (Saldaña, 2008). In due course, the nuances that people generally attach to the street life phenomenon, came to light.

I also discussed the participants' dreams and plans with them, and with the hope that those dreams will be realised one day so that they contribute their quota to the well-being of others and to the preservation and further development of human life and society. Making it possible for the participants (street vendors and their children) to discuss their plans was an opportunity to make them feel that being on the streets is not permanent, especially for the children, but a necessary step in their attainment of a more pleasant life. Hope maketh not ashamed and it is hoped that the above-mentioned deliberations will imbue the children with a sense of confidence and self-esteem rather than the feeling of hopelessness that expectations may not be realized and that a bleak future awaits them.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

Letter of Informed consent (Child)

### **APPENDIX B**

Letter for Assemblyman

### **APPENDIX C**

Letter for Social worker

### **APPENDIX D**

Letter to Department of Social Welfare

### **APPENDIX E**

Letter of declaration

### **APPENDIX F**

Letter of permission to Church

### **APPENDIX G**

Letter of Informed consent (Parent)

### **APPENDIX H**

Interview guide (Child)

### **APPENDIX I**

Interview guide (Parent)

### **APPENDIX J**

Observation guide

## APPENDIX A



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

Dear Participant

### REQUEST FOR INFORMED CONSENT (VERBAL)

I am a PhD student registered at the University of Pretoria and I invite you to participate in my research project. Your parent has already given permission that you can talk to me. My study is about children like you who live with their parents on the street, and who also help them to sell their products.

If you give me permission, I would like to ask you a few questions to find out from you how you spend your days and what you do in your spare time. A very nice lady, Ms..... who is a social worker, will be joining the two of us, and she will help you if you feel sad or if you tell us something that upsets you. If you don't mind, I want to tape our conversation; otherwise I am going to forget all the interesting things you will be telling me. I promise not to tell anybody about our conversation, and it will only stay between the three of us. I also promise not to mention your name, so that nobody would know that you told me certain things. If you feel that you don't want to talk to me anymore, you are welcome to tell me, and I won't ask you anymore questions.

I really will appreciate it if you could help me with this study.

---

Pardikor Madjitey

---

Supervisor (Dr. M.G. Steyn)

If you want to take part in this study, you can choose the smiling face, if not, choose the angry face.



## APPENDIX B



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

The Assemblyman/woman  
Kaneshie market unit committee  
Kaneshie Sub-Matro  
Accra, Ghana

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **REQUEST FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITHIN YOUR UNIT**

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study on the “*The socio-Educational Development of Children of Street Vendors in Ghana*”. The purpose of the study is, to explore and analyse how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally.

The findings of the study may help government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders to have in-depth understanding of the impact of life on the streets on the behaviour and development of participants and to understand the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon.

Furthermore the study may enable government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders initiate, network and collaborate to explore various opportunities and advocacy drives aimed at alleviating this growing phenomenon.

The Kaneshie market unit committee area had been purposefully selected because it has a major market located near a dual carriage and therefore experiences a lot of vehicular and human traffic. A lot street trading activities take place in this locality because it is congested and dotted with stalls, kiosks and containers and also serve

as a place of habitation for some of these street vendors.

I will be carrying out interview sessions with six children of street vendors and their parents trading and living in their stalls, kiosks and containers along the pavements. I am writing to humbly request your assistance in identifying participants who fall within the above mentioned category within your assembly for the purpose of this study.

The research is conducted under the guidelines of the University of Pretoria's ethical guidelines with regards to issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Your positive consideration and a written feedback confirmation letter of this request will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Pardikor Madjitey

Signature.....

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

Mobile: +27 (0) 73 439 3894

+233 (0) 24 467 3349

Email: [pardikorm@gmail.com](mailto:pardikorm@gmail.com)

Dr. M. G. Steyn

Signature.....

Supervisor

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

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Department of Early Childhood Education

Tel: +27 (0) 12 420-5289

Email: [mg.steyn@up.ac.za](mailto:mg.steyn@up.ac.za)

Prof. C. G. Hartell

Signature.....

Co-Supervisor

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

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Email: [cycil.hartell@up.ac.za](mailto:cycil.hartell@up.ac.za)

## APPENDIX C



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

Social Worker

Department of Social Welfare

Accra, Ghana

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **INVITATION TO ASSIST IN THE CONDUCT RESEARCH ON CHILDREN**

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study on the *“The socio-Educational Development of Children of Street Vendors in Ghana”*.

**1. Title:** *“The Socio-Educational Development of Children of Street Vendors in Ghana”*.

**2. Purpose of the study:** This study aims to explore and analyze how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally. This study therefore sets out to investigate the street lifestyle of the children of street vendors and proposes possible suggestions of alleviating their situation.

**3. Procedures:** The information will be explored using interviews and observations and will take about one hour. Participants are at liberty to voluntarily withdraw from participation at any time and they may not be obliged to explain issues that they are not comfortable with or may not feel like talking about. All the information is confidential and participants' names will not be mentioned in the document or to any other participant.

**4. Risks and discomfort:** There may be some discomfort and unpleasant emotional experiences associated with the discussions and this are why I require your assistance.

**5. Benefits:**

The findings of the study may help government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders to have in-depth understanding of the impact of life on the streets on the behaviour and development of participants and to understand the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon.

Again the study may enable government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders initiate, network and collaborate to explore various opportunities and advocacy drives aimed at alleviating this growing phenomenon.

Furthermore researchers and stakeholders may have insight in the area of study for further research. Information garnered may continue to enrich the body of knowledge in a way to finding solutions to this phenomenon.

I am writing to humbly request you to accompany to the field to assist to me carry out interview sessions with six children between the ages of seven and eleven.

This request is necessary because it is envisaged that there may be "heinous discovery" or participants may experience some form of discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions while narrating their situation on the street. Your task will therefore be to provide the needed support should there be any "heinous discovery" or should participants express discomfort, unpleasant emotions, stress etc., during the interviewing session.

The research is conducted under the guidelines of the University of Pretoria's ethical guidelines with regards to issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Your positive consideration and a written feedback confirmation letter of this request will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Pardikor Madjitey

Signature.....

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)  
University of Pretoria  
Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

Mobile: +27 (0) 73 439 3894

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Supervisor

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Tel: +27 (0) 12 420-5289

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Email: [mg.steyn@up.ac.za](mailto:mg.steyn@up.ac.za)

Signature.....

Prof. C. G. Hartell

Co-Supervisor

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Faculty of Education

Department of Early Childhood Education

Tel: +27 (0) 12 420 4007

Email: [cycil.hartell@up.ac.za](mailto:cycil.hartell@up.ac.za)

Signature.....

## APPENDIX D



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

The Director  
Department of Social Welfare  
Ministries - Accra  
Ghana

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **REQUEST FOR A SOCIAL WORKER FROM YOUR OUTFIT TO ASSIST IN THE CONDUCT RESEARCH ON CHILDREN**

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study on the “*The socio-Educational Development of Children of Street Vendors in Ghana*”. The purpose of the study is, to explore and analyse how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally.

The findings of the study may help government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders to have in-depth understanding of the impact of life on the streets on the behaviour and development of participants and to understand the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon.

Again the study may enable government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders initiate, network and collaborate to explore various opportunities and advocacy drives aimed at alleviating this growing phenomenon.

Furthermore researchers and stakeholders may have insight in the area of study for further research. Information garnered may continue to enrich the body of knowledge in a way to finding solutions to this phenomenon.

I am writing to humbly request for a social worker who deals with children from your outfit to assist me to conduct interview sessions with six children between the ages of seven and eleven.

This request is being sought because it is envisaged that there may be "heinous discovery" or participants may experience some form of discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions while narrating their situation on the street. The task of the social worker is to provide the necessary support should there be any "heinous discovery" or should participants express discomfort, unpleasant emotions, stress etc., during the interviewing session.

The research is conducted under the guidelines of the University of Pretoria's ethical guidelines with regards to issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Your positive consideration and a written feedback confirmation letter of this request will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Pardikor Madjitey

Signature.....

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)

University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002

Republic of South Africa

Mobile: +27 (0) 73 439 3894

+233 (0) 24 467 3349

Email: [pardikorm@gmail.com](mailto:pardikorm@gmail.com)

Dr. M. G. Steyn

Signature.....

Supervisor

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Prof. C. G. Hartell

Co-Supervisor

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Email: [cycil.hartell@up.ac.za](mailto:cycil.hartell@up.ac.za)

Signature.....

## APPENDIX E



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

### PERSONAL DECLARATION OF RESPONSIBILITY

#### Title of research project:

1. I / We declare that I am/we are cognisant of the goals of the Research Ethics Committee in the Faculty of Education to:
  - Develop among students and researchers a high standard of ethics and ethical practice in the conceptualisation and conduct of educational research;
  - Cultivate an ethical consciousness among scholars especially in research involving human respondents; and
  - Promote among researchers a respect for the human rights and dignity of human respondents in the research process.
2. I/We subscribe to the principles of
  - Voluntary participation* in research, implying that the participants might withdraw from the research at any time.
  - informed consent*, meaning that research participants must at all times be fully informed about the research process and purposes, and must give consent to their participation in the research.
  - Safety in participation*; put differently, that the human respondents should not be placed at risk or harm of any kind e.g., research with young children.
  - Privacy*, meaning that the *confidentiality* and *anonymity* of human respondents should be protected at all times.
  - Trust*, which implies that human respondents will not be respondent to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process or its published outcomes.
3. I / We understand what plagiarism entails and are aware of the University's policy in this regard. I / We undertake not to make use of another person's previous work without acknowledgment or to submit it as our own. I / We also undertake not to allow anyone to copy our work with the intention of using it as their own work.
4. I / We understand that the data collected in the course of our research become the property of the University of Pretoria and I / we undertake to transfer all raw data and documents related to our research for safekeeping as required by the Faculty of Education.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Applicant**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Supervisor**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**

## APPENDIX F



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA  
Faculty of Education

The Administrator  
Church of Pentecost  
Kaneshie – Accra, Ghana

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **REQUEST TO USE YOUR PREMISES TO CONDUCT INTERVIEW SESSION FOR MY RESEARCH**

I am a PhD student at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education. I am conducting a research study on the *“The socio-Educational Development of Children of Street Vendors in Ghana”*. The purpose of the study is, to explore and analyse how children of street vendors develop socially and educationally.

The findings of the study may help government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders to have in-depth understanding of the impact of life on the streets on the behaviour and development of participants and to understand the diversity and complexity of the phenomenon.

Furthermore the study may enable government, MDAs, NGOs and relevant agencies and stakeholders initiate, network and collaborate to explore various opportunities and advocacy drives aimed at alleviating this growing phenomenon.

I am writing to humbly request that you allow me use one of your church halls to carry out interview sessions with six children and six parents. This is because the participants are from the Kaneshie market area which is close to your premises.

The research is conducted under the guidelines of the University of Pretoria’s ethical guidelines with regards to issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Your positive consideration and a written feedback confirmation letter of this request will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,  
Pardikor Madjitey

Signature.....

PhD student (Department of Early Childhood Education)  
University of Pretoria  
Pretoria 0002  
Republic of South Africa  
Mobile: +27 (0) 73 439 3894  
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Dr. M. G. Steyn  
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Faculty of Education  
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Tel: +27 (0) 12 420-5289  
Email: [mg.steyn@up.ac.za](mailto:mg.steyn@up.ac.za)

Signature.....

Prof. C. G. Hartell  
Co-Supervisor  
University of Pretoria  
Pretoria 0002  
Republic of South Africa  
Faculty of Education  
Department of Early Childhood Education  
Tel: +27 (0) 12 420 4007  
Email: [cycil.hartell@up.ac.za](mailto:cycil.hartell@up.ac.za)

Signature.....

## APPENDIX G



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Education

Dear Parent

### **REQUEST FOR INFORMED CONSENT (VERBAL)**

I am a PhD student registered at the University of Pretoria and I invite you as well as your son/daughter to participate in my research project. My study focuses on the socio-educational development of children of street vendors.

For the purpose of my study I will require your permission to take part in an interview where I shall ask certain questions regarding your child's participation in selling goods on the street. Then I also need your permission to interview your child on how he/she experiences life on the street. It is important to know that the information you may provide to me will be confidential and will not be conveyed to anybody else. These interviews will be audio-recorded to make it possible for me to revisit the conversation after our interview. . All the information provided by you and your son or daughter will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity which means that I will not make use of names anywhere in the course of my fieldwork and writing. Information that is collected during the course of this research project will be stored safely even after the task is complete. You as well as your son/daughter may choose to withdraw from the research process at any stage should either of you deem this necessary.

Some of these questions may cause your son/daughter to feel sad and upset, since they may describe difficult times in their lives. That is why a Social Worker from the Department of Social Welfare will be present during interviewing sessions to handle discomfort and/or unpleasant emotions should they arise. Should I discover that your child has been subjected to dangerous or inappropriate circumstances, I in consultation with the social worker will notify the relevant agency in charge in order to help your child.

Your assistance with my research will be greatly appreciated. In the end we hope that my research will lead to a better understanding of your life as a street vendor on the streets and the challenges you and your children are being confronted with.

Yours sincerely

Pardikor Madjitey (PhD student, University of Pretoria, South Africa)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Dr. M.G. Steyn (Supervisor)

**PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, hereby agree to conduct an interview with Pardikor Madjitey. I understand that I can withdraw at any time and that all information will remain confidential.

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant

**PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, hereby agree that my child \_\_\_\_\_ may be interviewed and observed for the purpose of Pardikor Madjitey's study. I understand that my child can withdraw at any time and that the information that my child may convey, will be confidential, except in cases where there is a heinous discovery. I agree that this may then be reported to the relevant authorities.

\_\_\_\_\_

Parent

## APPENDIX H

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1- CHILDREN

*The purpose of this interview schedule is to investigate how children of street vendors development socially and educationally. It will also investigate how life on the street affects the socio-educational development of children of street vendors by requesting participants tell his/her own story and how they experience the phenomenon.*

#### CHILDREN

1. How old are you?
2. Where are you from?
3. Where do you currently live? How long have you been staying there?
4. Are your parents living together or separated?
5. Who do you live with here? How many people are in your family?
6. Who provides your basic needs? Who gives you food?
7. How many meals do you have a day? What kind of meal do you have a day?
8. What is your impression about your daily meals?
9. Where do you seek medical attention when you fall sick?
10. Where do you take your bath? How many times in a day/ week? Do you pay for it?
11. Which toilet facility do you use? Do you pay for it?
12. Where do you sleep at night? How many of you sleep there?
13. How is the temperature like where you sleep?

## **EDUCATION OF CHILD PARTICIPANTS AND PEER RELATIONS**

1. Do you go to school?
  - a. If not in school, when did you stop?
2. What are your reasons for stopping (leaving) school?
3. Do you plan to go back to school? Do you want to go back to school?
4. Who takes care of/pays for your schooling?
5. Do you get homework at school? Who helps you with your homework?
6. Where do you do your homework? How do you do your homework or learn after school?
7. Do you have sufficient light for studies?
8. How is the temperature like where you study?
9. Is the environment in which you study quiet or noisy?
10. Can you read? Can you write?
11. Do you have friends? Where do they live?
12. Do you have time for recreation/entertainment/play with friends?

## **WORK, STREET LIFE AND FUTURE ASPIRATION OF CHILD PARTICIPANTS**

1. Do you work? At what age did you start working?
2. What kind of work do you do?
3. For whom do you work?
4. When do you normally start and end work? Do you work before and/or after school?
5. How many days do you work in a week?
6. How many people in your family are working? What jobs/work do they each do?
7. Do you earn money or make profit from the work you do?
8. Do you keep the money you earned/profit you make?
9. Do you enjoy the work you do? Reasons for your answer
10. Does the work you do make you tired?
11. Which do you like more: work or school?
12. Which in your opinion is more important?

13. What would you like to do in the future when you grow up? What do you aspire to become in future?
14. Does the work you are doing now help prepare you for what you aspire to become in future?
15. Does school help prepare you for what you aspire to become in future?
16. Are you physically abused? If "Yes" what form does the abuse take?
17. Have you ever been abused sexually? If Yes, How?
18. Do you have any traumatic memories? What are the forms of Traumatic Experience?
19. How do you feel about these memories?
20. What has been your worst experience on the street?

## APPENDIX I

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2- PARENTS

*The purpose of this interview schedule is to investigate the street lifestyle of the children of street vendors. It is also to investigate how the familial circumstances of children of street vendors affect their socio-educational development. It will require participants to tell their own story and how they experience the phenomenon being investigated.*

#### HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION OF PARENTS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where are you from?
4. Where do you currently live? How long have you been living there?
5. How many people are there in your family?
6. What work does each parent in the house do? For how long?
7. Is the container/kiosk/store for you or you are renting it?
8. Where do you sleep?
9. Where do your children sleep?
10. How many of you sleep there?
11. What is the temperature like where you sleep?
12. Where do you take your bath? Do you pay for it?
13. Which toilet facility do you use? Do you pay for it?
14. Do you prepare your food or you buy from the roadside?
  - a. If you prepare, where do you cook?
15. What lighting facility do you use? Is it adequate for your family?
16. Where do you seek medical attention when you fall sick?

## **PARENTS' WORK & FUTURE ASPIRATION OF CHILDREN**

1. Did you work as a child? At what age did you start working?
2. What work did you do?
3. Did you work for your own gain, or to supplement your family's income?
4. What time did you start and finish work? How many days a week?
5. Did you go to school?
  - a. -If yes, how did your work affect school?
  - b. -If no, when did you stop?
6. Do your children work? What do they do?
7. Why do your children work?
8. Do your children go to school?
  - a. If yes how does their work affect school? What effect does work have on them?
  - b. If no, why not?
9. Which is more important: work or school?
10. Did you think the work your children are doing now will prepare them for their occupation in future?
11. What aspirations do you have for your children?
12. How will you describe life experience on the street?
13. What has been your experience on the street?

## APPENDIX J

### OBSERVATION OF STREET ACTIVITY OF PARTICIPANTS

<b><i>During the observation the researcher may for example adhere to the following list.</i></b>
What the child sells
Human traffic
Vehicular traffic
Number of times child move in and out of street and the pavement
Number of times child run after vehicle/passenger to give item and collect money
Child's appearance e.g. dressing/neatness/cleanliness
Child's interaction with other sellers on the street and pavement
Behaviour of children
Mood of children
Neatness of the area
Closeness of place of abode and street
How child carry items for sale e.g. carry heavy loads on the head or hands
The weather/ temperature under which child sells/ Extreme temperatures
Pollution - noise , air e.g. dust, fumes, gas
Exposure to chemicals and dangerous tools