UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

AN ASSESSMENT OF MIGRATION PROCESS, LIVELIHOOD, CHALLENGES AND COPING STRATEGIES OF MIGRANT TRAFFIC ENTREPRENEURS IN THE GA-EAST DISTRICT, ACCRA

BY

CYPRINE EVANS OCLOO
(10379416)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE OF MA MIGRATION STUDIES DEGREE

JULY, 2018
DECLARATION

I, Cyprine Evans Ocloo, hereby declare that except for references to other people’s works which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my independent research conducted at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon under the supervision of Dr. Delali Badasu. I also declare that as far as I know, this thesis has neither in part or in whole been published nor presented to any other institution for an academic award.

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Cyprine Evans Ocloo                                      Date
Student

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Dr. Delali Badasu                                      Date
Supervisor
DEDICATION

I dedicate to this work to my Father, Cephas Ocloo, Dr Delali Badasu and to my lovely Beloved, Priscy for their invaluable support for the successful completion of this work.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My greatest thanks goes to God the Almighty for giving me life, sound mind and the ability to come this far.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to the former Directress, current Director, staff and management of the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) for granting me the opportunity to pursue M.A degree at the Centre.
ABSTRACT

Rural poverty and regional difference in social and infrastructural development has resulted in the high rate of rural-urban migration. This has brought about the rapid urbanization which results unmet demand for jobs and other opportunities. Many are now engaged in traffic entrepreneur business as a source of livelihood for their dependants and families both at the destination and origin. In pursuance of their source of livelihood which is selling on the street, traffic entrepreneurs are faced with the resistance from the Ga-East Municipal Assembly city authorities who view their activities as illegal and a distortion to urban aesthetics. Traffic entrepreneurs in the quest to make a living, sometimes ignore rules and regulations that govern the use of urban space. This results in traffic entrepreneurs using unapproved public space for their activities. Municipal authorities and taskforce are forced to use means like demolition, decongestion and fining of offender to regulate their activities. This study therefore sought to explore the challenges migrant traffic entrepreneurs encounter and some coping strategies they have adopted in the Ga-East District. Specifically, the study tries to explore the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants traffic entrepreneurs; the factors that influence them to migrate to Accra; to examine the relationship between traffic entrepreneurs and city Authorities; to find out the challenges the face on daily basis; to find out and the coping and adaptation strategies they have developed to overcome these challenges and to examine the effect of migration on their livelihoods and those of their families at both the destination and origin. The mixed method approach which involves using both the qualitative and quantitative method was used in this study to gather data from 100 traffic entrepreneurs who have migrated to Accra for the survey questionnaires, in-depth interview of 6 informants and 6 key informants from the Ga-East Municipal Assembly. Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents for the interview. The study revealed that traffic entrepreneurs are often evicted from doing business in unapproved open public space by the Task force of the Ga-East Municipal Assembly. Traffic entrepreneurs have also adopted strategies to avoid the hurdles of constant eviction from the pavement and open public places by the Municipal taskforce. Some recommendations have been made at the end of the survey to regularize the activities of traffic entrepreneurs effectively and how the city officials can have a better relation with them.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study
There are many reasons why people migrate. In contemporary times, migration may be seen as a means to greener pastures. These movements are either temporary or permanent (Gould, 2009). Lawi (1983) stated that people become attracted to urban centers because of the social amenities they lack in their rural areas. People move from rural areas due to unemployment, limited opportunities and rural poverty (Mutulla, 2003; Atsu 2017). Sometimes people arrive at urban centers; they are faced with some realities that prevent them from entering the formal sector, so they engage in the informal sector (Timalsina, 2007).

A recent ILO report, 2017 explains that a transition to the formal economy is a condition to realize decent work for all. In Africa, 85.8% are employed in the informal sector, compared to 68.2% in Asia, 68.6% in Arab states, 40% in America, 25.1% in Europe and Central Asia (ILO, 2017). The report further shows that 93% of the world’s informal employment comes from emerging and developing countries according to the ILO report (ILO, 2017). Ghana, which falls into the category of developing countries, has experienced rapid expansion of its informal sector. Ghana, among many sub-Saharan African countries, is also experiencing rapid population growth and urbanization. This is as a result of high birth rates, declining mortality rate and high rate of rural-urban migration (Kwankye et al, 2007). Street vending, which is common in developing countries is an important economic activity in their informal sector. It is more predominant in urban center (Bromley, 2000). The Greater Accra, Ashanti and Central regions are the most urbanized regions in Ghana with urban share of their regional population being 90.5
percent, 60.6 percent, and 47.1 percent respectively (GSS, 2012). In Ghana, regional disparities in resources, opportunities between rural and urban centres have led to rural-urban migration (Barimah, Abokwah and Frimpong, 2013). Limited opportunities and poverty in rural areas, coupled with the quest for a better life have caused many to migrate to the urban areas in search for greener pastures. Most migrants do not usually have the requisite skills and educational background to enable them to enter into the formal sector in the urban areas. This forces many to go into the informal sector. Some workers from the formal sector later join the informal sector when they lose their jobs. This makes the informal sector an avenue for survival for many in the cities (Bhowmik, 2005).

Street vending and hawking therefore, serve as an open door opportunity for the disadvantaged in urban areas; people with limited skills and capital and low educational background, internal migrants from rural areas also move to urban centres for to work as a means of survival (Cross, 2000).

Street vending and hawking do not only serve as sources of employment for many in urban areas but also as a means of survival (Fadia and Nirkerk, 2017). Street vending and hawking serve the urban population with a very important service all around the world. Customers are able to buy goods at their own convenience from street vendors also known as traffic entrepreneurs. They provide all kinds of wares and goods ranging from food stuff to household appliances which are sold on the street (Roever & Sally, 2014).

Aiyhuro (2009) defined street vending or hawking as a system of trading where the trader carries his/her wares about. Some research studies have shown that the activities of hawkers are quite useful for a large section of the urban population. This is because, these street or traffic
entrepreneurs provide goods and services at relatively lower prices compared to main stream prices. According to Assem (2011), the middle lower and middle class benefit from the services of these traffic entrepreneurs. Street vendors sell their wares, goods and services, at places of human traffic such as pavements, pathways, parks, train stations, traffic light stands, lorry terminals among others.

For many migrants, street vending or hawking serves as a means of survival in urban centers upon their arrival. This has led to the occupying of many places of human traffic by vendors and hawkers as the urban informal sector increases (Njaya, 2015; Muiruri, 2010)

In spite of the services street vendors and hawkers provide to the urban population, their activities in some countries are highly regulated by laws enforced by municipal authorities. Specific laws are used to regulate their activities and offenders are severely punished (Mitullah, 2003). However, in Ghana, their activities are not regulated by a defined law. This situation has encouraged the increase of their activities on the street of Accra and other urban areas, posing a challenge to urban Authorities, pedestrians and motorists. (Kwankye et al, 2007)

1.2 Problem Statement
Ghana, among many other African countries has a little over 50 percent of the total national population living in the urban areas according to Yankson and Bertrand, 2012. Some studies have shown that the percentage keeps increasing. This has been brought about by increasing development, expansion of infrastructure in urban areas (Yankson and Bertrand, 2012).

Many migrants from rural to urban centre are motivated by the availability of educational facilities, job opportunities, among others. Some move to the urban centres due to the high rate of poverty and unemployment at their origin. The informal sector has been increasing over the
years. About sixty percent (59.9%) of employed labour force in Ghana are engaged in informal establishments and formal establishments accounting for the remaining 40.1 percent. The informal sector employs a small portion of those involved in agriculture (24%) while the reverse is the case in the industry and services sectors (GSS, 2015). The informal sector includes people who sell from kiosks, table tops, carts, among others (Cross, 1997). According to the 2015 Ghana labour force survey, 90 percent of the informal sectors are 15 years and older (GSS, 2016). This report indicates that a large number of the workforces are involved in the informal sector.

Municipal authorities in urban centres may perceive the activities of street vendors and hawkers as a distortion of urban aesthetics. This has contributed to their inability to effectively regulate the activities of street vendors as well as integrating them into the urban land use (Taylor and Song, 2016). However, research done on how to integrate street vendors are limited (Onyango, 2012).

Several attempts have been made by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly to decongest and evict hawkers from the street and pavements in Accra. Street vendors still sell their wares in spite of the Municipal guards stationed at some vantage points to deter them from undertaking their activities (Adaawen, 2011). This has led to a series of conflicts between the city guards and the street vendors (Adaawen, 2011).

However, there is little research on how street vendors negotiate their relationship with the municipal authorities (Atsu, 2017). Owusu and Abrokwa (2014) studied why hawkers return to the streets shortly after eviction, the wrong initiatives adopted by city authorities and the opinions of major stakeholders which includes hawkers, city Authorities and the general public.
Atsu (2017) also examined the consequences of rural-urban migration of street vendors in Accra and the effect it has on their livelihood. Victoria (2015) also looked at the challenges the hawkers face with Municipal Authorities. Most investigation on the activities of street vendors have been in the studies of informal manufacturing (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). While the study by Atsu (2017) and Victoria (2015) focused on the challenges street vendors, this study will therefore concentrate on the livelihood, challenges of traffic entrepreneurs and some coping strategies they have adopted over the years.

This study is therefore motivated by the problems that street vendors and hawkers pose to urban street environment as a whole and their daily challenges. Street vendors are largely made of the urban poor, whose activities are seen as a disturbance to society and urban aesthetics, meanwhile, they contribute significantly to the economic development of the country by providing goods and services to customers in a more convenient way and as a substantial contributor to the revenue of urban authorities (Kwankye et al., 2007).

It is therefore necessary to investigate the factors that contribute to the increasing numbers of street vendors and hawkers in the Ga-East district of Accra; understand the socio-economic profile of traffic entrepreneurs that migrate and to understand the link between migration and the emergence of traffic entrepreneurs business; to assess the challenges, coping and adaptation strategies the use for survival, in the Municipality and to examine the possible solutions to the challenges of traffic entrepreneurs.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to understand the socio-economic conditions of traffic entrepreneurs, their challenges and the coping strategies they have developed to sustain their economic activities on the street of Madina.

The specific objectives are:

i. To describe the socio-economic characteristics of migrant street vendors and to discuss how they migrated to Accra entrepreneurs.

ii. To examine the link between migration and the engagement of traffic entrepreneurs business in Madina.

iii. To examine the livelihoods, challenges and coping strategies of traffic entrepreneurs.

iv. To make policy recommendations based on the findings of the study for addressing the challenges of traffic entrepreneurs.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The absence of some form of meaningful employment in some rural areas has led to the migration of many to some urban areas in search of better employment opportunities that are absent at the origin. This has resulted in the rapid growth of most urban centre and consequently the increasing numbers of street vendors and hawkers. Rapid urbanization has led to an unmet demand for housing, transport and employment opportunities (McMicheal, 2000). Most migrants do not have the requisite skills to be employed in the formal sector. They therefore end up finding some forms of employment in the informal sector which includes street vending and hawking (Fobil, 2010). According to an ILO report (2017) shows that about 93 percent of the Worlds informal employment comes from emerging and developing countries. It stresses on the fact that the increasing growth of the informal sector due to the high rates of unemployment in
these regions (ILO report, 2016). Urbanization has led to the change and function of the urban environment.

Some studies in the area have examined the clashes between street vendors and the Local city authorities (Yeaboah et al, 2015). Barimah et al (2013) in their study looked at the change in the use of public space with time by street vendors. Kwankye et al (2007) focused on the factors that have influenced people to go into street vending as well as the reproductive health risk they are exposed to and how they cope with it in their study. Tom Gillespie (2016), in his study title from quite to bold encroachment: contesting dispossession in Accra’s informal sector looked at how street vendors transform urban spaces into places of commerce for their activities.

This study will therefore explore the challenges migrants traffic entrepreneurs face in the Ga-East district and some coping and adaptation strategies they have adopted to overcome these challenges. The study examined the effect of their migration on their livelihood of their families both at the destination and the origin and provided research evidence for policy adoption and strategies required to manage this aspect of informal economic activity in Accra and other urban centre. The study’s findings are from the existing situation of traffic entrepreneurs. This will give detailed information on their daily challenges, and how they have adopted strategies to overcome the urban completion for customers and avoiding of violation of metropolitan control rule regarding street hawking in Accra. The understanding of the existing phenomenon of traffic entrepreneurs will be used to develop strategic solutions to the problems they face in the urban setting in the phase of high urbanization. Using primary data helped to identify the characteristics, space requirement, variation of hawking activities according to season, time and demand of street customers as well as conflicts related to street hawking activities.
1.5 Organization of the study
This study is structured in five chapters. The first chapter is on the background, literature of the study and the introduction. It includes the problem statement, objective of the study and the rationale of the study.

The second chapter contains a detailed literature review of the study and topic. Some areas covered include: unemployment and the emergence of street hawking, socio economic impact of street vending and hawking, street vending and urban space management, policies on street vending and hawking, challenges of street vendors and hawkers, health and well-being in the street vendors and coping strategies used by street vendors in some countries.

The third chapter touches on the study area and the methodology employed to gather data for the study. It included the physical study of the study area, sampling method used in selecting of the respondents, the process of data collection and some limitation of the study.

The fourth chapter was on the analysis and presentation of the findings. This included the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant traffic entrepreneurs, the challenges of traffic entrepreneurs and coping strategies used to overcome these challenges and their livelihood changes as a result of migrating to Accra.

Finally, the fifth chapter involves the presentation of the summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations made by the researcher.
1.6 Definition of Concepts

**Traffic Entrepreneurs:** someone who uses places of human traffic as a vantage point to sell their wares, goods and service. Vantage points include: pathways, pavements, traffic light spot, vehicular traffic, parks and gardens among others.

**Street vendor / hawker:** Someone who sells goods on the street.

**Informal sector:** Economic activity which is not formally recognized by government, nontaxed, and has no employment benefit but has a flexible work schedule.

**Adaptation strategies:** measures put in place to help overcome a problem or situation through resilience.

**Vantage point:** Relating to an important site of a particular activity.

**AdMa:** Adentan Municipal Assembly
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction
More than half of the world’s population now lives in urban areas, according to the UN report, 2014. Urbanization has led to the growth of the informal sector as many find other alternative employments in the phase of high unemployment and competition for the few available jobs. According to the International Labor Organization report (2017) more than 60% of the World’s populations are employed in the informal economy. This forms about 2 billion of the world population. The ILO report, 2017 stresses that a transition to the formal economy is a condition to realize decent work for all. In Africa, 85.8% are employed in the informal sector, 68.2% in Asia, 68.6% in Arab states, 40% in America, 25.1 % in Europe and Central Asia. This shows that 93% of the world’s informal employment comes from emerging and developing countries (ILO report, 2017).

The informal sector can be described in terms of some specific characteristics. Some of these characteristics of the informal sector are: Labour intensive; low fixed costs; use of simple technology; reliance on family labour; use of personal or informal sources of credit; non-payment of taxes; relatively easy to establish or small scale and exit and so on (Hart, 1973).

Street vending, hawking or peddling are the most common forms of words used interchangeably in the informal sector.

A street vendor is a person engaged in vending of articles, goods, food items, etc. of everyday use or offering services to the general public in a street lane, sidewalk, footpath pavements,
The word ‘hawker’ seems to have originated from German “Hiiker” or Dutch ‘hawker’ in the early 16th century (Bhowmik, 2005). A hawker is an individual who sells wears by carrying them through the streets. Hawkers usually attract attention including addressing the public, using public cards, labels and signs or displaying merchandise in a public place.

Street vending has been increasing with the shrinking of jobs in the formal sector and with the lack of gainful employment in rural areas. The rural unemployed tend to move to the cities in search of employment. They usually possess low skill and have low levels of education. Both factors make it almost impossible for them to find regular jobs in the formal sector. Street vending is one of the few options they have for earning a living.

In search for employment in the urban setting, people sorted to other forms of employment that may require less capital to begin and less skills and qualification such as street hawking, cobbler work and porter work among others. According to Sharit (2013), traffic vendors require low capital and low skills to start. Goods sold are highly patronized by the low and middle class (Assem, 2011). Traffic hawkers are largely migrants from rural to urban areas.

2.2 Push-pull Theory of Migration
The push-pull theory is used to explain the reasons why people move from their origin to a destination. It gives insight into the factors at the origin the causes them to move out and factors at the destination that attracts them. Some intervening factors that facilitate migration are in the form of cheap and affordable transport services and good road networks among others. Some infrastructure disparity, poverty and less economic opportunities at the origin and on the other
hand promise of a better life, available jobs and available economic opportunities at the urban centers have been some of the factors why people migrate (Njaya, 2014).

As population in rural areas increase, in the quest for work and a better life, rural dwellers move to urban cities to seek jobs. For many who are not able to enter into the public sector, moving into readily available jobs such as street vending becomes a good alternative (Skinner, 2008).

According to Broadbent, 2012, many hawkers go into street vending in cities because of poverty. They do this in order to have a better life. Migration is directly related to the informal sector. In order to make a living, migrants with less skill have to go into the informal sector usually to sell on the street for survival. Street vending for many serves as the job they use to cater for their families. According to Kwankye et al 2008, street hawking is cause by poverty.

According to Efroymson (2015) about a fifth of non-agricultural employment in many cities in Africa comes in to form of street vending. About eleven percent of the total urban employment in India and fifteen percent in South Africa is made of street vendors

According to Fadia and Niekerk (2007), unequal economic opportunities tend to influence the movement of rural dwellers to urban centre. The rural unemployed tend to move to the cities in search for jobs. This often leaves them going into street vending because they usually possess low skills and levels of education. For most Street hawkers, street vending creates employment and a means of survival for them (Mitullah, 2003). These factors have led to the continuous movement of people from rural to urban centre to work as street vendors.
2.3 Unemployment and the emergence of street hawking
There are many factors that have influenced the high involvement of people in urban areas in street vending. The opportunities for some urban dwellers to enter into the formal trade or business sector may never occur due to lack of resources and skills. The reasons for resorting to hawking was found out either because it was the only means of available employment or an option after retrenchment or lack of skills for any other kind of job (Skinner, 2011; Garg et al, 2014).

In addition, Mitullah Winnie (2003), in her findings stated that some participants admitted that, they engaged in hawking in order to meet their basic needs due to poverty and unemployment and that street vending may not be an individual’s chosen occupation. His study, suggested that the opportunities for self-employment have the ability to alleviate poverty and promote pride and self-worth. He emphasized that further research could be conducted as to whether or not street vending and other self-employment occupations really achieved this (Macula, 2003).

Townsend (2003) spoke about what he termed ‘occupational injustice’ hindering individuals, groups or communities from having the opportunity to fully participate in society. People living in poverty with poor education face stigmatization that prevent them from engaging in their desired and culturally meaningful occupation.

In a study by Bhowmik (2001) titled “the urban informal sector: A study of street vending in seven cities” he cited that the main reason, given by 92% of sample, for choosing hawking as a profession was because there were no other jobs available which gave them dignity, though 67% of them believed that they did possess skills for other, more permanent activity (persons in government offices or factory workers) but such jobs were not available. Another important reason for choosing this profession was that the entry was easier and investment was low. The
findings of his projected that Street vendors played a very important role in urban India by providing employment and income. The goods they sell includes all kinds of goods such as clothes and hosiery, lather, moulded plastic goods and different kinds of household necessary goods, which are manufactured in small scale or home based industries where large numbers of workers are employed. Due to the high rates of unemployment in these cities, hawkers are forced to work in tough conditions. His study revealed that hawkers leave their homes between 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. to collect their goods. After returning, home for a short while they start vending at 9 a.m. and, in case their homes are close to their vending points, they return at 3 p.m. for lunch and rest for a couple of hours. They are back at their workplaces by 5 p.m. and they return home by 9 p.m. or 10 p.m. The distances travelled by hawkers to their workplace may be long. In his study, only 21% of the hawkers sell close to their residence up to 4km. Most of the hawkers travelled between 10km to 2km to their workplaces. The carried their goods on their heads or pushcarts. According to Bhowmik (2005; 11), only a few of them used bicycles to transport their wares, as it decreases cost. A hawker works 10 hours averagely each day to earn a meagre income.

It is important note that the income of hawkers varied according to the type and volume of goods they sell. Hawkers selling clothes and non-perishable goods earn around Rs. 100 while those selling vegetables and fruits earn about Rs. 70 per day. Street vending varies in scale, timing, and income generated, it also varies in terms of work force and the type of goods and services (Bromley, 2000; Bhowmik, 2005)

Njaya Tavonga (2014), in his study observed different forms of employment among street vendors. This included; independent and self-employed entrepreneurs with (1-3) paid employees, independent and self-employed entrepreneurs without paid employees but often used unpaid family labour, street vendors who worked as contributing family members, street vendors who
worked as employees of formal or informal enterprises, street vendors who sold goods on commission for formal or informal enterprises, part-time street vendors who have some formal jobs. For such street entrepreneurs, informal activities were undertaken as secondary activities in order to supplement their formal employment incomes, seasonal vendors of specialty goods and permanent vendors who regarded vending as their primary occupation.

There are also opportunist vendors who only vended when an opportunity presented itself (Njaya, 2014)

Njaya (2014) in his study he listed some of the driving forces the leads people into street vending. These included the following, quick and easy avenue to earn subsistence income. A majority of the vendors of fruits and vegetables, phone recharge cards and basic commodities such as bread and cooking oil fell into this category, social systems for the underprivileged urban dwellers: ways to overcome the urban stress. Failure to find jobs in the formal sector. A significant number of street vendors regarded street enterprise as temporary employment while seeking proper formal employment. Some also went into vending as a response to known demand from customers who preferred open air environment of shopping. Other reasons included; low barriers to entry which made street vending a refuge occupation, easy accessibility and low initial capital requirements, flexibility and/or attractiveness of employment option than wage work, no overhead costs of rentals, rates and sometimes licensing fees, flexibility of working hours allowed women (especially housewives) to fulfil their household care chores, redundancies or retrenchments caused mainly by economic slump and inadequate pensions that could not cover the cost of living.

Further explanations for the reasons why people listed this as the driving force for their involvement in street vending was that; it had more flexible working hours, the capital
requirements were relatively affordable, low skill demand and the readily available customers made this business a good venture for many as a means of survive in a highly competitive urban setting. Street vending and hawking serves as the readiest and available source of employment in urban area where there is high rate of unemployment, limited capital accessibility and skills among others.

2.4 Socio economic impact of street vending and hawking
Street trade in the past was viewed as an underground activity that violates the healthy function of the formal economy. This perception has resulted in conflicts with urban authorities over licensing, taxation, site of operation, sanitation and working conditions. Although it has been argued that majority who venture in to street vending are usually those who have limited opportunities for obtaining formal employment and/or prestigious business, and minimizes chances of social exclusion and marginalization; street vending is increasingly becoming an option for many citizens due to its flexibility. Street vending serves as a source of employment and income for many urban dwellers. However, in most of the countries, it is unaccounted and unrecognized in national economic statistics. Street trade has in the past, been viewed as an underground activity that undermines the healthy function of the formal economy. According to Mitullah (2003) street vendors in Kenya, Cote D’ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa, showed that mainstream economist lack some understanding of street vending. This has led to lack of its coverage in economic measurements in all countries. Local authorities who collect revenue from this sector have not kept adequate data on the numbers and the contribution of street vendors to the urban economy (Townsend, 2003; Mitullah, 2003).

According to Mitullah (2003) in his study on street vendors in countries like vendors Kenya, Cote D’ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa, it proved that there has been
minimal research in the area of street vending. For instance, in Ghana a number of studies have been done on market trade but this was the first study on street vending. However, the case studies by Mitullah did not provide estimates of street vendors. The negligence of street vendors has led to the lack of accurate data on the estimated numbers of vendors in these countries. Mitulah’s findings also revealed that, this has also resulted in the conflicts with urban authorities over licensing, taxation, site of operation, sanitation and the working conditions. In spite of the uncertainties that street vendors face, they have great future goals and aspirations. Hawking therefore serves as a means of survival in difficult circumstances. It served as a stepping stone for many to realize their future dreams (Mitullah, 2003).

Street vending shares some common characteristics worldwide though there may be some few differences, the majority are similar in the mode of transaction, goods sold, coping strategies, working hours and the daily challenges faced. According to Bhowmik (2001) in his study on street vendors in about five Indian cities, revealed that there were about 80,000 hawkers in Patna. Out of the number surveyed, 32% of them resided in Patna while the rest resided in the outskirts of the city or in the neighboring districts. The sex composition showed that 33% were females and 67% were males. At the same time, it should be noted that the survey found that in almost all cases the male hawkers were supported by their wives and one or two children. If we take this into account, female participation in the profession will increase.

Bhowmik’s work revealed that the proportion of female vendors was higher in the past but this has been decreasing since the past decade. The main reason for the less involvement of women in vending in some of these cities was that they were afraid of the harassment they faced from different quarters, such as the males, the police and the municipal authorities. The level of education of hawkers was generally low in Patna. This tallied with the findings of Townsend
(2003) in his work titled ‘reflection on power and justice in enabling occupation in Canada’. The literacy levels of the hawkers showed that 27% were illiterate while 40% had had primary education. The rest, 33%, had studied up to secondary school. The income earned was too low for them to employ others on wages. Hawkers are supported by their wives and one or two of their children. They help the vendors in doing other activities rather than selling. The wives help their husbands in procuring the goods and the children help in sorting out the different goods at home. Family help becomes essential because the hawker cannot do all the activities on his / her own. The low income from the trade makes it impossible to employ others for helping out. However, these sometimes affect the children because, some of the children, especially girls, do not go to school so that they can help their parents. Bhowmik (2001) in his study in the city of Bhubaneshwar, India, the findings showed that vendors (21%) invested their own working capital. Most of the female vendors come in this category. They are mainly petty vegetable vendors. Around one-fifth (19%) of the vendors have borrowed from moneylenders who charged high rates of interest (110% per annum) and this is a common phenomenon among street vendors. Less than 10% of the hawks in get help from their family members in their activities. In all cases however, the entire family is dependent of the hawker for their survival. This proved how important street vending is to many families, in urban areas (Bhowmik, 2001).

Street hawking takes different forms and used various forms of urban space depending on the goods sold and the concentrations of targeted customers. Female street vendors are more mobile; they carried their goods in baskets on their heads and went from door to door to sell their wares. They would move to Market to get their goods. Some women squat on the pavements targeting pedestrians and motorist. Some women sort to hawking because their husbands lost their jobs and have been unemployed for several years. These women have become the breadwinners for
their homes. They provide for most of the expenses for the household through their meagre incomes, as they are the main earners (Bhowmik, 2001)

According to Njaya (2015), street vendors did not only face the issue of less opportunity to receive the best education but also have limited access to capital. Their source of working capital was mainly moneylenders, whiles some of the hawkers got credit from credit societies. Other sources of funding were from friends and relatives. This showed that they mainly relied on their social capital to venture into the street vending. (Njaya, 2015)

More importantly, it has become necessary to view Street vendors as micro-entrepreneurs contributing towards combating unemployment and poverty (Garg et al, 2014). It is therefore important that the state through national policies to protect the right of the micro entrepreneurs. They should be provided with vocational education and training and entrepreneurial development skills to develop their technical and business potential as to increase their income level as well as to look for more income alternatives. Lack of access to institutional finance, limited space (no permanent space for vending for many) to run their businesses and little scope to expand their venture amidst the bureaucratic hurdles they face, makes it difficult for them to maintain a balance between business and personal life. Street vendors also have low management skills, face competition (from other street vendors and shops) and have little collective action. It is therefore important that street vendors are catered for because they provide the local demands of the population in a more convenient way (Garg et al, 2014).

2.5 Street vending and urban space management
Hawkers are found worldwide to occupy public spaces and Municipal authorities have fought battles to evict them but little success (Lubblel, 1991) According to Kusakabe Kyoko (2006) the issue of urban space in the context of street vending is often given political interests.
According to Bostic, Kim and Valenzuela (2006) the Arab Spring democratic uprisings originated in Tunisia in December 2010 and arose independently throughout several countries in the Arab world in 2011. This period exhibited the intolerance of vendors to various policies of states and municipalities authorities. The conflict was to make vending more expansive, efficient, and fruitful for vendors, consumers, and other stakeholders such as merchants, residents, and passers-by. When it comes to street vending, some of the pressing needs are the issues regarding the use of public space, the right to the city, and local ordinance enforcement and dereliction. Vending is seen by municipal authorities as private capture of public space that involves significant costs. In addition to its representing a violation of municipal codes, the presence of vending activities in locations lacking well established infrastructure meant for such commerce means it can be an impediment to traffic flow and contribute to congestion and other negative externalities, including pedestrian and consumer safety. However, it can also contribute to economic development, employment, and services and product provision (Bostic, Kim and Valenzuela, 2016).

The issues about the legitimate use of public space, the right to the city, and enforcement of laws regarding urban layout are further complicated by differences in the street vendors’ diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, and their migrant status. As a result, recent street vendors’ challenges and protests have been important with some political implications about the future of our urban societies. One only needs to be reminded that the Arab Spring began as a street vendor’s protest to his constricted livelihood and poor relations with local police. Cities have been expanding in terms of population, spatial contestation in practice regarding race and immigration has also been increasing. One’s race, class, and legal status significantly
determine the range of activities and liberties that one seeks and can practice in public space. 
(Bostic, kim and Valenzuela, 2016)

The viewpoint of vendors seems to differ from that of urban authorities. While the urban authorities in the cities view vending sites as temporary, vendors view them as permanent. Urban authorities have the perception that street trading is temporary that makes them not to see the need to provide vendors with proper market facilities. Despite the public’s perception and opinions of hawkers, they value their work, their conduct, the quality of their products and the spaces in which they traded. Vendors, adhered to the laws and regulations governing hawking so that they could be part of a network of traders, while simultaneously trying to create a space for themselves (Mitullah, 2003; Njaya, 2014)

Street vending and service provision in African cities occurs in different parts of streets and roads. Most traders locate themselves at “strategic points” where heavy human traffic are like traffic light spots, while others walk from one place to the other. They locate themselves along main roads and streets, near shopping centres or at corners where they can be seen by pedestrians and motorists. Traders settle in streets spontaneously without any official allocation. However, the case study from Kenya by Mitullah (2003) shows that there are informal methods used in locating and operating within a particular site. Some hawkers, consult the owners of neighbouring yard, others negotiate with acquaintances, others, are allocated spaces by the Local Authorities, while some share with friends and colleagues (Mitullah, 2003).

According to Bhowmik (2001) and Akers & Akers (2003) in some countries like India, the laws of the municipal authorizes have sections that allocate public space for certain types of activities which are for the benefit of the people. These include space for hospitals, school parks, markets among others. The question here is, does allocation of space for street vendors represented in
these plans? Vendors choose their location based on several factors such as the type of goods sold, availability of customers, social fraternity and ethnic affiliations. How can these factors be cooperated for the effective involvement of street hawkers in urban space planning and allocation? (Bhowmik 2001; Akers & Akers, 2003)

The most important question in the issue of public pace allocation for street vendors is that; who decides what public space is and who has primary claim to that space. Some scholars have critiqued the way urban planning and design institutions have sought to implement aesthetic urban design visions that reflect the values of segments of society, even when these values implicitly result in the exclusion of other groups. Literature has revealed that this effect is particularly limited to race and ethnicity; in some contexts, minorities and immigrants are assumed to “not belong” and can be subject to harassment and less freedom in public spaces. Margret Crawford, during a conference title “Contesting the street II” held in California, made mention of how the Black Lives Matter movement has brought to the American consciousness the intricate relationship between race and urban public space.

John Taylor and Lily Song (2016), who examine the experiences with relocating street vendors from the street to purpose-built public markets in three Indonesian cities (Jogya, Solo, and Jakarta), consider additional criteria. These were some of the deductions made during the process of reallocation. Most of the relocation initiatives failed. They pointed out three reasons for those failures. First, relocation efforts placed too much emphasis on aesthetics rather than commercial infrastructure. Second, the relocation processes failed to prepare vendors for free-market competition, resulting in inability to compete in a more formal setting. Finally, longer-term relocation planning and management failed to consider the emerging and fluid needs of vendors.
They argue that there is a need for effective coordination and collaboration between governmental authorities and the vendor community (Taylor and Song, 2016).

Meanwhile, with lack of access to institutional finance and limited space (no permanent space for vending for many) to run their businesses and little scope to expand their venture; Hawkers, face bureaucratic hurdles with municipal authorities, face competition (from other street vendors and shops) and have little collective action. The need helps overcome the challenges they face with other street vendors and accessibility to market (vantage locations) (Garg et al. 2014).

2.6 Policies on street vending and hawking
Some countries have a well-defined policy regulating the activities of street vendors and hawkers. India is a very good example in policies regarding street vendors and hawkers. Bhowmik (2001) showed some policies of the municipal authorities in some major Indian cities where street vending activities are high, regarding the activities of street vendors. These cities included Patna, Bangalore, Mumbai, Calcutta, among others. In Patna, the Municipal Corporation Act of 1951 laid down certain rules relating to street vending. Some of the rules, included: street vendors could only operate after receiving permission from the Chief Executive Officer through the Municipal Commissioner; no stalls can be set up; no goods can be displayed or sold on public street without prior permission of C.E.O.; vendors cannot construct permanent structures. Permanent structures could be removed without prior notice by the C.E.O; licensed vendors have to state the items sold. Police can punish anyone causing obstruction, annoyance or inconvenience in public space. Slaughtering of animals in public and exposing goods for sale offenders can be arrested without a warrant and can be convicted or fined.

In Calcutta, the Municipal Corporation Act. This was Bill No. 33 of 1997 and was known as The Calcutta Municipal Corporation (Second Amendment) Bill, 1997. This defined the activities of
street vendors. The policy break down includes: street vendors were prohibited from using pavement, street, park or garden to sell. Any basket or receptacle or goods on pavement was to be avoided; any hawker contravening shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term extending up to three months or fined; there should be no form of encroachment of public places by hawkers.

In Bangalore the Karnataka Municipalities Act. 1964 is used to regulate street vending and hawking activities in the city. These included: the Municipal authority is in charge of constructing, altering and maintaining suitable space for vegetable vending; permission for the sale of vegetables may be permitted temporarily and month or daily fee may be charged; hawking can be carried in the hawking zone between 8 am to 8 pm; hawkers are not permitted to sell these goods at busy circle intersections; there is only one license per family at a fee and license may be renewed at the decision of the Commissioner.

In Mumbai, the laws regarding street vending includes: street vendors are not to obstruct the passage of the public or impede the working of open channels; structure of street vendors in the wrong place are liable to removal and street vendors must secure license before starting their sales.

It is important to state that all these policies tried to give guidelines regulating the activities but not much was said about providing a suitable place for street hawkers to trade their goods. The punishment for contravening some of the policies are much higher than that of rapist and other offenses., only two cities, namely Patna and Bhubaneshwar have some provision for including street vendors. Bhubaneshwar Development Authority has reserved 3% of the public space as commercial zone. Shops are allotted space in this area. However, the spaces are not enough for
hawkers to trade. When urban management policies allow vendors to conduct their trade, positive impact results on several fronts on poverty, employment, entrepreneurship, social mobility and peace and order” (Bhowmik, 2001)

2.7 Challenges of street vendors and hawkers
Street vending and hawking comes along with many challenges, in spite of the various favourable reasons that led many to join this form of employment. Some of the challenges street vendors face includes limited access to credit facilities, harassment from the police and Municipal authorities, limited urban space for transacting business, and road accidents among other. Hawkers can be found at major bus stands, train stations, unfortunately the activities of hawkers in these places exposes them to the most brutal attacks of authorities and road accidents.

Female vendors face several problems in their work places as compared to male vendors. Some of the problems include lack of toilet facilities, no place to keep their children while they were at work among others. Most of the female vendors who had small children took them along to work (Bhowmik, 2001). They are also discriminated in accessing of loans from credit societies and they have to depend on moneylenders for their credit needs. Financial agencies do not give loans to them mainly because the women are largely illiterate and are poorer sections of the urban poor and these agencies feel that their loans may not be repaid. The earnings of female vendors are lower than that of the males (Bhowmik, 2001)

One of the top causes of stress among street vendors is eviction and/or confiscation of their wares by city authorities. Vending on the street is illegal in many countries. One may forget that hawkers selling their wares at the areas that later become natural markets are in fact providing essential services to the public at low costs. Their dismissal will not only deprive them of their sources of livelihood but it will also inconvenience the public at large as they will have to spend
more and travel longer distances to get the same services. Vendors trade in perpetual fear of expulsion because they can be chased out of the street at any time. Eviction risk is intensified during street events, elections and city beautification exercises. They are forced to pay bribes almost every day. Hawkers are sometimes charged with fines that are collected by individuals contracted to collect them. The amounts which are not well communicated to hawkers make them victims of excess payment. Even after paying the fines, their good could be confiscated. They also face harassment from the municipal authorities and from the police. In the case of India, the only way vendors can escape this harassment is to work in their area of work controlled by local muscle men. These vendors pay the local muscle men what is “called protection money”, popularly known as “Rangdhari Tax””. These local musclemen may also pick up some of the commodities of the hawkers under their protection without paying. (Bhowmik, 2001; Skinner, 2011 and Garg et al, 2014).

Another challenge facing street vendors and hawkers is the limited access to credit facilities. Street traders in Accra and Takoradi admitted that they get stressed because they have no support. Credit facilities are difficult to access and they also have to pay for services in full with exorbitant tolls and taxes. Women in particular face the greater difficulty in accessing of loans to finance their trading. Street vendors worked for 10 to 12 hours daily on the average. The source of credit was either moneylenders or wholesalers. Most of them invest their own working capital to keep the business running. Some borrowed from moneylenders who charged high interest rates (110% per annum) (Bhowmik 2001; Alfers, 2009 and Garg et al, 2014).

The nature of street vending is such that daily, weekly and monthly income tends to be unpredictable. It is usually a meagre amount. This is because street vendors are generally forced to keep the prices they charge very low in order to sell their goods in a competitive market. In a
study by Mitullah Winnie, Majority (59.8%) of the males worked between 6-10 hours whereas
the majority (33.3%) of the women were engaged in the selling for 3-5 hours averagely
(Mitullah, 2003; Crossa, 2009, and Garg et al, 2014)

According to Tettey (2003) Section 24(1) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana states that “Every
person has the right to work under safe and healthy conditions…” however the Department of
factories Inspectorate (DFI), the Occupational Health and Safety agency of the Ministry of
Employment and Labour Relations; function under the out-dated factories, offices and shops Act
of 1970. The labour Act of 2003 does not cover all informal work in spite of their get
contribution to the economy of the country. There are other governmental institutions that
indirectly impacts on occupational safety and health and these includes the Environment
Protection Agency, the occupational and environmental unit of the Ghana Health Service and the
National Road Safety Commission. This assertion can be backed up by Garg et al (2014), who
stated that lack of sanitation and drinking water facilities was some of the problems street
vendors and hawkers faced on a daily basis. It is therefore very important that the health needs of
street vendors and hawkers are provided per the provision of the law.

2.8 Health and well-being in the street
Street vendors are prone to a number of health risks. These include road accidents, skin diseases,
stress and sexual abuse. The working conditions of the vendors are tough. They work at least 10
hours every day to earn their meagre incomes. Majority of them have to walk long distances to
sell usually up to 10 km. some have to travel for about 30-40km every day to sell their goods.
These people however have to leave their homes in their villages at around 5 a.m. each day in
order to reach the markets on time and to start work on the street. Some arrive by bus from their
villages and return home at around 10 p.m. after settling their accounts. The other vendors, who lived within 10 kilometres from their work places get back home on foot (Bhowmik, 2001)

This is confirmed in a study by Cross (1998), where he noted that, street vendors deal with exposure to the weather, fluctuation of income, boredom, long working hours and long and convenient trips to purchase merchandise

According to Amegah & Jaakkola, 2014, exposure of pregnant street vendor to traffic-related air Pollution somewhat impaired foetal growth

Some vendors worked for more than four years without vacation. Selling year round have also increased their exposure to many street–related diseases. Not only did the street vendors faced the hours of setting and dismantling stalls and the physical exertion of transport, but they also stood on street corners, open spaces and pavements exposed to harsh weather. In a study on Mumbai Street vendors stated that more numbers of street vendors suffered from stress related diseases. About 85 per cent of the street vendors complained of stress-related diseases like migraine, hyper acidity, hyper tension and high blood pressure (Njaya, 2015)

Street vendors are more prone to road traffic accident than the ordinary person. Their advertisement (calling out for customers), bargaining of customers, noises of vehicles and drivers’ assistant calling their routes make traffic spots noisy. This description is typical of rush hours at most heavy traffic spots. The busy walkways are difficult to navigate; forcing pedestrians unto the street and this exposes both pedestrians and street vendors to motor accidents (Eden, 2010).

A study by Kwankye et al , (2007), on street vendors some parts of Accra, proved that some female vendors confirmed that they got sexual advances from customers, their fellow vendors and passers-by. Some participants also confirmed that poverty and lack of proper
accommodation push female vendors into sexual relationships, some of which result in pregnancy or abortion. The knowledge of family planning was found to be lower among street vendors than the average Ghanaian (Kwankye, Nyarko, & Tagoe, 2007).

Inadequate toilet facilities and the deplorable state of public toilets exposed hawkers to urinary tract infections and kidney diseases. Aside the risk of acquiring infectious disease from the street, street vendors are exposed to brutalities of street life such as rape, commercial sex work and crime, because they literally live in the street. Majority (83%) of hawkers complained about having difficulty in sitting, carrying objects, pains and aches in waist, shoulder, or elbow and other joints problems according to Owusu (2013). This is because of the nature of street vending. It requires lifting, stretching, walking, running, and standing most of the time. Street either carried their wares on the heads, shoulders or in their hands. Others hanged their wares on their cloths. Some of those carrying their merchandise on their heads had a small piece of cloth wrapped on their heads to support the trays. Carrying objects especially on the head exerted pressure on the musculoskeletal system. Usually vendors have to carry their wares (which could be heavy) for 5 hours a day on average predisposing them to musculoskeletal diseases. However, the awareness of these health implications did not persuaded vendors to use protection. Street vendors will rather “be careful” than go for check-ups. Although this could imply that street vendors are not health conscious, poverty could make them take this stance Owusu (2013).

2.9 Coping strategies of street vendors and hawkers in some countries
Street hawkers have adopted ways to overcome the hurdle from urban authorities and to meet their daily sales target. Some ways street vendors or hawkers have tried to adapt to the harsh conditions and the challenges they face in their work on a daily basis seems to be similar in most
places. According to Mitullah, street vendors in India, to reach their customers, they locate themselves at spots of heavy vehicular or human traffic, such as the train stations, taxi ranks, and traffic light stands among others, they do their advertisement by calling out for customers in traffic spots, and walk between vehicles in times of intense traffic. In order to ensure successful sales, they use special marketing and advertising techniques, such as changing their prices and respond to competition. (Mitullah, 2003; Eden, 2010).

To start the business and to keep it running, they also relied on social capital. This social capital can be divided into three categories was adopted (Njaya, 2015). The categories of social capital include bonding, bridging and linkages. Bonding capital are links to people based on a common identity for example, family, close friends and people of same culture. Bridging capital are links that stretch beyond a shared sense of common identity for example, distant friends whereas linking capital are links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder The network included those to whom an individual can turn for advice, help in resolving problems or favours such as borrowing money or buying goods on credit. (Njaya, 2015). Description of social capital as concrete social ties and obligations among individuals which give them benefits not otherwise obtainable gives a more vivid picture of the forms of social capital used by street vendors and hawkers. Human capital is therefore embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual (Coleman, 1990).

Some street vendors established mutual informal associations with shop owners through agreements. Shop owners and vendors could agree to share electricity and water bills as well as the sweeping of the pavements. Sometimes the shop owners stored the vendors” goods overnight. In return the street vendors sometimes agreed to sell products on the street on behalf of the shop owners. Shop owners selling computer and mobile phone accessories preferred such
arrangements as they brought their products closer to the customers and hence boosted their sales. Njaya (2014)

Street vendors are reluctant to use the service of banks. This is due to a number of reasons. The foremost of these reasons is the high bank charges and the strict requirements when opening an account. However, some banks have adjusted to meet the changing needs of the informal sector. The second reason was the fear of bankruptcy. This is because some banks had to be closed down during the economic crisis in the year 2000 while others had to merge. With several banks collapsing, and many depositors running at a loss, street hawkers in Zimbabwe feared that further bank failures or collapses could follow. Some of the reasons why street vendors avoided the use of bank service included: high bank charges and strict requirements when opening an account; the collapse of some banks during the economic crisis; high tax avoidance and the emergence of Mobile money (Njaya, 2014).

Majority of the street use their income almost immediately after receiving it. Hence they accrue little income even when deposited in to the bank. Hence street hawkers did not find it so necessary to use the banks All admitted that they preferred they used of mobile money transfer services instead. Their introduction of multicurrency system in 2009, have therefore increased the interest of many to use the service (Njaya, 2014).
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Intervening Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Daily Challenges of Traffic entrepreneurs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intervening Factors</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coping Strategies adopted by traffic entrepreneurs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Social Capital (Information, starting capital, accommodation, etc...)</td>
<td>Timely sales (Night sales)</td>
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<td>Eviction</td>
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<td>Confiscation of goods</td>
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<td>Perishing of goods</td>
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<td>Health hazards (Accidents)</td>
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<td>Using red light etc…</td>
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Source: Author’s construct, 2018

Many move to urban areas with great expectations of better opportunities, well paid job and the hope of enjoying better infrastructure. Rapid urbanization of cities has increased urban unemployment. Moving into the informal sector becomes the option when migrants are not able to fit into the formal sector. This is due to the unavailability of jobs and the inability of migrants to meet the skills requirement that will help them fit into the formal sector. Many urban dwellers who go into the informal sector engage in traffic entrepreneurship. Low skill requirement, low starting capital needed and the availability of market makes it easy to engage in the traffic entrepreneurs businesses. Traffic entrepreneurs take advantage of open public spaces of human
traffic like pavements, pathways, school parks and gardens among other. This study focuses on
the daily challengers of Traffic entrepreneurs and the coping strategies adopted by to overcome
them.

Traffic entrepreneurs however, are face with daily challenges in their operations. City authorities
view the activities of Traffic entrepreneurs as a distortion to urban beauty, a nuisance and an
activity that has no benefit to the economy. City guards and Municipal taskforce therefore use
means such as confiscation of goods, eviction, decongestion and demolition among others to
regulate and reduce the activities of Traffic entrepreneurs. Traffic entrepreneurs on the other
hand see selling in these public spaces as their source of livelihood. Traffic entrepreneurs are
constantly evicted from one place to another by the Municipal taskforce. Goods are often
confiscated and the have high fine charged before goods are released. Some other challenges
Traffic entrepreneurs encounter are difficulties in accessing credit, perishing of unsold goods and
risk of accidents. Traffic entrepreneurs are also exposed to road accidents in the quest to meet
their daily sales targets.

Traffic entrepreneurs have adopted strategies to overcome the challenges they face on daily
basis. Coping strategies are determined by the type of challenge an entrepreneur’s encounter.
They sometimes depend on their social networks as intervening mechanism to overcome their
challenges. Traffic entrepreneurs depend on social networks like relatives, friends, store owners
and fellow traffic entrepreneurs for information regarding the operation of Municipal taskforce,
capital to start business, storing of goods and possible public spaces for operation among others.
Finally, to avoid the hurdles of these challenges, traffic entrepreneurs have adopted certain
coping strategies for each challenge they face. To avoid the hurdles from Municipal task force
and City guards with regards to the use of open public space, Traffic entrepreneurs use, weekend sales, creating their own public space by using trolley-like carts and potable hand held stands. To avoid perishing of good, traffic entrepreneurs use seasonal sales, negotiate with store owners to store of their goods in refrigerators.
CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction
This chapter describes the study area and the methodology employed for the study. It explains that general overview of the physical features of the Ga East district and some important towns in the district. It also explains the sample design and the methodology used for gathering the data and justifies why the methods were used. It finally discusses the data analysis and limitations of the study.

3.2 The Study Area
Accra is the capital of Ghana and also serves as the economic hub of the Greater Accra region. Ga-East district is one of the newly created districts in the Greater Accra Region in 2006. It is located at the North-western part of the region. Development and planning of the district is managed by the Abokobi district Assembly headed by the district Chief Executive. The district Assembly is the administrative office for all issues concerning the district. Some towns in the District include Abokobi, Adenta West, Ayi Mensah, Ashongman, Madina, Pantang, Oyarifa and Kwabenya. Abokobi serves as the district capital for the Ga East District. Abokobi is a site of some events and information of the past. It is also a site for some of the most remarkable Presbyterian missionary activities and slave trade activities. Madina is also one of the towns with the largest market in the district. The route from Adenta to Madina and to Atomic junctions serves as some of the busiest routes for the activities of traffic entrepreneurs.

(Madina, is known for its large market and sales of a variety of goods and services, that range from electronics, home goods clothing and food products (Zook, 2017). This may be due to the

35
large number of people who go to Madina daily and the converging point, making it possible for people from all neighbouring towns to go there to shop. Madina also serves as the location for many financial activities and it is a place where almost all Banks in Ghana can be found. This makes it a place of commerce and financial transaction to both the Ga East District and the La-Nkwantanang Municipal Assembly. Madina is approximately 29 kilometres from the central Accra, the capital of Greater Accra (Antwi-Agyei, 2009). According to the 2010 Ghana Population and Housing census by the Ghana Statistical Service, there are over 100,000 migrants living in Madina; Approximately 71 percent of them are Ghanaians coming from other regions in Ghana (Ghana Statistical service, 2014).

3.3 Research Location
The study focuses on traffic entrepreneurs located along places of heavy human and vehicular traffic from Adenta to the busy traffic light spots of Madina. Choosing this setting for the study is because street vendors and hawkers are strategically situated on this route that links the District and the Municipality.

3.4. Research Design
This study used the combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The primary data collection approach included the administration of questionnaires to the traffic entrepreneurs, Key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. To combine different techniques for the data collection and analysis, the mixed method approach was used (Bryman, 2001). This used both the quantitative and qualitative research technique to avoid the weakness of using just one method and it assured the completeness of the research questions (Creswell et al, 2003 and Bryman, 2011). In-depth interview technique was used because it gave further explanation of the responses collected during the administration of the questionnaires. This made
the findings from the quantitative survey more meaningful. Using both techniques helps to one method to clarify the results from the other (Onuwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005: as cited in Atsu, 2017)

3.5 Questionnaires survey
Data collected through interviews, face-to-face interviews and interview with key informants were used for the analysis. The data were collected from street vendors and hawkers along some principal streets of the Ga-East District Assembly. This included some places of heavy human and vehicular traffic such as Adenta barrier, Ritz junction, Madina, Atomic and Okponglo. The spots of the study were purposefully selected because they were converging areas of human activities, and intersections with traffic lights and street light that makes traffic entrepreneur business possible. The researcher selected the sample size long the stretch of the Adenta-Madina Street.

The study involved 100 traffic entrepreneurs who were purposively selected to answer structured questionnaires for the quantitative component of the study. The sample size of 100 respondents were purposively selected for easy analysis of the results. The respondents were purposively selected because of the nature of the Traffic entrepreneurs’ activities. The quantitative technique was used to measure the socio-demographic and the economic characteristics of the migrants involved in traffic entrepreneur business, as well as the factors that influenced their migration. Only street vendors who are migrants were selected for the study.

Purposive sampling also known as the criterion-based selection which involved specific regions, persons, characteristics, events and areas are selected deliberately in order to gather the essential information for the study was used (Islam, 2010). Patton (2002), states that, purposive sampling is used in situations where the researcher selects a specific group of people with some particular
characteristics for a particular study or survey. Purposive sampling which is a non-probability sampling method was therefore used to collect the quantitative data. This was used because of the nature of the work of the target group and the setting for the study. The traffic entrepreneurs are not in a fixed area. The research had to use this sampling technique to meet its target population.

3.6 In-depth Interviews
During the qualitative research design, two (2) officials from the Madina Municipal Assembly were selected for the key informants’ interview and (6) Traffic entrepreneurs were randomly selected for the in-depth interview. Those involved in the in-depth interview involved three (3) vendors along the pathways of human traffic and three (3) hawkers from places of vehicular traffic.

These techniques were used to find out the relationships among traffic entrepreneurs, to find out the challenges, coping strategies and adaptation strategies used by traffic entrepreneurs to survive in places of their activities. This method made it possible to collect data that could not be collected quantitatively.

3.7 Data Analysis
The quantitative data collected from the administration of the questionnaires were coded, captured and analysed using the version 21 of the SPSS Statistics software package. On the other hand, the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews and key informants’ interviews were analysed using the 3-tier approach which involves transcription, classification and interconnection (Dey, 1993). The final analysis and interpretations of the findings from the surveys and interviews were done by using analytical techniques such as pie charts, tables and
bar graphs. Some Bi-variate analysis which involved the use of cross tabulation of some variables was done and using Pearson chi-square significance.

3.8 Ethical Consideration
Ethical issues played a very important role in undertaking this research. The protection of the respondents and their consent was essential. To accomplish this, the following ethical considerations were made.

Before I begun the interviews, I first introduced myself to all my participants and explained to them the purpose of my study. My participants were given the option to participate in the interview or refuse to continue at their free will. They had the right not to answer any question that they felt uncomfortable with.

The confidentiality of the information given by respondents was very crucial, in spite of the difficulties involved in collection of the data in view of the fluidity of vending activities. Every respondent was assured that the information they gave during the administration of the questionnaires and the in-depth interview would be kept confidentially. The data would not be disclosed to anyone and their identities would be protected from any third party. To ensure anonymity of the respondents, I gave them pseudo names with respect to their responses.

Finally, the responses were analysed and interpreted without exposing the identity of the participants and the data was solely used for its designated purpose that is academic.

3.9 Limitations
There were some limitations during the administering of the questions and in-depth interviews that deserve mentioning:
1. Most of the traffic entrepreneurs demanded that they be paid before they could fully participate in the survey. This is due to the loss of income as they spend time with the researcher to answer questions. I decided to appreciate their time by giving them souvenirs only after they have completed an interview or a questionnaire. For some, I decided to buy their commodity after the interview. This was because their main source of income was from selling. I did this to compensate them for my interruption of their daily activity and the time they spent to participate in the research.

2. Getting the full attention of the traffic entrepreneurs who responded to the questionnaires and interview was difficult. This was because of their movement and the busy nature of their work. But it was possible to conduct the interviews as the researcher concentrated fully on the interviews even when it was noisy.

3. Finally, getting an official of the Municipal Authority and the Municipal task force for the interview was quite discouraging because of the protocols that had to be addressed. It took a lot of time but the interviews were conducted in the long run.
CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TRAFFIC ENTREPRENEURS

4.0 Introduction
This chapter is on the socio-demographic characteristics of the traffic entrepreneurs. They include their age, sex, educational level and marital status.

4.1 Background characteristics of Traffic entrepreneurs
To understand the activities of migrant traffic entrepreneurs, it is necessary to identify the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the study population. Migration as a process is determined by demographic factors such as education, religion, occupation among others. This chapter needed the demographic characteristics of migrant traffic entrepreneurs as a basis to analyse the factors that made them move to Accra to engage in street vending and hawking.

4.2 Sex Distribution of migrants
Figure 4.1 shows the sex distribution of the migrants by their sex and explains which sex group is highly engaged in traffic entrepreneur businesses in Accra. It revealed that 56 percent of the migrants interviewed were females, and the males represented 46% percent. The sex distribution of the sample suggests that female traffic entrepreneurs are more than their male counterparts in some parts of the Ga-East Municipal Assembly. Though the sample may not represent the entire labour force in Ghana, it also suggests that a larger proportion of those employed in the informal sector are females. This affirms the findings of the Ghana Statistical Service report, 2016 which indicate that street vending is a female-dominated economic activity (GSS, 2016).
4.3 Ages Distribution of the Migrants

The age of respondent serves as an essential demographic characteristic in the study of migrant traffic entrepreneurs. The age distribution of the migrant traffic entrepreneurs interviewed ranged from 21 years to 63 years, with a mean age of 39.7 years and a standard deviation of 1.11. The highest percentage (43%) of migrants interviewed were between 30-39 years, 28 of the respondents were between the ages of 20-29 years which made up about 28 percent of the entire sample while 18 percent of those interviewed were between aged of 40 to 49 years. Only about 5 percent of the respondents were between the ages of 50-59 years age category and 6 percent were between the ages of 60-69 years. The majority (71%) of the traffic entrepreneurs are aged 20-39 years. This has an implication for policy regarding their contribution to the labour force at their place of origin. This is because they form the youthful and productive labour force of their origin. The age distribution confirms the observation that the youth are the most mobile, productive and most capable of migrating especially internationally (Atsu, 2017).
Table 4.1 Age of Migrant Traffic entrepreneurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

4.4 Age and sex of migrant traffic entrepreneurs by sex

It can be observed in Table 4.2, that about 43 percent of the respondents fall between the ages of 30-39 years, a break down by sex, reveals that more than half (60.5%) of those in these category were females whiles the males formed 39.5 percent of this category. Respondents between the ages of 20-29 years formed the next largest group of the sample, accounting for 28 percent of the total number interviewed. Out of these, 64.3 percent of these categories were females, whiles the males formed 35.7 percent. This could be an indication that young females drop out of school more than males, at the origin to engage in economic activities. Migrant traffic entrepreneurs falling between the ages of 50-69, were 11 percent of the population interviewed. Out of this, 45.5 percent were females, while the males form 54.5 percent. This could be as a result of the aged from the traffic entrepreneurial activities. This may be as a result of the rigorous, and energy-demanding nature of the work street vendors do each day.
Table 4.2 Age-Sex distribution of the migrant traffic entrepreneurs, percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

4.5 Distribution of Traffic entrepreneurs by marital status

The marital status of a potential migrant is a very important demographic variable that influences a person’s decision to migrate or not to migrate (Islam, 2010). Table 4.3, shows that less than one third (30%) of the migrant traffic entrepreneurs are married, whereas exactly one quarter (25%) of the sample have never married. Those separated and in a consensual union were 15 percent and 11 percent respectively. Thirteen percent of the respondents were widowed at the time of the interview, while only 5 percent were divorced. The result of the analysis indicates that a greater percentage of the respondents were involved in traffic entrepreneur business in order to support their spouses and homes. The high number of unmarried migrants may also be due to the absence of family restriction and the need to start new life in an urban area. Traffic entrepreneur business served as a source of employment and livelihood for some married women. This was confirmed in the in-depth interview. One respondent says:

“Since my husband lost his work, I cannot just be at home so I decided to sell something to help supply for the home. His income has really reduced and I help him with the little I have to provide for our children” (Doris, 29 years)

Another respondent also said:

“In Accra, you cannot survive by depending on people so, I decide to put some money together to start selling chips. If you put it at the right place, people will buy it. This is the work I survive on” (Agnes, 32)
Table 4.3 Marital status of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensual Union</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

4.6 Traffic entrepreneurs by marital status and sex

Table 4.4 shows the distribution of the marital status by sex. It can be seen from the Table 4.4 that the difference between the never married females and males is negligible. However, the proportion of married men exceeds that of the married women. This could be an indication that there are more married men than women who migrate to Accra to work as street vendors, earn a living and to remit back home. The married men are usually breadwinners in the home. They provide the shelter, food and basic utilities for their families. However, the dominance of females also shows that women now are also breadwinners in their homes; as they also remit to support their family. This is consistent with the finding of Asima (2012) in his study. About 52 percent of those never married were females. This was because of the female dominance in the traffic entrepreneur business and their flexibility in start a business faster than the men. However, from the in-depth interviews, it was revealed that the males married at an older age than the females. This is as a result of some traditions of the respondents and the priority of marriage to females. Some of the reasons given by the males for late marriage were that they needed to be established before getting married. This was confirmed in some in-depth interviews by some interviewees. One said

“As a young man, I need to have enough to be able to take care of my home, my wife and children. I want to be a responsible man. To be a good father, you have to plan for your
family in advance. I will only marry when I realize that I am ready to take care of someone else” (Amankwah, 28 years)

Another respondent also said:

“A woman must marry early and start a family as well as support her family. I got married at the age of 24. I do this work to support my family. That’s the part I can also play. I cannot sit at home looking up to my husband every day” (Kronsu, 35 years)

Table 4.4 Percent distribution of marital status by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensual Union</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

4.7 Educational level by sex of migrants

From Table 5.2, it is evident that about 10% of the traffic entrepreneurs did not received any formal education with the majority (90%) of them being males. It also shows that more than half (59.0 percent) of those who received primary education are females while the males contributed 41.0 percent. Those with primary education (both sexes) constitute 39 percent of the total sample. Out of the 39 percent of the respondents who have Middle school, Junior secondary school, Junior high school as their highest level of education, 61.5 percent of them are females whiles 38.5 percent of them are males. None of the male migrants interviewed had any Senior High School or Vocational Training. Meanwhile, all the five (5) people interviewed who have formal education up to the Senior High School level were all females. Those who have received
some vocational or Technical training are also female. However, those who had a Diploma or Tertiary education in any programme were all males.

From the results of the data analysis, it could be said that the majority (90.0%) of the males did not attain the Secondary school level education; however, the few males who went beyond this level were able to receive a Diploma and Tertiary education. The females interviewed generally had a higher level of education than their male counterparts. The low level of education among the traffic entrepreneurs could be attributed to poverty, lack of interest in education and little prioritization of education at the origin. Some have sorted to traffic entrepreneur business because they could not realize their dreams of better professions and the need to survive in a very competitive urban environment. This was confirmed by some respondents in the in-depth interviews. A respondent said:

“I really had the dream of becoming an agric officer but I could not continue with my education because my parents could not afford to pay for me to further my education. I had to drop out of school to help with the family work and I finally decided to come to Accra so I can work to earn more” (Thomas, 32 years)
Table 4.6 Percent distribution of the educational level by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level attained</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>9 (90.0%)</td>
<td>1 (10.0%)</td>
<td>10 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>16 (41.0%)</td>
<td>23 (59.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school/JSS</td>
<td>15 (38.5%)</td>
<td>24 (61.5%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHS/SSS/Secondary</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>5 (100.0%)</td>
<td>5 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational/Technical</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>3 (100.0%)</td>
<td>3 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HND/Diploma</td>
<td>2 (100.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>2 (100.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44 (44.0%)</td>
<td>56 (56.0%)</td>
<td>100 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Primary Survey, 2018
CHAPTER FIVE

THE MIGRATION PROCESS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter is on the migration process of the traffic entrepreneurs. It covers their origin, reasons for migrating, networks that supported their migration process among other issues.

5.2 Region of Origin
Table 5.1 show the region where the migrant lived before migrating to Accra. About One fourth (25 percent) of the respondents migrated from the Ashanti Region, whiles one fifth (20%) were from the Central Region. Ten percent (10%) of the respondents came from the Volta Region while nine-percent (9%) came from the Brong-Ahafo Region. Upper East and Upper West had five percent (5%) and two percent (2%) of the migrants while, 9% of the migrants came from the Northern region. The high cost involved in migrating to the south might have made migrating to Accra less attractive for those in the Northern Region for street business. Meanwhile 7% of the respondents are Nigerians. This indicates that some foreign nationals are also involved in the traffic entrepreneur business in Accra.

Table 5.1 Distribution of migrant traders by region of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions of migrants</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong- Ahafo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
5.3 Major reasons for Migrating
The Migrants had many different motives for migrating. The reasons for moving are shaped by “Pull” factors at the destination and “Push” factors at the origin. Pull factors at the destination can be grouped into economic and non-economic reasons. The decision to migrate was either individually made or by the influence of the family or friends and the social networks in the destination. From the outcome of the study, some of the non-economic motives for moving to the destination included: marriage, to join parents/relatives and to enjoy better facilities while the economic motives for migrating were to open a business to search for a job in Accra, among others. From Table 5.2, it can be seen that about one-third (31%) of the migrants noted that they came to Accra because of less economic opportunities at their origin. Those who migrated because they were searching for employment constituted 21 percent and 6 percent more than those who migrated because the wanted to start a business on their own. This could be an indication that many move to Accra with the hope of getting employment in the formal sector but this aspirations sometimes is not realized due to some constraints. Those who also stated that they wanted to start their own businesses explained that the availability of opportunities and demand for their services was higher in Accra compared to what prevails at their origin. Only a few (4%) stated that they migrated because of natural disasters and insecurity at the origin. Some of the reasons given by these groups were drought, land litigation issues and clashes between Fulani herdsmen and crop farmers. Those who migrated because of poor social amenities (schools, hospitals and potable water) constituted 5 percent. They moved to Accra to give their children better education, to enjoy better health services among others. From the in-depth interview, a respondent said:
“I came here to do business but my main reason for migrating was to secure a good future for my children. I want them to get the best of education. If you do not go to school today, you can’t do much. I do not want my children to suffer”. (Samson, 34 years)

About 17 percent of the respondents migrated because of their marriage whereas 7 percent were at the destination because they came to join their parents or relatives. All those who migrated because of marriage were females. This was confirmed by some respondents in the in-depth interview. One of the respondents said:

“I came to Accra to join my husband. He moved here first and I was at the village taking care of the children. After he found a job and was able to rent a place, he asked us to come in. I am also supporting him by selling to take care of the family. The cost of living in Accra is very high so it makes sense to come an support my husband” (Abena Mansa, 36 years)

From another respondent:

“I cannot be in the village for my husband alone to toil. I want to be supportive in any way I can so I came to Accra to buy and sell on the street. Since I came to Accra, I have been able to earn some income to help my husband. Our finances are better than before “. (Agbozu Nor, 44 years)

The push factors that led to migrating from the origin of the traffic entrepreneurs to Accra are insecurity, natural disasters, inadequate social amenities and less economic opportunities. During the in-depth interview, further probing on the reasons given revealed that less economic opportunities at the origin left many jobless, there were no markets for their farm produce and commodities sold. Accra, therefore served as an avenue for large market and demand and the hub for different various economic activities.
Table 5.2 Reasons for migrating to Accra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for migrating to Accra</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To open business</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural disasters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enjoy better facilities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In search of Job</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join parents/relatives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less economic opportunities</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

5.4 Reasons for Migrating by sex of migrants

One of the deductions made from the in-depth interviews and the questionnaires administered was that sex influences the reasons for migrating. Some reasons given were peculiar to the sex of the migrant. Table 5.3 depicts the various reasons given by migrants based on their sex. Majority (93.3%) of those who migrated to open a business were males whereas only 6.7% were females. About 54.8% of those who migrated due to less economic opportunities were males whiles 45.2% were females. This could be related to the fact that the men are usually seen as the breadwinners of the home and hence have to provide for the family. Out of the 21% of the respondent who admitted that they migrated to search from jobs, 52.4 percent and 47.6 percent were males and females respectively. Some reasons they gave for migrating to find jobs was that the pay was better in Accra and they could remit back home. For this group of migrants, wage differential was an important aspect of their motive for migrating. This indicated that for some of the migrants, their initial intention was to work in the formal sector but could not gain an employment. Traffic entrepreneur business becomes the immediate source of employment for them to survive in the urban cities where cost of living is high. Street vending and hawking become a great source of employment for the urban unemployed. This is consistent with the
findings of Fadia Gamiedien and Lana van Niekerk (2017) in their study titled “Street vending in South Africa: An entrepreneurial occupation” showed that street vending employed served as a job for many. All (100%) of those who migrated because of marriage were females. These were those whose husbands were settled in Accra and they had to join them. Some findings from the in-depth interview gave detail and information on the reasons for migrating by the respondents.

One respondent said:

“I came here purposely to find a job so I can send my mother some money every month. Back in the village, no one will employ you. With my Secondary school certificate, I thought I could get some form of employment but jobs are scarce here. People are being laid of everyday. I decided to gather some money from working with some people for some time and then invested it into buying and selling phones on the street. Hopefully when I become established I will start planning for marriage.” (Jones, 26 years)

This is what another had to say:

“My husband asked me to join him in Accra with our children so we moved in. At least I am able to do something to support my husband here. Selling on the street is flexible because you do not have to rent a place for so much. The income is higher than doing the same business in the rural areas. Here there is the probability of meeting a lot of customers in a day. (Nancy, 36 years)

According to Mitullah, (2001) street vendors sometime assist their spouses in the business. The wives help their husbands in getting the goods while the children help in arranging them.
Table 5.3 Reasons for migrating based on sex of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for migrating</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less economic opportunities</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To open a business</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93.9%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Disasters</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enjoy better facilities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join parents/relatives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In search of job</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

5.5 Occupation before migration
The study looked at the employment status of the migrants prior to their movement to Accra.

This purpose of this is to find out how their decision to migrate has impacted on their livelihood at the destination. It also considered whether migrating has brought about “brain gain” or “brain drain” since the skilled manpower as human capital has been moved from the origin.

From Table 5.4 below, about half of the migrants (48%) were involved in some form of economic activity at the origin before migrating. This indicates that there is a consequence on agricultural productivity because about 21 percent of the migrants involved in agricultural activities at the origin have been lost to the destination as traffic entrepreneurs. This affects the output per labour at the origin because the aged are left behind to meet the same agricultural...
demands. The services of traders who used to buy and sell commodities to people in the rural areas will no more be available. This implies that migration creates vacuum for youthful labour force at the origin, hence creates for “brawn drain” at the origin. However, migration serves as a means of employment opportunity for the rural unemployed at the destination, those who were apprentices learning a vocation and the wage earners who are now on pension. This gives them the ability to remit back home. The data depicts that 52% of the respondents were not employed prior to their movement to Accra. For this population, the destination makes them productive and gives them to power to remit back home. Some are able to learn new skills and establish business at the origin upon their return. This in return leads to “brain gain” at the destination which in the long run has a positive effect on the origin.

### Table 5.4 Occupation before migrating

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage earner</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Primary Survey, 2018*

### 5.6 Social networks facilitating the migration process

Theories of migration have explained that the decision to migrate could be influenced by the decision of the family. In this case migration is seen as a risk and income diversification strategy as described by the neoclassical theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985). On the other hand, it could also be the decision of a rational individual based on their profit and loss analysis. Wage differential plays a key role in the decision of the individual as explained by New Economies of labour theory. (De Hass, 2010). These theories explain how the decision to migrate is finalized.
The social network theory also explains that migrants are likely to migrate to a destination where they have some form of social network; relations that will facilitate their movement, integration and final settlement at the destination. Migrants rely on the social capital they can draw from social networks to make their life comfortable and to realize their intention for migrating at the destination.

From the study, some of the social networks that facilitated the movement and final settlement of the respondents at the destination are, friends, family and home town association. The Study discovered that, these social networks played an important role in the decision to migrate. Though some of the respondents admitted it was an individual decision to migrate, they also admitted to the fact that friends and relatives had great influence on the migration planning. About 53 percent of the respondents came to Accra because they had relatives there whiles 43 percent of the migrants depended on social capital drawn from friends. Only 4 percent of the respondents’ migration to Accra was influenced by their hometown association. They emphasized that these social networks highly influenced their decision to migrate because they promised them some help on their arrival. A large section of those influenced by their relatives or family are those who migrated because of marriage and to join their parents or relatives at the destination.

Table 5.5 Percent distribution of Social Networks migrants had at the destination before migrating

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Social network</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives/Family</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hometown Association</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
5.7 Assistance received from social networks at the destination.
Social networks at a destination play an important role in the facilitation of migration and the integration of migrants. The social network could be a relative, friend, distant friend or hometown associations at the destination. This network provides social capital in the form of advice and information on how to start a business, get employed, accommodation, money and language training for successful integration of the migrant at the destination.

During the administration of the questionnaires, respondents were asked the type of assistance they have received from their social networks since their arrival Accra. The results are shown in Table 4.11. About 12 percent of the respondents admitted that the main assistance they received from their social network was information. During the in-depth interview, they explained that the information they got from the social network was in the form of advice on how to start and run their businesses, gain employment and laws governing the city life. Those who received money were 18 percent, while 17 percent admitted that the received only accommodation. Meanwhile 14 percent of the migrants said the social network they had helped them in securing employment in Accra. About one quarter (24%) of the traffic entrepreneurs admitted that they received information and employment opportunities in Accra. In addition, 14 percent of the migrants were given accommodation and assistance in securing a job at the destination.

Table 5.6 Percent distribution of assistance received from social networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of assistance received</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunity</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and employment opportunity</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and employment opportunity</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Primary Survey, 2018

During the in-depth interview, some respondent provided details on the assistance they received from the social networks they had in Accra since their arrival. One of the respondents said:

“I came to Accra, to learn how to fix aluminum doors and windows so I lived with a relative but he could not enroll me in the training so I decided to work with some shops till I got some money to start selling ear piece and head phones on the street. I now live with a friend and we contribute to pay the accommodation and utility bills. I have survived in Accra by the help of relatives and friends. They advise me on the best places to do business and the commodities to sell” (Samson, 25 years).

Another respondent said:

“My sister has been doing business here for a long time. She asked me to come and join her. She has been very successful in her business. She helped me with accommodation and some money to start my own business. Even now, she gives me advice on the changing demands of the market and what goods to sell at every time of the year. Some time ago, my goods were ceased by the Madina Municipal Assembly taskforce, she had to come in to help me retrieve them.” (Joyce, 29 years)

From the study, it was realized that the assistance migrant traffic entrepreneurs received from their social networks was not only in the form of accommodation, money to start business or information on urban life but it also included advice on how their businesses can grow, demand changes of customers and help in times of trouble.
CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES AND COPING STRATEGIES

6.1 Introduction.
This chapter is on the challenges that the traffic entrepreneurs encounter on daily basis and some coping strategies they have adopted to overcome them. It is divide into appropriate sections within which the chapter is discussed.

6.2 Challenges of Migrant traffic entrepreneurs

Traffic entrepreneurs encounter many challenges on a daily basis. Some of the challenges they encounter are from the operation of city authorities, health risks and credit accessibility among other. This study looked at the problems they face and how they have adopted ways to overcome them. A preview of the challenges traffic entrepreneurs interviewed for the study encounter are shown in Table 4.12 below.
Table 6.1 Percent distribution of Challenges of traffic entrepreneurs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predominant daily challenges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less customers on public holidays</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical assault from Municipal taskforce</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable weather condition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road accidents</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger leaving without paying for some goods</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perishing of some goods</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accident experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most frequent forms of Accident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collision with motor bikes</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collision with pedestrians</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being knocked down by vehicles</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slipping while selling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car running over the toes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in Credit Accessibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High interest on loans</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited amount given</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay in payment of loan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

6.3 Predominant daily challenges
In spite of the service traffic entrepreneurs offered to the public, they faced with some daily challenges. The study looked at some of the predominant daily health and operational challenges they face as they go about their activities. These challenges expose traffic entrepreneurs to various dangers which affect them and their productivity. During the administration of the questionnaires, traffic entrepreneurs were asked what their most predominant challenge was on daily basis. Majority (65%) of the respondents agreed that they have been physically assaulted by Municipal taskforce. These forms of abuse included confiscations of goods, physical assault, and destruction of properties, high and unapproved fines. Five (5) of the respondents complained of unfavourable weather condition that affects their activities. Some of the unfavourable weather conditions stated by the respondents were extreme heat during sunshine and heavy rain storms which occur usually around March and May respectively affects their activities. Traffic
entrepreneurs are at risk of certain skin diseases associated to exposure to long hours of standing under the sun. This finding is consistent with the study conducted by Monica Owusua (2013) in her study title “Self-reported health status among street vendors in Accra”. During heavy rain storms, traffic entrepreneurs are forced to stay off the street and to cover their wares to avoid them from damage. This makes it difficult for some to survive during these times as they earn their living from selling on the street. About 7 percent of the respondents admitted that their goods get damages sometimes during the course of their activities or later on. Further probing of the respondents, discovered that some goods that are fragile, fall during the rush hours of their daily sales within the traffic, especially those using the traffic light spots. From a respondent, she stated that it is common to see a commodity fall when the lights are red in an attempt to sell to the moving customer. Some goods also perish if not sold in time, causing traffic entrepreneurs to run at a loss. During the in-depth interview, a respondent said:

“We go to take the blue ice drink from someone who refrigerates it to sell. Sometimes if you are not able to sell it before the day ends, it goes bad and you can’t send it back. (Agbora, 25 years)

6.4 Road accident experience among traffic entrepreneurs

Another challenge facing Traffic entrepreneurs was road accidents. Road accidents become the second predominant challenge they face. The most common form of road accidents included collision with motor bikes and sometimes being knocked down by a vehicle. The busy nature of the main street exposes them to different forms of road accident. Respondents were asked if they have ever been involved in an accident or witnessed an accident during their activities, majority (76%) of them admitted that they have experienced some form of accident while 26 percent have never experience an accident. Out of the 76 respondents who admitted they have ever experienced some form of accident, 73.7 percent of the admitted to witnessing motor bike colliding with traffic entrepreneurs. 8 percent experienced collision with pedestrians, while 13.2
percent admitted that they experience traffic entrepreneurs being knocked down by a vehicle. These forms of accidents are common among traffic entrepreneurs who sell in the places of heavy vehicular traffic, using the traffic light stands. Collision with motor bikes may be related to the recent increase in the “Okada” business. “Okada” becomes an option for passengers when they want to avoid traffic. They tend to use the same path as traffic entrepreneurs during the traffic. This causes many of them to be knocked down the motor bikes during the rush hours. The least occurring accidents were a car running over the toe of a hawker (2%) and hawkers slipping while trying to sell their ware. This occurs because traffic entrepreneurs sometimes have to sell to their ever moving customers especially when the traffic lights go green. During the in-depth interview, some respondents highlighted on challenges they face on a daily basis. One of the respondents said:

“It is not easy to sell in the traffic. We are constantly timing the red light. The red light to us means “go” and the green means “stop”. If you do not understand the difference between the colours and what it means to us, then your life is in danger. I was nearly knocked down by a car just last week. I was lucky only the mirror scratched me hands but I lost some of my commodities. Sometimes passengers will not make their request until the light goes green, but because you have to make daily sales, we sometimes have to run after the vehicle till we are able to sell and get that money. Some people slip and fall and we sometimes collide with each other in attempt to sell to one person” (Micheal Gakpo, 26 years)

Another respondent said:

“It is very important to know how to move along with the traffic. Some people get knocked down by cars because they do not pay attention to the traffic light. I have witnessed a number of accidents. The motor bikes are one of our enemies now. If you do not take care, you will be knocked by a motor bike because they’re always in a rush and we use the same path during intense traffic.” (Juanu, 33 years)

6.5 Challenges in credit accessibility
The activities of traffic entrepreneurs are often seen as a distortion to urban aesthetics. There are frequent categorized as informal and illegal (Mitullah, 2003; Bhowmik, 2003). This has affected
them in many ways especially in their attempt to access capital to start their business. The study looked at some difficulties traffic entrepreneurs faced in their attempt to get some loans to start their business and to expand it. The results are shown in Table 4.12 above. Form the table, the majority (65%) of the traffic entrepreneur complained of high interest on loans. They explained that the percentage of interest ranged from 32 percent and more. Some had to pay an interest of 100% on loans. Some complained of how they had to work hard to pay back their loans within a short period. Twenty-one (21) percent of the respondents also complained of limited amount given that they requested. This is usually in the fear that traffic entrepreneurs may not be able to pay back on time when given large sums of money. Finally, 14 percent of the respondents admitted to delay in payment of loans. This could be a strategy used by the credit facilities to be sure if traffic entrepreneurs would be able to pay back the money given in time. Interview with some traffic entrepreneurs during the in-depth interview, revealed that female entrepreneurs go through much difficulty than male entrepreneurs. This restricting factors discouraged traffic entrepreneurs from applying for credit in the future. They rather relied on their social network and other means to solicit funds to expand their business.

6.6 Traffic entrepreneur experiences with City Guards.
The outcome of the study revealed that the operation of the City guards and the Municipal taskforce seems to be a great challenge to traffic entrepreneurs. This was evident when respondents were asked to state the most frequent challenge they face every day. A follow up question on the type of abuses traffic entrepreneurs had to endure from City guards is revealed in Table 6.3 below. Thirty-eight (38) percent of the respondents complained that their main challenge was the confiscation of goods by city guards. Those whose goods were confiscated, complained that Municipal official often do not explain to them the reason for confiscation their
goods. Victims of confiscated goods are usually those who sell on table tops at a stationary place. About 17 of the respondents also admitted to being physically assaulted by the City guards. City guards in attempt to undertake their daily activities sometimes have clashes with street vendors. This usually occurs when traffic entrepreneurs try to resist their operation. Traffic entrepreneurs also operate in continuous fear of eviction. About 11 percent of the respondents complain of being evicted at least twice. Structure and goods are usually damaged during times of eviction. Another challenge traffic entrepreneurs face from Municipal Taskforce is inappropriate and high fine charges. Street traffic entrepreneurs complained of being charged high revenue tax on daily basis from some official who do not have the mandate to do so. They also complained of being exploited by the Municipal taskforce. When goods are confiscated, they are sometimes asked to pay a fine. Sometimes the getting back the goods in the quantity or volume they were confiscated is not assure even after paying the fines. During the in-depth interview, some respondent complained that there were no fixed fines for how much a traffic entrepreneur pays to the Municipal revenue officials on a daily basis. This has led to some high charges and untimely fines collected from them. Twelve (12) of the respondents admitted that they have been victims of physical assault and goods confiscation whiles 13 of the respondents said they have been physically assaulted and had their goods confiscated. Some respondent explained into details the intensity of the situation. One of the respondents said:

“We are always on the alert. The City guards are always on us. We are sometimes seen s a nuisance to the beauty of the city but that’s not the case. We offer service to the public and they overlook that. The taskforce sometimes abuses their authority by ceasing goods and if you try to resist them, they can abuse you as well. We are charged with high fines. When our goods are ceased, and you go to the municipal office, after paying a fine for them to give your goods to you, you may not get all back. Which is stealing. The city needs to be plan well so we can also get a good place to sell. Not everyone has money to rent one of those stores.” (Samson, 41 years)

Another respondent also said:
“I sell here because the customers are here. We offer them the same goods they will get in the stores at a cheaper cost. I sometimes go to the main road to also sell in the traffic. We are being forced to move from there and I wonder where they want us to go. The recent reallocation cannot be successful because we want to be where the customers are. Just ask yourself, how many people will go to the new place the Municipal Assembly has given us?” (Frankson, 36 years)

Traffic entrepreneurs have adopted new ways timely sales, night sales and movable carts to avoid the hurdles they have with the Municipal Authorities.

### Table 6.2 Challenges posed by Municipal Authorities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges with Municipal Authorities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confiscation of goods</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical assault</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inappropriate fine</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eviction</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confiscation of goods and inappropriate fines</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confiscation of goods and Physical assault</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Primary Survey, 2018

### 6.7 Consultation of Traffic entrepreneurs with City Authorities

In many parts of the world, the activities of traffic entrepreneurs are considered as a nuisance without any positive contribution to the local economy. This is because they are seen as informal and illegal (Mitullah: Bhowmik, 2003). The activities of street vendors in many countries are not regulated by any law or any legal framework. The informal sector in many countries are categorized as illegal and are subject to all forms of restricting measure by city authorities (Atsu, 2017). In most countries, provisions have not been made to ensure the smooth operation of the traffic entrepreneurs. Urban planning is done ignoring the consideration of urban space for the informal sector (Mitullah, 2003). Traffic entrepreneurs however ignore regulations and by-laws, in areas where they operate. This sometimes cause them to be disorganized (Gyamfi, 2000) their
non-abidance to regulations and by-laws results in unsafe and unhygienic conditions that city Authorities see as nuisance and unprofitable (Jimu, 2005).

Municipal authorities therefore are forced to used means to restrict and reduce their used of unapproved public spaces like the pavements, walkways, traffic light spots among others. Some means used by the city authorities are confiscation of goods, eviction, fining culprits among others. Accord to the laws of the municipal assembly, traffic entrepreneurs are to be registered and licensed before they operate but this is largely ignored by the traffic entrepreneurs. This is displayed in figure 2. Out of the 100 traffic entrepreneurs interviewed, 15 of them were registered while 85 were not. In the past months, the Municipal assemblies have embarked on a strong effort to register many traffic entrepreneurs. This could be the result of a recent increase in the number of registered traffic entrepreneurs. Though the exercise has increased the number of registered traffic entrepreneur, most of those registered were those who have a stationary place for their daily sales. City authorities have not been able to achieve much during the registration process due to the mobile nature of traffic entrepreneurs.

Meanwhile, during an interview with some Municipal Officials and taskforce, they explain that traffic entrepreneurs were occupying unapproved public space. Some of the places they occupied were pavements meant for pedestrians and motor bikes. They further explained that their motive is to keep the path ways clear and to avoid accidents that may emerge from the activities of traffic entrepreneurs. These are some statements from Officials of the Adentan municipal assembly during the key informant interview. One of the Officials had this to say:

“We are not saying street vendors and hawkers should not operate but they have to operate within the designated areas. As planners of the City, it is our mandate to make sure that there is urban sanity and law and order. We have evicted them on several occasion and advised them to use the new market the Assembly has demarcated for them but they will not use it. They prefer to
rather stand on the street and pavement. Some of them even put up temporary structures in these unapproved places which is against the law. This means that we have to daily regulate their activities to avoid further encroachments” (AdMA Official).

Another AdMa official also says:

“Urban planning is one of the most demanding works of the Municipal Assembly. Our task is to enforce the law on daily basis. Though the street vendors may see us to be some sort of disturbance to their activities, we are only doing our jobs. We know they make their livelihood through selling but using the right channel to sell is another issue. Most of them do not have the clearance to do so. Others do not pay any tax at all. The recent decongestion exercise at Adentan and Madina was just to ensure road safety. We have no other means but to demolish structure after many months of notification. (AdMA Official)

Figure 6.1 Registration statuses of traffic entrepreneurs

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

6.2 Coping and Adaptation strategies used by Traffic entrepreneurs

6.2.1 Ways of Credit are generated to start and expand business
Traffic entrepreneurs have developed new ways to generate their own starting capital for their business. The study looked at strategies they have adopted to avoid the hurdles involved in credit application. This is shown in Table 4.14. Traffic entrepreneurs stated the challenges they face in applying for loans to start their business. The research went further to enquire of them some means they have used to generate their starting capital. More than half (55%) of the respondents reported that they worked to generate their personal income which the reinvested into their business. They worked as employees in some form of work just to gather enough money to start their own business. About 18 percent of the respondents admitted to getting their starting capital from their spouse. These groups are predominantly those who joined their spouses in Accra. Some reported that their spouse supported them with some capital on their arrival for them to start their business. While 15 percent of the respondents admitted to getting their starting capital from relatives, 10 percent received assistance from friends and 2 percent got their starting capital from credit union which they were a part of. Traffic entrepreneurs avoided using the banks and microfinance companies to access loans because of the high interest rates and the hurdles involved in the process. They preferred to generate their working capital and profit which the reinvested in their business. In spite of the high interest from some of the credit union and money lenders, they preferred it to the banks. This is what a respondent had to say during the in-depth interview:

“When I came to Accra, I was advised not to take loans to start this business. It was better I generated my own money to start so that I do not have high blood pressure from the loan office. I then decided to work in a bakery till I was able to gather enough money to start my own business. Today I do not owe any debt” (James, 41 years)
Table 6.3 Percent distribution of source of starting capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Starting capital</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal income</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit union/ Money lenders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

6.2.3 Means of reaching target customers

This study also looked at some strategies traffic entrepreneurs used to meet their targeted customers. The nature of the activities of traffic entrepreneurs demands that the adopt means to meet the demand of their “ever moving” buyers. Table 6.4, shows some of the means used by some traffic entrepreneurs to make their daily sales. This is because they make their living from selling. Four of the respondents admitted that they used eye contact to reach their potential customers whiles 22 of the respondents said they used the red traffic light. Those who used eye contact as a marketing strategy admitted that unlike stationary sellers on parks, pathways and pavements, they had to look into the vehicles when the traffic was intense to know if someone wanted to buy. They further stressed that customers also preferred using eye contact than shouting to call them especially when they are in public transport. Traffic entrepreneurs who reported using the red traffic light explained that, it was the best time their moving customers can be available for transaction. They are always on guard, monitoring the traffic light. To the drivers, the red means “stop” whiles it meant “go” to the traffic entrepreneurs using the traffic light stand. The green light on the other hand meant “go” to the drivers while it meant “stop” to the traffic entrepreneur. About 11 percent of the traffic entrepreneurs interviewed said they often reach their customers by calling out for their customers during the “red light “. How a traffic entrepreneur called out for customers depends on the individual and the type of goods he/she is
Another common strategy used by traffic entrepreneurs to meet their customers is by walking in groups. Thirty-one of the respondents reported to using this strategy. They move in groups during the red light period by walking close to the vehicles in the traffic with hopes of customers seeing their displayed wares and calling them. Meanwhile some of the traffic entrepreneurs used two or more of these mechanisms to meet their targeted customers. 15 of the respondents said they used both eye and calling out for customer mechanism to reach their customers, whiles 11 of them used calling out for customers and the “red light” mechanism. Six (6) of the respondents admitted to using the red light technique, calling out for customers and eye contact during sales in the rush hour periods. Traffic entrepreneurs are constantly devising means to make a livelihood from their daily activities. Figure 6.4 show how traffic entrepreneurs use vehicular traffic to make their sales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of reaching targeted customers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Using eye contact</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using intense traffic (Using the red light)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling out for customers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving in groups</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using eye contact and calling out for customers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling out for customers and using intense traffic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calling out customers and using intense traffic and eye contact</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.2 Traffic entrepreneurs using Means to sell their wares in traffic

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.2.1 Traffic entrepreneurs selling at night

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
6.2.4 Coping and adaptation strategies used in creating new public space
Traffic entrepreneur business is surviving and growing in spite of the hurdle traffic entrepreneurs face daily with City authorities. This is not solely due to the fact that it provides employment to the unemployment in urban areas, or the services it provides to the urban population, it is also due to the goods and service it provides at low prices (Bhowmik, 2005). Traffic entrepreneurs do not have any permanent place for their activities. They are constantly evicted from one location to another (Garg et al, 2014). Traffic entrepreneurs are as people who capture public space for their private activities. A question asked at a conference titled “contesting public space” by Margaret Crawford was “who decides what public space is and who has primary claim to that space.” This is a question that has not been answered by many city planners (Bostic, kim and Valenzuela, 2016). Traffic entrepreneurs have therefore devised different ways to avoid the hurdles from Municipal guards and Taskforces on urban space usage. Some of the few strategies adopted by the traffic entrepreneurs include, timely sales, carrying of wares, using movable stands among others.

Timely sales seem to be one of the most adopted strategies. Some traffic entrepreneurs sell during the day while others come to sell their wares in the night. Some goods sold in the afternoon include, sugar cane, sachet water, ice cream, toiletries, detergents and plantain chips among other, while the night sales include, men and ladies wear, shoes and food. During the night, traffic entrepreneurs using the traffic light spot reduce because it is more dangerous to sell at night. A respondent gave an account how a driver with bad vision knocked down a vendor at night. The public spaces that are mostly used in the night are the pathways and pavement. This is because during the night City guards are absent from the street. Figure 6.2.1 shows some traffic
entrepreneurs selling in the night. This is what some street vendors had to say about selling in the night:

“When you are selling in night, you do not have to panic about your goods been ceased or paying a fine. I come to sell at night because the City authorities and the taskforce have closed by then. During this time, people would like to make their last purchase before going home. I can say business is sometimes much better this time than during the day” (Markson, 43 years).

This is what another traffic entrepreneur had to say:

“How much do I earn in a day to give my money to them as tax or fine? To avoid it, I sell here at night. It is even much better because people are able to conveniently buy and you can make good bargains without the fear of being arrested. I sometimes also sell food in the night and that seems to work well for me. Because I cannot rent a store, I set up here and then business goes on as usual” (Margret, 34 years).

To avoid goods from being confiscated, Traffic entrepreneurs time the arrival of the Municipal Taskforce. Their network is something they rely on for their daily survival. Some traffic entrepreneurs have become aware of the times when the city authorities go around to confiscate goods and to arrest those operating in unapproved public spaces. Traffic entrepreneurs sometimes may work till the time of operation then they pause and then sell after the operation is over. After the demolition of temporary structure of traffic entrepreneurs at Madina, Zongo junction on the 1st of July, 2018, street vendors and hawkers were allocated a place to sell, however, they prefer to sell on the pavement of the main road. These traffic entrepreneurs use the main road for their business on weekend when the City authorities are not around. This is because during the week, the Municipal guards and Taskforce are there to arrest anyone who encroaches the unapproved space. Figure 4.5 shows some taskforce watching over a newly demolished are.

Another strategy used by traffic entrepreneurs to avoid the hurdles from City authorities is the creation of a movable public space. Street vendors and hawkers have achieved this by not only
carrying their ware on their heads or in arms but also by creating a trolley-like cart to sell their wares. During times of eviction and demolition exercises, traffic entrepreneurs are able to move their wares from the reach of the Municipal task force. These prevent them from becoming victims of confiscated goods. Depending on the type of good an entrepreneur is selling, he/she may decide to hold them in the hands, carry it on the head or put it in the newly devised trolley-like carts. Shirts and dress are mostly held in the hands while some items like sachet water, plantain chips and sugar cane among others are carried on the head in a tray or some form of basin. Another means of creating public space for their activities is the use of portable stand to display goods. Figure 6.5 shows traffic entrepreneur standing by his trolley-like cart. One respondent explained why using portable display stands was the best way of avoiding their goods from being confiscated. This is what the respondent had to say:

“When I hear the saying “abayie” (meaning, they are coming) it is easier for me to just carry my wares which are on the portable stand to another place to avoid my goods been ceased. It is so painful to invest your money in something only for it to be ceased in one day. We no more want to keep our wares at a confined place. If you do that then you are new to this business” (Kwajo, 32 years)
Figure 6.3 Municipal guards watching over newly demolished areas after decongestion exercise

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.4  some newly demolished areas after decongestion exercise

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.5 Traffic entrepreneur covering his trolley-like stand

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.6 Traffic Entrepreneur Selling in places of human traffic

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.7 Traffic Entrepreneur selling near a traffic light stand

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.8 Traffic Entrepreneur using pathway to sell their wares

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
Figure 6.9  Traffic Entrepreneur using pavements to sell their wares

Source: Primary Survey, 2018
6.2.5 Copping strategies adopted to prevent perishing of goods

One of the losses traffic entrepreneurs encounter is the perishing of unsold goods. These goods are usually processed food, raw vegetables and fruits among others. Some respondents complained of some commodities perishing when they are not sold on time. Since these traffic entrepreneurs are migrants, they also move long distances to do business. Traffic entrepreneurs sometimes go into agreement with store owners. The agreements are sometimes based on shared profit or just assistance with storing goods. They are able to store goods that need refrigeration in refrigerators provided by the store owners. They sometimes get their supply from the store owners at a less expensive price to sell. This is what one respondent had to say:

“I sell soft drinks in the traffic. Sometimes we run at a loss because the drinks go bad. For instance, Blue skies and country milk and some other products that need constant refrigeration goes bad if not refrigerated on time at long hours of being under the sun. I have decided to store them with a store owner nearby where I can come early in the morning to get them to sell. I pay her something small at the end of the month” (Boana, 28 years)

This is what another respondent had to say:

“There is a woman who supplies me with the pure water and soft drinks. She provides the items and after I sell, we share the profit. The more I sell, the more my commission increases. I do not have store or refrigerator so, the best way is to go into an agreement with her, then profit is fairly shared. It is better than me going to buy and drinks and they going bad at the end of the day. With this form of agreement, you can become a street vendor even if you do not have the starting capital” (Norvisi, 25 years)

Finally, another means of avoiding the perishing of goods is using seasonal sales. Some Traffic entrepreneurs admitted that they sold goods based on their season and the demand of customers. There are some goods and products that are only available during a certain period of the year. Some traffic entrepreneurs quickly adjust to the demands and take advantage of the abundance of that commodity to make their profit. This is because during such periods, their demands are high.

This is what a respondent who used the seasonal sales had to say:
“I have sold many different types of goods and products. Some products are available and cheaper to buy and sell during certain periods of the year. For instance, now there is a lot of groundnut in the system, so I will be going into buying and selling boiled groundnut in the traffic. Some other stuff I have sold is pear, oranges, tangerine and black berries. They all have their season.”  (Agnes, 37 years)

6.3 Migration and Livelihood changes

6.3.1 Effect of rural-urban migration on the livelihood of Migrant Traffic Entrepreneurs

The level of poverty as described by some scholars is dependent on the context in which it is used and the opportunities available to a person (Atsu, 2017). The assets available to an individual and how they are used determines their economic status. Poverty is therefore a subjective, it may vary from one place to another. Accessibility to opportunities depends on the economic, social, political and environmental status (Meikle, 2002). Traffic entrepreneurs are engaged in their activities for a better livelihood by raising capital to improve their livelihood through providing better education for their children, make properties and develop their knowledge (Bhowmik, 2001; Fadia and Niekerk, 2017).

This research there looked at the effect of migration to urban center have on the livelihood of the migrants at the destination and on their families at the origin. Some of the socio-economic indicators used wages and remittances sent, health care accessibility, ability to support family, and educational needs of dependants among others.

Table 6.5 looks at the general perception of respondents on the change in their livelihood since they started their work as traffic entrepreneurs. Ninety-three (93) of the respondents reported that their livelihood had improved while 7 of them said it was indifferent. However, both groups mentioned how they have been able to make some provisions for their families since they migrated. All of the respondents stated that they remitted back home to support their family in cash and sometimes with some commodities. About one quarter (25%) of them remitted
annually, while 59 percent of then sent their remittances quarterly. Those who sent remittances monthly were 16. There are some statements from some respondents that are worth mentioning.

One respondent in their regard says:

“When I was back in the village I did not earn much. So I decided to come to Accra and work. My decision has brought a great change. Now I am also respected. Decisions cannot be taken without my consent. I am able to send money back home to my mother to take care of herself. Sometimes, I send a bag of rice to her. I am also able to provide for my younger siblings who are schooling there. They depend on me now. I will encourage my siblings to come here and work with me when they finish school. Now I am trying to put up a structure in the village” (Roland 35 years).

This is what another respondent had to say:

“If you are a man and you cannot provide for your family, it is a great shame. I could not bear it anymore so I joined my brother to work here and so far, it has been good. I can say our lives are better off now than before. My children go to good schools now and we are able to afford health care services, send money back home every three months. There are a lot of great opportunities in Accra. I have developed myself since I came here and can say my life has improved.” (Jonathan, 39 years).

Table 6.5 Percent distribution on livelihood change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of livelihood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood improved</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change in livelihood</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of sending remittances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarterly</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods/ Materials sent as remittances in the last three months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No goods/materials</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw food items</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processed food items</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric appliances</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

6.3.2 Goods and Materials sent as remittances in the last three months

Table 4.16 above, also reveals that apart from money sent as remittance to family in the origin, migrants also sent some form of commodities. One quarter of the respondents admitted that they did not send any commodity to their families in the origin in the last three months; however, 75
percent of the respondents sent remittances in the form of commodities. A little above one third (35\%) of the respondents sent raw food items like rice, spaghetti and cabbages among others whiles 8 percent sent processed food items like canned milk, cooking oil, canned beef among other. Meanwhile, 13 percent sent clothing and 19 percent sent electrical appliances to their families. Some of the electrical appliances included, television sets, sound system, refrigerator and television decoders among others. The presence of these commodities enriched the lives of their families at the origin.

6.3.3 Effect of remittance on the livelihood at the origin and destination
Rural poverty has been the cause of high rates of rural–urban migration. Many migrate with the expectation of earning good incomes so they can remit back home to support their families in different ways. One need to acknowledge the fact that people engage in an attempt to survive and meet their fundamental need due and unemployment (Mitullah, 2003). Traffic entrepreneurs therefore send remittances to support the family. Some of the uses of the remittances sent in the form of cash are shown in Table 6.7. Twenty-seven (27) of the respondents admitted the remittances they send was used for Feeding and upkeep. This meant that their families both the origin and destination can now afford better meals, clothing and can afford some necessities which they could not afford previously. Eight (8) of the respondents admitted that the remittances were mostly used to provide educational needs of their dependants at both the origin and destination. This meant that they could now afford better education for their children and secure a better future for their children. For those who migrated in order to get better education for their wards, it is a great realization. For one’s livelihood to be improved, accessibility to health care delivery and affordability plays a key role in livelihood measurement. Five percent of the respondents admitted that they remitted usually to help in paying for the
health and medical needs of their families at origin. This is what one respondent had to say in
regards to this:

“I send money to my mother in the village for her health. She is not well and I am the only one
she depends on. Though my wife and children are here, I have to send her money to go on
regular check-up, buying drugs and paying of the hospital bills” (Frank, 43 years).

For some, migrating to Accra has given them the ability to provide better accommodation for
their families. Eight (8) of the respondents said the remittances sent were used to provide
accommodation and some form of decent shelter for their families whiles seven (7) said they sent
remittance to be reinvested into other businesses at the origin. This indicates that migrating to
Accra has helped them to improve their livelihood by providing proper shelter and business at
the origin which in effect will provide employment. One respondent made a statement that is
worth mentioning. This is what he said:

“I did not have much to call my own but since I came to Accra, I have been able to but a two-
bedroom house and opened a big shop for my wife. We have employed someone who assists my
wife to run the shop. I think it has been worth migrating” (Roland, 45 years).

About 19 of the respondents said they used remittances on Feeding, upkeep and for investment
purposes. Meanwhile, 26 of the respondents also said their income and remittance were mostly
used for feeding, educational and utility needs. This indicated that migrants are able to create
jobs for others at the origin and provide their families with utilities such as potable water,
electricity among other which they could not afford previously. Migrating to the urban centers to
work has led to poverty reduction and creation of opportunities for other to also improve their
livelihood. This is what some respondents had to say about the change migration to Accra had on
their livelihood:

“I just finished SHS when I came here to work with my brother, now I work on my own. I have
been able to put something up back at home. I have a motor bike that makes movement easy. I
am the owner of a shop though I sell on the street here. I think my life has improved since I came. I am glad to be working here” (Morison, 29 years).

Another respondent had this to say:

“I came to Accra because my husband asked me to join him. Our lives have improved over the years. My husband and I have been able to put up a two-bedroom apartment on the mountains. My parents in the village live comfortably now. I send them money through MTN mobile Money every two weeks, our children are attending good schools and we live in a decent apartment here as well” (Maggie, 37 years)

Table 6.7 Percent distribution on how remittances are used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How money from selling is used</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeding/Upkeep</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational needs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health/Medical needs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent/Utilities</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment/Business needs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding/Upkeep and investment/Business needs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding/Upkeep, Educational needs and Rent/Utilities</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

6.3.4 Willingness to recommend traffic entrepreneur business to someone

Table 6.8 shows that majority (88%) of the vendors are willing to recommend selling in the traffic and the street to others. This means that they were not willing to stop themselves. It also indicated that, they are willing to help other enter into the traffic entrepreneur business because it served as the means of livelihood and immediate employment in the urban center. The female respondents were more willing to recommend their friends, siblings and relatives to go into the traffic entrepreneur business. The Pearson Chi square test shows statistically significant association (at P=0.021<0.05) between the sex and the willingness to recommend someone to sell on the street. In the in-depth interview, one of the traffic entrepreneurs interviewed had this to say:
“I know how my life has become better since I started selling on the street. I earn more than before. It is something I will recommend my friends or relatives to do. The market is available here. This job does not require much. Especially in Accra where the jobs are scarce, you can start your own business by selling on the street. So I will recommend those who do not have anything doing to join us” (Monica, 43 years).

Table 6.8 willingness to recommend vending to others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>X² Value</th>
<th>P value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Survey, 2018

As mentioned in the study, traffic entrepreneur business will continue to increase as long as there are high rates of unemployment and unequal resource distribution in the country. This may probably be one of the reasons why traffic entrepreneurs are on the increase in Accra, in spite of the hurdles they face from City authorities on daily basis.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
Ghana and many countries in the sub-Saharan Africa have been experiencing population growth and rapid urbanization from both natural increase and migration into cities and large towns (Kwakye et al, 2007). Though a large portion of the population of Ghana live in rural area, most of the rural areas have developed into large towns over the years.

Most developing countries are faced with the quest for sustainable development, as they are highly urbanizing. Many move from rural areas to cities for employment, netter opportunities and to improve their standard of living. This is largely due to the regional difference in opportunities and infrastructure. However, high rates of rural-urban movements have increased urban poverty.

Over population in some areas and the absence of adequate opportunities to meet the demand of the increasing population has led to pressure on individuals to use means to survive. The difficulties of living in rural areas and conflicts have left many vulnerable in rural areas of Ghana. This has led to the increase in trading activities where traffic entrepreneurs make use of public spaces to sell their wares.

The study has proven how relevant traffic entrepreneur businesses have become an important source of livelihood especially for migrants. For most migrants, it is seen as an immediate solution to urban unemployment, preparing them for their permanent job or business they intended to do. The study looked at the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrant traffic entrepreneurs to Accra, the challenges they face and some coping and adaptation
strategies they have developed over the years. It also looked at the effect of migration on the livelihood of the migrants and their families at the destination and origin.

This section looks at some findings made from the background of the migrant traffic entrepreneurs. It was evident that males younger than 30 years were less than the females. This could be an indication that the females migrated earlier than the males and were involved in the trade at an earlier age compared to the males.

More males than females were married, whiles more women than me were separated. This could be an indication that the men most of the men who migrate are the breadwinners of their home and need to remit to provide for their families. This supports the findings that men are the head of the home and must provide the need of the family (Asima, 2012). More women who were widowed could indicate that women had a long life span than men.

With regards to the factors that influence migrants’ decision to migrate to Accra, 31 percent of the migrants admitted they migrate because of less economic opportunities at the origin. Twenty-one (21) percent migrated to Accra to search for jobs, 15 percent to open a business while 17 percent migrated to Accra to join their spouse. These indicate that the major push factor at the origin was less economic opportunities while the major pull factors were job availability and business opportunities at the destination. This reveals that regional disparities in opportunities have been the major cause of rural-urban migration.

In terms of assistance received from the social network traffic entrepreneurs had at the origin, 14 percent of the migrants were given accommodation and assistance in securing a job, whiles 24 percent admitted that they got jobs and information through their social networks. About 14 percent said the y received help in securing a job. Meanwhile, 17 and 18 percent of the migrants
admitted they received accommodation and money to start their business respectively. This indicates that migrants came to where they have some sort of social network. This facilitated their migration process and assured their smooth settlement in the destination (Njaya, 2015).

In challenges traffic entrepreneurs face on a daily basis, majority (65%) of them complained of physical assault from Municipal task force whiles 10 percent complained of road accidents. Traffic entrepreneurs also emphasized on daily challenges the faced from City officials. Thirty-eight (38) of them complained of their goods being confiscated inappropriately while 13 percent of the migrants complained of their goods being confiscated and being victims of physical assault. Meanwhile, about 17 percent said they were physically assaulted. This a indicate that though the activities of traffic entrepreneurs may sometimes be carried out in unapproved public places, the Municipal taskforce may also be violating the right of these traders who sell on the street to make a living in the city.

Majority (93%) of the migrant admitted that going into the traffic entrepreneur business has improved their livelihood while 88 percent are willing to recommend their relatives and friends to join. This contradicts with the findings of Richard Atsu (2017).

To avoid the hurdles from the City authorities and Municipal taskforces, Traffic entrepreneurs have adopted some coping strategies. Some of these strategies are using creating their own space buy using portable hand stands, trolley-like carts, timely sales and using the night and day shift among others.
7.2 CONCLUSION
This research has proven that the increase in rural-urban migration is a result of uneven employment opportunities and development in rural and urban areas. Poverty in rural areas has led to increasing migration to urban centers which eventually cause urban unemployment. Migrants from the rural areas come to join the urban unemployed because they are often unable to meet the requirement of the formal sector jobs.

It has been found that the perception of readily available jobs, better health and educational facilities, other social amenities and infrastructural developments that are essential for a better living condition has attracted many migrants to the Ga-East district. In order to improve their livelihoods, enjoy better social amenities and to earn a living, most of their migrants are attracted to the city capital.

The socio-demographic characteristic of the migrants revealed that most of them were youth with a mean age of 39.7 as determined by the data. About 12 percent of the migrants were traders whiles 21 percent of them were involved in agricultural activities back at the origin before migrating. This is likely to have a “brain drain effect on the origin. Meanwhile, about 45 percent of the migrant were also unemployed before migrating to the Accra. In the long run, their movement will bring about a “brain gain” as some have become establish and started businesses at the origin.

The study also shows that migrants who became traffic entrepreneurs were attracted to the Ga-East district based on information they gathered from their social networks and traffic entrepreneurs who were already established in the Municipality. Their movement and settlement was facilitated by their relatives and friends. They supported them with starting capital and
accommodation. Traffic entrepreneurs depended on each other for their daily survival. Everyone served as a watchman for his neighbour.

This study also revealed that the relationship between traffic entrepreneurs and official from the Municipal assembly have not been a good one. It is more confrontational than cordial. This is because of the frequent demolition and decongestion exercise undertaken by the Municipal Taskforces to evict traffic entrepreneurs from the pavement. To the City official, the activities of traffic entrepreneurs are seen as a distortion to urban beauty because they litter and use paths meant for pedestrians and vehicle. In attempt to maintain law and order, the Municipal taskforce are forced to use demolition and decongestion exercises to remove temporary structure put up by some traffic entrepreneurs and to prevent them from using unapproved public spaces. However, most traffic entrepreneurs on the other hand see the operation of Municipal taskforce as a threat to their source of livelihood. This is because they make their living from selling on the street.
7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS
Relative to the findings from the background and discussions on the challenges traffic entrepreneurs in the Ga-East district encounter, the researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

The movement of people from the rural areas to urban centres is as a result of the rural unemployment and poverty. For this reason, the government through local authorities should provide some starting capital available to the youth in rural areas. Other forms of credit facilities should be made available to help rural dwellers start their own business. This will create employment and empower the youth who can easily migrate.

City authorities have to see the activities of traffic entrepreneurs as means to reduce urban unemployment and not a distortion to urban beauty. They therefore have to regulate their activities. Municipal authorities should encourage every traffic entrepreneur to be in an association. This will enable them to monitor their activities and effectively collect revenues. The Town and Country Planning Unit of the Municipal authority have to consider the activities of traffic entrepreneurs during planning. Approved public places have to be designated to them for their activities because they offer important service to the public.

The Ga-East District Assembly has to work in hand with the Ghana National Fire Service, Road Safety Commission, the Motor Transport and Traffic Unit to sensitize traffic entrepreneurs on the dangers their activities pose to themselves and the public on regular basis.

The Ga-East Municipal authority should also formulate policies on land use which includes the activities of traffic entrepreneurs. Through by-laws, traffic entrepreneurs should be prevented from operating in unapproved public spaces. City authorities should enforce laws regulating the
activities of traffic entrepreneurs. Those who ignore the laws and display their wares in unapproved public spaces should be penalized to serve as a deterrent to other traffic entrepreneurs.

In conclusion, though there is a need to maintain law and order, Municipal taskforce must carry out their duties considering the basic human rights of the traffic entrepreneurs who use the street and places of human traffic to make a living. Maltreatment and casualties during demolition and decongestion exercises must be avoided. Municipal taskforce, guards and the police should protect traffic entrepreneurs not to infringe on their rights.
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APPENDICES

Appendices 1: Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

QUESTIONNAIRE

ON

CHALLENGES AND COPING STRATEGIES OF MIGRANT TRAFFIC ENTREPRENEURS IN THE GA-EAST DISTRICT, ACCRA

JUNE, 2018
QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Cyprine Ocloo a Post graduate student from the University of Ghana (Centre for Migration studies) and undertaking a research project on the topic “Migration, Challenges and coping strategies of traffic Entrepreneurs in Accra: a case study of : a case study of traffic entrepreneurs in the Ga-east district, Accra” This study is in fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters degree in Migration studies. I would be very grateful if you would make time out of your busy schedule to answer the questions below. You are assured that any information provided will be treated as confidential and used for academic purposes only.

SECTION A: socio-economic and demographic characteristics

1. Sex of Respondent
   Male……1   Female……2

2. Age of Respondent

3. To which ethnic group do you belong?
   Akan ..............................................1
   Ga-Damgbe ........................................2
   Ewe .................................................3
   Guan .................................................4
   Mole-Dagbani ......................................5
   Non-Ghananain ....................................6
   Other (specify) ....................................7

4. What is your religious affiliation?
   No religion ........................................1
   Christian .........................................2
   Islam ..............................................3
   Traditionalist ................................. 4
   Other (Specify) .................................5

5. Marital Status.
   Never Married .................................1
   Married .........................................2
   Consensual Union .........................3
   Separated ......................................4
   Divorced ......................................5
   Widowed ......................................6
6. Region of residence before migrating?

7. Where were you born?
   - In this community
   - In another community
   - In this region but not this district
   - Outside this region but in Ghana
   - Outside Ghana but in West Africa
   - Outside West Africa but in Africa
   - Outside West Africa

8. For how long have you been living continuously in this community, here in Accra?
   - 1-6 months
   - 7-11 months
   - 1-3 years
   - 4-6 years
   - 7-9 years
   - 10 years and over

9. Have you ever attended school?
   - Yes, attending now
   - Yes, attended in the past
   - No

10. Level of Education
    - No education
    - Primary
    - Middle/JSS
    - SHS/SS/Secondary
    - Vocational/Technical
    - Nursing/Teacher/Agric training
    - HND/Diploma
    - Tertiary
    - Other specify

11. Number of Children if any

12. Are you a register traffic entrepreneur?  Yes.............1  No.............2

13. Would you recommend traffic entrepreneur business to anyone?
    Yes...............1   No...............2
14. What work were you doing before you migrated?

Student……………………………………………1
Unemployed……………………………………..2
Farmer…………………………………………….3
Trader………………………………………………4
Apprentice…………………………………………5
Tailor…………………………………………………..6
Wage earner………………………………………..7
Other (specify)……………………………………….8

15. Do you work for someone or for yourself?

Self employed without employees…………………1
Self employed with employees……………………2
Paid employee……………………………………….3
Contributing family worker…………………………4
Casual worker……………………………………….5
Other (specify)………………………………………..6

16. What do you usually do with the money you earn from selling?

Feeding/Upkeep…………………………………1
Educational needs…………………………………2
Health/Medical needs……………………………..3
Clothing…………………………………………….4
Rent /Utilities………………………………………..5
Investment/Business needs…………………………6
Other specify………………………………………..7

17. Have you ever applied for credit?  If NO move to question 21

YES……………………………………1 NO………………2

18. If YES, was it difficult?  YES………………………..1 NO………………2

19. What are some of the challenges you face during credit application?

High interest on loans……………………………..1
Limited amount given…………………………….2
Delay in payment of loan………………………….3
Other (specify)………………………………………..4

20. How did you get capital to start street vending?

Personal income………………………………….1
From spouse……………………………………….2
Other family members…………………………….3
Friends……………………………………………4
Credit union……………………………………….5
Bank…………………………………………………6
21. How much do you earn in a day from your activities monthly? GHC ....................

22. Do you have a Bank account? YES.................1 NO..............2

23. Do you remit home? If NO skip to question 29

   YES..................1 NO..............2

24. How much do you remit back home? GHC ...........................

25. What goods /materials do you usually remit back home?

   No goods/materials........................................1
   Raw food items...........................................2
   Prepared food items....................................3
   Clothing....................................................4
   Others.......................................................5

26. How often do you remit back home?

   Yearly.......................................................1
   Quarterly...............................................2
   Monthly..................................................3
   Weekly.....................................................4
   Other (specify)...........................................5

27. What are the remittances used for? Select multiple

   Feeding/Upkeep.............................................1.
   Educational needs.......................................2
   Health/Medical needs.....................................3
   Clothing....................................................4
   Rent /Utilities.............................................5
   Investment/Business needs...............................6
   Other specify...............................................7

28. Are you aware of any government initiatives that assist traffic entrepreneurs? If NO skip to 31

   YES...1   NO...2

29. Do you have an association for traffic entrepreneurs? YES..............1
    NO..............2

30. Has migrating improved your livelihood? YES.....1 NO.....2   No difference......3
SECTION B: The link between migration and the emergence of traffic entrepreneurs
business

31. Prior to moving to Greater Accra, were there any friends and relatives who facilitated your
movement to Accra and the traffic vending business? (Friends / Relative/home town association
etc..)  If No, skip to q34. YES.....1                         NO......2

32. If Yes, please specify the kind of network

Friends.................................................................1
Relative.............................................................2
home town association ...........................................3

33. What kind of support did you receive from these persons?
Information ...........................................................1.
Money.................................................................2
Accommodations..................................................3
employment opportunities.................................4
Other (specify).......................................................}

34. Which of these factors caused you to migrate to greater Accra?

Less economic opportunities.................................1
To open business..................................................2
natural disasters...................................................3
Insecurity...........................................................4
Marriage............................................................5
To join parents/ relatives.......................................6
   In search for jobs.................................................7
To enjoy better facilities.......................................8
other specify...........................

35. Places of trading activity?

Pathway.............................................................1
traffic light stand...............................................2
Pavement..........................................................3
park .................................................................4
36. How long have you been involved in traffic entrepreneur business?

1-6 months………………………………………….………1
7-11 months………………………………………….………2
1-3 years…………………………………………….…………....3
4-6 years…………………………………………….…………..4
7-9 years…………………………………………….…………...5
10 years and over………………………………….………...6

37. Do you think traffic entrepreneurs have contributed to effective goods and service delivery to Ghana? YES…1 NO…2

38. What factors influence you to go into traffic entrepreneurship?

Unavailability of jobs………………………………………1
Less capital requirement to start…………………….……..2
Inability to meet skill requirement .............................3
Availability of customers........................................4
Other……………………………………………………...…5

SECTION C: Challenges, Coping and adaptation strategies of traffic entrepreneurs.

39. What are some of the challenges you face in your daily activities? Select multiple

Less customers on public holidays.........................1
Abuse from Municipal task force........................2
Unfavourable weather condition (rain)..................3
Road accidents.................................................4
Passengers leaving without paying for goods..........5
Perishing of some goods....................................6
Others (specify)..................................................7

40. Have you ever witnessed or have been involved in any incidence of accident during your daily activities?

YES…1 NO…2

41. What is the commonest form of accident among traffic entrepreneurs?

Collision with motor bikes.................................1
Collision with pedestrians..............................2
42. Do you experience any challenges with municipal authorities? Yes.......1 No.......2

43. What types of challenges do you face with municipal authorities?
   - Confiscating of goods..................................1
   - Verbal abuse.............................................2
   - Inappropriate fine .....................................3
   - Eviction....................................................4
   - Others (specify)..........................................5

44. What are the most common health risks you experience in your work?

45. What are some of the measures you have adopted to overcome these challenges?

46. How do you meet your target customers in the traffic? *Multiple select*
   - Using eye contact.....................................1
   - Using intense traffic (using the red light).........2
   - Calling out for customers............................3
   - Moving in groups.....................................4
   - Others (specify)........................................5

SECTION D: Possible solutions to the challenges of traffic entrepreneur

47. How do you think the government can help solve the challenges of traffic entrepreneurs?


48. How do you think the activities of traffic entrepreneurs can be made more safe and formal and legally friendly?

49. What do you recommend as the best possible solutions to the challenges you face as traffic entrepreneurs?

Thank you
APPENDICES

Appendices 2: Interview schedule for Ga-East Municipal Assembly officials
(Key, informants interview)

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

Interview Schedule

ON

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Thank you for your cooperation.

Date of interview .................................................................

Place of Interview.................................................................

Introductory Questions

1) Please kindly tell me about your job role.

2) How long have you been in your current position?

3) What are the main challenges that the activities of Traffic entrepreneurs pose in the Ga-East Municipality?

4) Do you foresee any problems of the increasing Traffic entrepreneur activities in Ga-East district?

5) What are some of the problems? (if any)

6) What are the possible causes of the increasing traffic entrepreneurs in Ga-East District?

7) Is the Ga-East Municipal Assembly doing to control/manage the increasing Traffic entrepreneur activities in the district?

8) From your point of view, do you think traffic entrepreneurs should be allowed to operate?

If yes, explain

If no, explain

9) Under what circumstances should traffic entrepreneurs be allowed to trade on the streets?
10) Do you know of any regulations that govern the activities of traffic entrepreneurs in the district?

11) Do you consult with the traffic entrepreneurs with regards to their activities on the public spaces?

12) If yes, how often do these consultations take place?

13) If no, has the Municipal Assembly considered it?

14) In your opinion, are there some positives attributed to traffic entrepreneurs and their activities?

15) Are there plans to regularize their activities in the District?

16) What is your opinion about some multilateral organizations that advocate for the rights of city inhabitants including Traffic entrepreneurs?

17) Has the Municipal Assembly developed any future plans of enhancing their Livelihoods?

18) Does the Municipal Assembly have any policy to regulate their activities?

Thank you very much for your time.
APPENDICES

Appendices 2: Interview schedule for Traffic Entrepreneurs

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

Interview Schedule

ON

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Thank you for your cooperation.

Date of interview....................................................

Place of Interview...................................................

1) What do you mainly trade in?

2) What were the main reason(s) for coming to Accra?

3) Are you aware that it is illegal to sell on streets and pavements without authorization?
   If yes, why do you still continue to trade on the street?

4) Did you have any information about Accra before coming?
   If Yes what kind of information did you receive?

5) Did you have any relations here in Accra before coming?
   If Yes, did you receive any assistance from them?

6) How has your migration to Accra improved your living condition?

7) In what ways have you developed yourself (skills, education, and knowledge) and that of your household?

8) Have the presence of infrastructure and other facilities improved your livelihood compared to the origin?

9) What are some of the advantages you get from selling on the street?

10) Do you face any constraints from motorists and other road users? How about the city authorities? If Yes, what are the main challenges you face?

11) What are some of the main challenges you face from Municipal Authorities?
12) How have you tried to resolve these challenges over the years?

13) What are some new ways of selling on the street?

14) How do you think Municipal Authorities can assist you in your daily activities?

15) What advice would you give to your family members and friends regarding migration to Accra?

*Thank you very much for your time.*