

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

**“THE HAZARDS OF STREET HAWKING: A CASE STUDY OF THE BREAD AND
TURKEY TAIL BUSINESS IN THE NSAWAM- ADOAGYIRI MUNICIPALITY”**



**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
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DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this submission is my own original work towards the award of Master of Arts degree in Development Studies. To the best of my knowledge, this is not material previously published by another person for the award of any degree of the University or any other institution or for public consumption, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear parents, Mr. Benjamin Bosompem Boadu and Mrs. Grace Boadu, all my siblings and my beloved grandmother for their love, care and support.



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My first thanks goes to the Almighty God that rules in the affairs of men for making this project a success. My most sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Robert Osei, who patiently guided me through this work to the end. I would like to register a heart- felt gratitude to Professor Asante and Dr. E. N. Appiah for their tremendous contribution and immerse support to the success of this work. This work will be incomplete without thanks to Mr. J. F. Akai and all my supportive friends whose contribution cannot be ignored.



ABSTRACT

This study provides insight into the street hawking phenomenon and tries to evaluate the hazards it poses to both road users and hawkers. This study uses the boom in the bread and Turkey tail hawking business in the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality, which can be found in the Eastern region of Ghana as its study area. This is because the major road from Accra to Kumasi runs through the town. Therefore, many buses stop over at this point to allow passengers to use the washroom and buy some food (mainly bread, turkey tail and fried yam) which can easily be consumed while the vehicle is in motion.

Street vending or hawking in Ghana is similar to what goes on in other developing countries. Vendors stand by or on the street, some of whom carry goods in hand and some on head. Others also set up stands or tables by the roadside and display their wares on them. Anytime there is traffic jam, they rush to vehicles and try to sell their goods to both drivers and passengers. They also sell to pedestrians and anybody who is interested in buying.

The main objective of this study is to draw attention to the various hazards involved in the street hawking business. These hazards may or may not be known to many especially the street hawkers themselves, which is why they may choose to engage in this line of business. The study also, seeks to evaluate the extent to which existing and non- existing laws on hawking in and around the country are influencing this situation.

There is review of literature on some themes or concepts surrounding the street hawking phenomenon to reflect activities of hawkers in various places. A conceptual framework which pictorially outlines some factors that push or pull people to hawking activities are explored. A

hundred (100) hawkers were selected and interviewed with a questionnaire, while two officials from the local assembly were engaged in an in-depth interview.

The following findings emerged: firstly, it is evident that many of the hawkers enter into this line of business due to its low capital requirement. Others do not choose to be part of these activities but are forced into it to augment family income.

Secondly, it was observed that hawkers face many dangers as a result of their line of work. These come in the form of motor accidents, health dangers as a result of emissions from vehicles, excessive standing and running as well as continuous exposure to vagaries of the weather.

It was also discovered that the municipal assembly of the Nsawam- Adoagyiri area has no structures in place or existing bye- laws that control or govern street hawking activities. Therefore, pedestrian sidewalks have been invaded by hawkers. Consequently, illegal goods like turkey tails are smuggled into the country and are displayed openly on the streets.

Majority of hawkers in the area were found to be females between the ages of 15 and 40 years. It was revealed that poverty, low educational attainment and family responsibilities are some of the issues that push hawkers into the business. Hawkers further expressed low start- up capital and manageable profits as some factors that attract them to the hawking business.

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ABBREVIATION/ACRONYMS

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
SME	Small and Micro Economic Activities
WHO	World Health Organization
WIEGO	Women in Employment Globalizing and Organizing
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UN- HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

A hawker is someone who offers products or merchandise for sale, usually on or along the street. Hawkers are common in many countries; both developed and developing. However, this study focuses on developing countries, particularly the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality in the Eastern region of Ghana. In its National Policy on Urban Street Vendors launched in 2004, the Government of India (2004) defines a street vendor broadly as a person who offers goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanent built up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall or head load.

In North America, hawkers are commonly known as street vendors who sell snack items on the road. In the Caribbean, hawkers are referred to as higglers or informal commercial importers who sell items in small roadside stands and often break larger items into smaller individual consumable portions for re-sale and use. Various streets in Accra as well as other cities and towns in Ghana are increasingly becoming choked as a result of the activities of street hawkers and the Nsawam- Adoagyiri area is no exception. Both the young and the old strive to grind out meager incomes from selling bread and fried turkey tail along the roadside irrespective of the dangers involved, health issues or otherwise.

Street hawking, also known as street vending is a global phenomenon. In many cities, towns, and villages across the world, there are millions of people who earn their living either fully or partly through selling wide range of goods on streets, side-walks, and other public places.

A critical look at street hawking activities begun in 1995 with the Bellagio International Declaration of street hawkers which brought forth a plan to create national policies in order to promote and protect the rights of street vendors in urban settings. This declaration also calls for action at four other levels namely action by individual traders, traders' associations, city governments, and international organizations including the United Nations, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank.

This is a business that is booming for the people. Nevertheless, street hawking is a very dangerous form of trading, as it comes with many hazards particularly in Ghana. This is due to the fact that streets are meant for vehicles and the sidewalks, for pedestrians. These sidewalks are narrow and therefore, not big enough for pedestrians, let alone hawkers. In Ghana, there is an added danger as hawkers are usually non-stationary, meaning they run in between moving vehicles in order to sell their goods.

Problem Statement

Street hawking is an important part of many urban informal economies; Ghana inclusive. However, in Ghana, several bye laws have been made by some of the larger metropolitan assemblies namely; the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) and the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) to curtail activities of hawkers on the streets. Apart from the AMA and the KMA, not many other metropolitan or municipal assemblies seem to have bye- laws against street hawking in the country. This is rather interesting because there seem to be street hawkers

in almost every municipality and metropolitan assembly one can think of, Nsawam- Adoagyiri inclusive. In light of this, the study seeks to find answers and possible solutions to the challenges associated with street hawking and the welfare implications thereof. More specifically some of the issues addressed in this study include the following:

First, many youth, women and children are driven by poverty to the streets to sell, leaving them without education, healthcare and employable skills.

Second, why the streets? What factors contribute to the prevalence of people attempting to make a living on the streets?

Third, the risks involved in making a living out of street hawking. How they are able to reconcile the little amount of money they make with the kind of hazards they face.

Fourth, street vendors are seen as impediments on the road. Free flow of vehicular traffic is disrupted by these vendors causing traffic jams leading to loss of man hours and productivity.

Lastly, the role government and social institutions play with regard to street hawking will also be explored.

Objectives of the Study

General objective:

To investigate why people choose to sell bread and turkey tail along the road despite the many health and environmental hazards it poses both to them and to the public.

Specific Objectives:

1. To examine the dangers involved in the choice to sell along the streets as compared to other available choices.

2. To explore the degree of enforcement of existing laws on street hawking.
3. To investigate the characteristics of those who sell along the streets and why they do it.

Research Questions

1. Why do people sell bread and turkey tail along the road regardless of the many other choice of goods and vending points?
2. What dangers do the vendors face as a result of where and how they sell their merchandise?
3. Who are involved in the hawking of the bread and turkey tail?
4. Are there existing laws on hawking and if there are, are they being enforced?
5. What more can be done to curb or reduce the prevalence of street hawking?

Relevance of the Study

Despite the fact that much research has been conducted on the street hawking phenomenon in Ghana (Hart; 1973, Clark; 1994, Asiedu & Agyei- Mensah; 2008), the spaces occupied by hawkers, their daily activities and resultant hazards of these activities have not attracted much scholarly attention as has been done in places like India, Mexico and Thailand (Pena; 1999, Bhowmik; 2003, Anjaria; 2006). In sub Saharan Africa, research has been conducted in the area of street hawking in countries like South Africa, Uganda, Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya (Mittullah, 2003).

In Ghana, activities of the street vendors in the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality seem not to be of great concern to the Municipal Assembly. This is a deduction from the assembly's lack of

bye-laws or laws of any kind on street hawking. However, since the institution of the law banning the importation of turkey tails into the country by the Food and Drugs Board due to its huge fat contents, the government and law enforcers seem to have turned a blind eye to the phenomenon. No-one seems to be regulating the influx of the product into the country, let alone its public display and sale on the streets of the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality.

Furthermore, the impact of the growth in street hawking activities in the country can be said to be due to the lack of law enforcement and the growing arms of poverty as well as unemployment in the country. As a result, this dissertation seeks to examine the difficulties that these hawkers face in their struggle to earn a living. There is also the need to delve into issues concerning the spaces that street hawkers occupy and the challenges it poses to town planners and the larger public. This dissertation also seeks to contribute to knowledge in this field of study by trying to explore the various dimensions of street hawking, the people mostly involved in it and the hardships they expose themselves to by choosing this line of work.

Specific Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1:

If laws on street hawking and the ban on turkey tail imports are enforced, then hawkers will be put off the streets.

Hypothesis 2:

Hawkers make the choice to sell on the streets among other viable choices because of the expected profits. This is why they keep putting their lives in danger, so they can make a living for themselves and their families.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study are as follows:

1. The Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality is a newly carved municipal assembly (carved out of the Akuapem South municipal assembly in 2012) therefore; there is not much information on the area, its activities, inhabitants and its spatial composition. Even though some information can be gathered from the Akuapem South municipal assembly, this information is very scanty since it does not narrow in on the Nsawam- Adoagyiri area specifically.
2. The absence of a database on hawkers makes sampling quite challenging nevertheless, an effective methodology was designed to suit the study within the limited time frame.
3. Some difficulty was also encountered in soliciting information from hawkers especially those who sold turkey tail (kyofi). This was as a result of the awareness of the ban on the product and also fears that they will be handed over to the municipal taskforce or the police.

Organization of the Study

With regard to organization, the study unfolds over five chapters.

The first chapter gives a background to the study in various countries and in Ghana as well. It also entails the problem statement, the objectives of the study, research questions, relevance of

the study, specific hypothesis, limitations, organization of the study and a brief definition of terms.

The second chapter offers a review of relevant literature from numerous authors. The literature spans various topics such as street hawking and the informal sector, street hawking in developing countries, street hawking and public space, street hawking and public policy, street food vending, livelihoods and social exclusion and street hawking and resultant hazards.

Chapter Three comprises of the research methodology which is used in the study and a conceptual framework of variables from the literature available.

In the fourth chapter, the data collected from the field is analyzed and discussed.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, contains a summary of conclusions and recommendations on findings from the study.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study or research the following operational definitions are used;

Hawker: A person who moves from place to place offering goods for sale by shouting his or her wares.

Peri-urban: An area immediately adjoining an urban area. Also, could be an area between the suburbs and the rural area.

Street: A public thoroughfare usually paved in a town city or village used by vehicles, motorcycles, bicycles and the like, including sidewalks for pedestrians.

Street hawking: The act of retailing goods to the public on or along streets, sometimes with temporary structures along the road or movement from place to place offering the goods for sale.

This term is synonymous to street vending.

Youth: A period of life from puberty or adolescence to the attainment of full growth; from the age of 15 to 24.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter attempts to review some related works and concepts associated with this research topic, with the view of exposing what some authors and scholars have written, and identifying factors for analyzing the Ghanaian situation.

Street Hawking and the Informal Sector

The concept of the informal sector is of great import to the study of street hawking. The word ‘informal’ in connection with the economy was formulated by Keith Hart, a British anthropologist, in 1973. According to Hart, migrants from the Northern part of Ghana come to the capital city, Accra to either sell their goods or offer their services for money. To him, the inadequacies of the urban labour market substantially increase informal activities in a country. This disorganized and haphazard situation is what he refers to as the informal sector, as compared to the well- structured formal sector (Bhowmik, 2010). Hart puts forward four (4) basic features of the informal sector namely: low skill level, easy entry, low- paid employment and the migrant workforce.

Chen (2004) explores the relationship between the informal economy to the formal economy and the formal regulatory system. Chen identifies three (3) schools of thought namely: Dualist, Structuralist and Legalist. For the Dualist, the informal economy is a separate entity that is in no way directly associated with the formal sector. For the Structuralist, the informal economy is inferior to the formal sector. For the Legalist, the informal economy is seen as a reasonable

retaliation to the cumbersome regulation and nature of governmental bureaucracies. This view serves as a good justification as to why people feel the need to engage in the informal sector.

Furthermore, De Soto (1989) asserts that in Peru, attempts by the government to bring every economic activity under its umbrella, has caused the deterioration of the relationship between the formal and informal sectors. De Soto describes the informal economy as another alternative devised by Peruvians to enable them secure their right to private property. De Soto also argues that over-regulation by the state has hastened the growth of the informal sector. This is mainly because majority of the poor remain unskilled and uneducated and cannot afford to hatch businesses that meet the necessary legal requirements. Therefore, they take the readily available and less expensive choice: the informal sector.

Street hawking is often seen as a component of the informal economy, however, in places like Mexico City studies have shown that street vendors are well organized into associations or organizations, which serves as a mouthpiece between the vendors and the policymakers or policy regulators (Cross, 1998). Pena (1999) makes mention of two (2) major functions that vendor organizations perform in Mexico City. The first function is their role as negotiators or deal makers where they try to overcome cumbersome bureaucratic procedures and red tape issues for their members. The second is the role as managers of social assets where they control membership of the organizations and access to the informal markets. They also serve as conflict managers among the vendors.

In both developing and developed countries, activities in the informal sector were not included in the national employment statistics (Suharto, 2003). However, in the Highly Industrialized Countries, only 3 percent of employment is in the informal economy, while an estimated 54

percent of all employment in Africa is in the informal economy, and in sub-Saharan Africa, 78 percent of all non-agricultural employment is in the informal economy (UN-HABITAT, 2003, p. 103). This is as a result of high unemployment, poverty and various hardships in the economies of many countries which deprives many of education, training and skills which they could have otherwise depended on to earn a living. The informal economy is comprised of self-employment in small unregistered enterprises and wage employment in unregulated and unprotected jobs (WIEGO and GSS, 2005). They further express that in developing countries, informal employment comprises one half to three quarters of non-agricultural employment. In Sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa, informal employment comprises nearly 80 percent of non-agricultural employment. In Ghana today, informal employment represents over 90 percent of total employment.

Some scholars are of the view that a society or an economy with deep structural inequalities is more prone to an unbalanced growth path and may need corrective action to moderate or better yet, alleviate the consequences of the unequal growth. These structural inequalities are seen to be the main reasons for the formal-informal divide and the increasing informal sector. China for instance has had enormous growth in the last quarter of the century. This has led to a decrease in income poverty but has inadvertently led to the plummeting of inequality especially among its coastal and inland provinces. As a result of this unbalanced growth, the Chinese government has put in place structural as well as alleviatory measures to amend the imbalances in infrastructure among the people of the inland provinces and the coast. India is also another country that has had a fast growth rate over the last two decades. It also recorded decreases in measured poverty but has had increases in inequality between some regions in the country. Some areas of the country

have been left behind or impoverished due to the clamor for mineral resources from tribal lands, which has accelerated the exploitation and relegation of the indigenous people.

However, it could be said that there is no vast divide between the formal sector and the informal sector (Obeng - Odoom, 2011). These sectors may share some features such that, individuals may work or fall within these two sectors either at the same time or at different times. An individual who owns a business in the informal economy can be an employee of a firm in the formal economy or a retailer in the informal sector could be an employee of a wholesaler in the formal sector (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions [ICFTU], 2004). Also, an individual may work in the informal sector and upgrade or move up to the formal sector. He or she may also work part-time in the informal economy (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008).

Street Hawking in Developing Countries

During the past decade, increasing attention has been paid to the numerous challenges facing young people all over the world especially in developing countries since the youth form the greater percentage of the workforce. The focus of ongoing research and initiatives have centered on the high-risk segments of the youth population, such as runaways and street youth. In light of this, Alia et al (2004) in their analysis of the social and nutritional status of street children in Pakistan observed that majority of them were children “on the street” having regular family contact; while minority were “of the street”, without any family contact. Majority of the children came from large families which had recently moved to the city in search of economic opportunities. Parents of these children had low education levels and were either unemployed or employed in unskilled occupations. Poverty clearly was an important factor. The majority of the

children moved to the street to augment family income. Most of the children were males (81%) and the average age for those beginning life on the street was under 10 years.

In Africa, South African street vendors are ahead in organizing, while other countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and Ghana have only just begun organizing. South Africa has a strong culture of worker organization that owes its origin to the apartheid regime. A comparison of studies done in seven African countries in this review indicate that even in South Africa where there is strong culture of workers organization, organization in the informal sector is relatively new and informal sector organizations get little support from the formal economy trade unions. Among the six case studies, South Africa, Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana have established links with the informal economy trade unions, while Kenya is in the process of doing the same. It has been argued that organizing street traders is difficult. This is partly because most street traders earn just enough to feed their families, and are thus reluctant to take time off work to attend meetings (WIEGO, 2004).

Street Hawking and Public Space

Urban public space is a key element in the livelihoods of the urban poor, but its importance in development policies for cities or town is highly unacknowledged (Brown, 2006). Street vending is an income-generating activity where individuals sell their wares along streets and sidewalks to passing pedestrians and motorists. It is one of several activities within the informal economy, which refers to the section of a country's economy that operates outside the regulation and protection of the state (Kamunyori, 2007). In some countries, street hawkers are licensed by statutory bodies and their activities are regulated by law. In Malta, for instance, a street hawker is seen as "a person who has the license to undertake any commercial activity from any street,

without regard to the means by which the activity is carried out” (Ministry for Competitiveness & Communications, Malta, 2002). However, in Ghana, there is no such licensing arrangement in place and anyone can become a street hawker. Thus, the street hawking phenomenon in Ghana continues to increase. While it serves as a major source of livelihood and income for many, it also attracts numerous problems that affect not only drivers, passengers and pedestrians but also the street hawkers themselves.

Street hawkers are often seen as a nuisance to other commerce and the free flow of traffic. Since they typically lack legal status, space to work and recognition, they often experience frequent harassment and evictions from their selling places by local authorities or competing shop owners (ILO, 2002). Their goods may be confiscated and they may even be arrested. The places where they work are often dirty and hazardous. Nevertheless, street vending may be the only option for many poor people.

Public spaces are important because they are sites for individuals to express and demand their rights and citizenship (Mitchell, 2003). Many urban designers use public space in reference to spaces left unused or for leisure in planned cities such as parks or squares. However, Lynch (1981) states that, despite the fact that much literature assumes that urban public space is common property resource for everyone and should have equal use and free right of access for all, in many instances, this is not so because there are many competing uses. A study by Anjaria (2006) in Mumbai shows that the presence of street traders in public spaces enhances the safety of the inhabitants in the surrounding areas. Roy (2005) seems to share the same view from New York where he undertook a study on street vendors. Roy’s study showed that even though street vending is seen to be an inconvenience to city or town planners, it creates safe public spaces in its various neighborhoods.

Public spaces are usually seen as having some sort of political significance attached to it. This is seen in the many displays of power struggle and democracy that have taken place in public spaces. Public spaces therefore signify some form of state power (Brown, 2004). Municipal or city governments are often seen to be the main managers or administrators of public space, though it is not always the case. Public spaces are contested spaces that the poor dwell on for their daily survival; however, it has not been given much recognition where street hawkers are concerned. Despite the improved recognition, street vendors and their rights to space have not been integrated into urban space usage and planning (ILO, 2006). Street vendors have no option but to use public spaces as their workplace, nevertheless, raids against them by the police or some other taskforce as done in many countries, are not only an indictment of governments that win elections on pro-poor tickets, but also a blatant infringement of the traders' constitutional right to earn a living (The Globalist, 2009).

Street Hawking and Public Policy

Street vendors across Africa are disadvantaged in the areas of legal, regulatory and policy environment due to the reason that they are a part of the small and micro economic activities which have been viewed as marginal for decades. ILO (2006) asserts that when urban management policies allow vendors to conduct their trade, it has positive impacts on several fronts namely: on poverty, employment, entrepreneurship, social mobility, and peace and order. Dahles (2003) in his analysis of tourism, small enterprises and community development noted that the issue of street hawking has been painted as evil over the years but people should be mindful of the fact that hawking as a whole can impact positively on local economies and community development as well especially in the area of job creation and income generation. Henderson (2011) has added that hawking poses challenges for authorities concerned on adverse

impacts and traditional hawkers are at risk from modernization and globalization. He however noted that hawking contributes to local lives and economies in the cities where activity is concentrated.

The Globalist (2009) in an article titled “ Fighting Poverty and Saving Street Vendors in South Africa”, labels street vending as arguably the most vulnerable career, after prostitution. It cautions that the silence of the central government on street hawking issues has charged every municipality and province to determine its own by-laws to regulate street trading. A consequence of this inadequate regulation system is that it opens vendors up to various forms of problems: from the paying of bribes to avoid arrest and confiscation of their goods to the sourcing of credit or finance at exorbitant rates.

South Africa was the first to begin research on policies and regulations affecting street vendors, followed by Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Cote d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe (WIEGO, 2004). In its study, WIEGO (2004) identified that in South Africa the street trading laws and policies were in transition, and the government was committed to creating an enabling environment conducive for the growth of the informal economy. It has subsequently made deliberate legal provisions in the South African National Constitution: section 152. This section provides for principles by which local government is expected to work closely with local communities in ensuring economic development and other service provision. Nevertheless, street vendors are only interested in laws or policies that give their right to trade on the streets due recognition, also their recognition as a crucial part of the economy and affords them decent trading space as well as other services and infrastructure.

In countries like Thailand, there is the Public Health Act of 1992 which forbids anyone from selling items on footpaths, public roads, and public pathways. However, vendors are allowed to sell on the streets only when they receive permission from authorized officials who operate under orders from the governor (ILO, 2006).

In Ghana also, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, AMA (1994) gazetted that “.....no person shall at any time in any street market place leave or cause to be placed or left any stall, furniture, equipment, merchandise or goods or any articles whatsoever” and “no person other than a person who holds a Hawker’s permit shall occupy a selling space or site in a Street Market”. This regulation by the AMA is similar to that of the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). The question worth asking is what has been achieved so far after the 19 years of its enactment? The AMA again on the 1st of April, 2011 put in place a bye- law that no one is allowed to sell any merchandise to drivers of vehicles or passengers while the vehicle is caught up in traffic. Also, no person shall buy from a street hawker unless the street has been designated for that purpose.

Street Food Vending

Street food as defined by the FAO Regional Workshop on Street Foods in Asia in 1986, conceive that street food describes a wide range of ready-to-eat foods and beverages sold and sometimes prepared in public places, notably streets. Like fast foods, the final preparation of street foods occurs when the customer orders the meal which can be consumed where it is purchased or taken away. Street foods and fast foods are low in cost compared with restaurant meals and offer an attractive alternative to home-cooked food. In spite of these similarities, street food and fast food enterprises differ in variety, environment, marketing techniques and ownership. Street foods are

usually thought to reflect traditional values of the people of the particular location of sale or preparation.

Due to the fact that the success of the street food venture depends solely on location and advertisement by word of mouth, vendors usually prefer to sell at vantage points; hence the street where people passing, whether in vehicles or on foot can see and buy. Some of those who, because of economic and social changes or individual characteristics, have difficulty obtaining jobs in the formal sector find work in the street food industry. The street food business often involves the whole family in acquiring raw materials, preparation and cooking as well as the sale of food. Women have been seen to play a large role in the street food industry around the world. Surveys have found women to be involved in 90 percent of enterprises in the Philippines, 53 percent in Senegal and 40 percent in Indonesia (Tinker and Cohen, 1985). People who make little or no income at all depend heavily on street food.

The street food venture comprises millions of people and much capital notwithstanding, they are often not given the sufficient official recognition. In many countries the street food venture is barely tolerated. As a result of its spread over quite a number of locations and its lack of proper coordination, it is common for clusters of vendors to be considered impediments by urban planners and hazards to public health (Winarno and Allain, 1991). Frequently, concerns about poor hygiene and the spread of disease are raised by officials and this accounts for the discouraging attitude toward street food vendors.

Livelihoods and Social Exclusion

The concept of livelihood is often linked to the informal sector and the various small and medium scale businesses which fall under it. Livelihood is seen in terms of means of supporting

one's family and one's self. Also, the concept is often used in connection with the poor or with poverty. It is drawn directly from the concept of Sustainable Livelihoods Approach for international development. This approach draws on the main factors that affect the poor and their means of survival (livelihood).

A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets. Assets may be tangible assets such as resources and stores, or intangible assets such as claims and access (Roche, 2007). Drawing on the work of Chambers and Conway (1992), Carney (1998) defines livelihood as 'comprising the capabilities assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base'.

Social exclusion is defined by DFID (2010) as 'A process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household.'

Social exclusion, seen as a factor in undermining state legitimacy, is a concept that emerged in the 1980s to represent the breakage of the social bond between an individual and society (DFID, 2002). Social exclusion also refers to the estrangement of a person or group of people within a society and is usually connected to a person's social status, educational attainment and standard of living and how these impact their access to various opportunities.

World Bank (2003) posits that it is best to see social exclusion as both a cause of and a component or outcome of poverty. The concept of social exclusion emphasizes multiple and reinforcing aspects of deprivation, process and relational issues, and the role of institutions which is why it is very useful (DFID, 2002). Even though most blame urbanization for the increase in migration and subsequently, increase in the informal economy, urbanization of poverty would have been much greater without the informal sector, and in poor cities it is common for up to 60% of the workforce to be employed in informal sector activities (UNCHS, 2001).

Hawkers may have the choice among others in the informal sector but public space is an integral part of their livelihood strategy. It is essential therefore, to coordinate effectively the use of public space so as not to deprive the poor of their livelihood. In conceptualizing urban poverty, the concept of social exclusion has been greatly noted. Social exclusion as defined by French Republicans of the 1980s is 'a rupture of the social fabric, and attributed to a failure of the state' (De Haan, 1998). It is a destruction of the connection between individuals and the society such that these individuals are ousted from wholly participating in the affairs of the society or community to which they belong. Street hawkers in their day to day activities experience this exclusion from their various societies all over the world. They are prevented from sharing in urban public spaces and sometimes even chased, goods are confiscated and they go through all kinds of hardship and health problems in their line of work. According to De Haan (1998), social exclusion is the opposite of social integration, mirroring the perceived importance of being part of society, or being 'included'.

Silver (1995) lists some things that people can be excluded from in the society as: a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or

prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfillment and understanding. Sen (2000) places the notion of social exclusion in the idea of 'poverty as capability deprivation' which gives the concept a general approach that helps to appreciate the underlying and major concerns that the specific idea of social exclusion helps to highlight.

In many cases, it is women who end up being deprived of their livelihoods and consequently, are excluded from many parts of societal activities. According to ILO (2006), women dominate street vending in East and South-east Asia, and it is one of the most important avenues for poor women to support their families. Although street vending is seen as an option for the poor, their legal and social status and business prospects differ domestically as well as regionally.

Street Hawking and Resultant Hazards

Once on the street, hawkers engage in certain behaviors and practices in order to enable them survive. These involve different life-styles, sexual relationships and the formation of groups or unions primarily to ensure their welfare and also to negotiate on their behalf with the law enforcers or the law makers. This often has short and long-term repercussions on the hawker and his or her family, seen in terms of security, risks, welfare and others. Also, it affects national income, city or town planning and development in general.

The Bellagio Declaration identifies some six common problems of street vendors around the world. That they have 1) No Legal Status, No Right to Vend; 2) Lack of Space or Poor Location; 3) Restrictions on Licensing, Costs of Regulation; 4) Harassment, Bribes, Confiscation, and Evictions; 5) Lack of Services and Infrastructure; 6) Lack of Representation or Voice. The

Declaration therefore, urges governments to incorporate hawkers into economic- trade policies, financial policies in relation to micro-entrepreneurs and social policies in relation to the working poor. It further prompts city or town councils to imbibe street hawkers in their planning processes and policies and to champion the course of institutional mechanisms for hawkers' associations to bring forth their grievances, demands, and conflicts for proper resolution (Bellagio International Declaration of Street Vendors, 1995).

Actual and potential hazards associated with hawking has in many instances manifested itself in ways that should have drawn both governmental and non- governmental interventions but according to Henderson (2011), insufficient political commitment, an absence of resources and the corruption of officials are all barriers to effective administration.

It is interesting to note that in Thailand unlike other places patrons of street items such as food are from all walks of life, and not limited to the urban poor and also due to their “public eating habit”, researchers and scholars tend to focus much on food vending (ILO, 2006). According to the statistics by ILO (2006), majority (70%) of the buyers cited convenience and time-saving as the advantages of buying street food. However, cooked food hawking has a long history in Singapore (Kong, 2007) and has always provoked concerns about public health hazards emanating from poor hygiene and sanitation. Illegality and accompanying insecurity are, however, universal attributes of hawkers who sell cooked food which makes it a component of informal economies (ILO, 2000).

As a result of the informal nature of their work, street hawker associations are too weak to engage in any meaningful dialogue with city authorities. Where the associations exist, they are not in any position to effectively negotiation with city authorities on behalf of the vendors. They

however form the associations to show a unified front whenever they are confronted by the authorities. Mitullah (1991) highlights the fact that females who engage in street vending are often pushed to pay bribes to obtain licenses to operate and in most cases, offer sexual favors to law enforcement officers, a situation which often leads to the deterioration of their health status, especially in the area of sexually transmitted diseases. This situation could lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other incurable diseases.

Female rape, which is one of the major problems in our society today, may partly be associated with street hawking. If sexual harassments could occur in offices, then its prevalence on the streets would be certain. Hawkers tend to litter the street with various items such as nylons, disposable papers, containers and cans. Some have said that they constitute nothing but nuisance in our society. A tidy environment is a healthy environment, goes the saying. It is therefore, unfortunate that our environment has become an unhealthy one, partly due to the merchandise sold by street hawkers and also, their activities. Street vendors have to grapple with air pollution, and most seriously, the uncertainty of laws and regulations (ILO, 2006). This exposes them to various health risks, both physical and emotional.

According to Dimas (2008), street vendors are a perpetual problem for street and sidewalk users in most Indonesian cities. The spillage of their business onto roadways is the source of traffic congestion. Their informal setting and business residue (garbage) cause unsightly urban scenery. Hawkers often contribute to motor accidents on the road, endangering all road users and also themselves. Also, owing to the reality of street hawking having no social security protection, it tends to attract marauding gangs of criminals to hawkers since they are seen as easy targets. In spite of the benefits of street food trade, Winarno and Allain (1991) assert that vendors may have to work long hours under adverse conditions and the risks are endured solely by the seller.

Vendors can face problems with local officials and may also have to deal with criminals who try to extort "protection money" from them. In addition, their profession is often considered to be of low status.

In the FAO's Street Food Project Report No. 3 (1990), 47 students ranging from 18 to 24 years were engaged in a dietary study in Bogor, Indonesia where 63 percent of their expenditure was allocated to street foods. The study reported that street food vendors use additives such as the unauthorized coloring agents Rhodamine B and Methanal yellow. Similarly, prohibited synthetic sweeteners are frequently used to adulterate drinks sold on the street. There were also reports of food contamination such as lead contamination (1,0 - 9,63 ppm), for instance, while 17 percent of street foods containing peanuts were found to be contaminated with aflatoxins at levels above 30 ppb, the safety margin set by FAO/WHO guidelines. Pesticide residues above authorized levels were also detected in street foods, particularly in vegetable-based products.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This section deals with the processes involved in the undertaking of this study. It gives information on the methods or approach to the study and the methodology under which the research design including the tools for data analysis are discussed. It also highlights how the data collected will be analyzed.

Research Approach/ Method

The study employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in the collection and analysis of primary data. The choice of approach was informed by the fact that the study sought not only to identify the health and environmental hazards that the hawkers of bread and fried turkey tail face but also to understand the reasons for the singular choice among others, to sell on the streets regardless of the dangers involved. The choice of a qualitative approach is because qualitative research gives valuable insights which might be missed by any other method. It allows the researcher to delve deeper into structural and subjective issues that surround the choices and behavior of the hawkers. However, qualitative research approach has been criticized by many for having the tendency to infuse value judgment of the researcher (Ahiadeke, 2008). It is due to this that the study combined both the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative method was used to obtain statistics on the hawkers and the business they undertake.

Target Population

The target population of this study was both mobile and stationary hawkers of bread and fried turkey tail. The study targeted mainly women, children and the youth who sell on the main streets of the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality. This area happens to be a hot spot for the bread and turkey tail vendors since many travelers ply that route.

Sampling

As a result of the nature of this category of hawkers and the lack of a sampling frame, it was difficult to use probability sampling. Therefore, the snowballing sampling technique was used to select hawkers. The purpose was to select respondents through the help of the women who own their own bread making businesses and supply to others to buy in bulk and sell on the streets. Also, respondents were selected through other respondents who own similar business of vending turkey tail and bread on the streets. A total of 100 bread and turkey tail vendors were selected from both those who are stationary and mobile.

In terms of the qualitative arm, some officials of the municipality such as the head of the Environmental Health Division and the Deputy District Director were interviewed. This is because, these respondents have profound knowledge about the variables under study and also have control over the municipal or city guards (uniformed officials from the assembly who have the responsibility of keeping hawkers off the streets). In other words, they form a part of the body responsible for the enforcement of laws regulating street hawking and sanitation in the area.

Methods of Data Collection

Data for the study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources of data were from both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The quantitative method was obtained from face- to- face interviews, while the qualitative data was acquired through in- depth interview. The face- to- face interview was in the form of structure questionnaire and the in- depth interview, in the form of a discussion with the head of the Environmental Health division of the Nsawam/ Adoagyiri Municipal Assembly. The secondary sources of information included published and unpublished books journals and electronic sources.

Structured Questionnaire

Quantitative data was collected with structured questionnaire based on the sampling methodology described above. The questionnaire used both open- ended and close- ended questions. It was divided into two (2) parts. The first part (Part 1) sought information on the personal background of respondents, and the second part (Part 2) sought to collect information on the reasons for the choice to hawk (such as socio- economic reasons, profit, legal constraints, low law enforcement, desire to hawk and the influence of parent or guardian) and the hazards that these street hawkers face in their day to day business activities.

Secondary Data Collection

An analysis of secondary data sources is used to complement the primary data. The secondary data sources used included journals, magazines, newspaper reports, public and institutional documents, radio interviews, articles, bulletins, reports presented at seminars and conferences, internet materials, monitoring and evaluation reports and unpublished works relating to street

vending and decongestion in various countries. The essence of this was to review a wide range of literature on the street hawking phenomenon.

Data Analysis

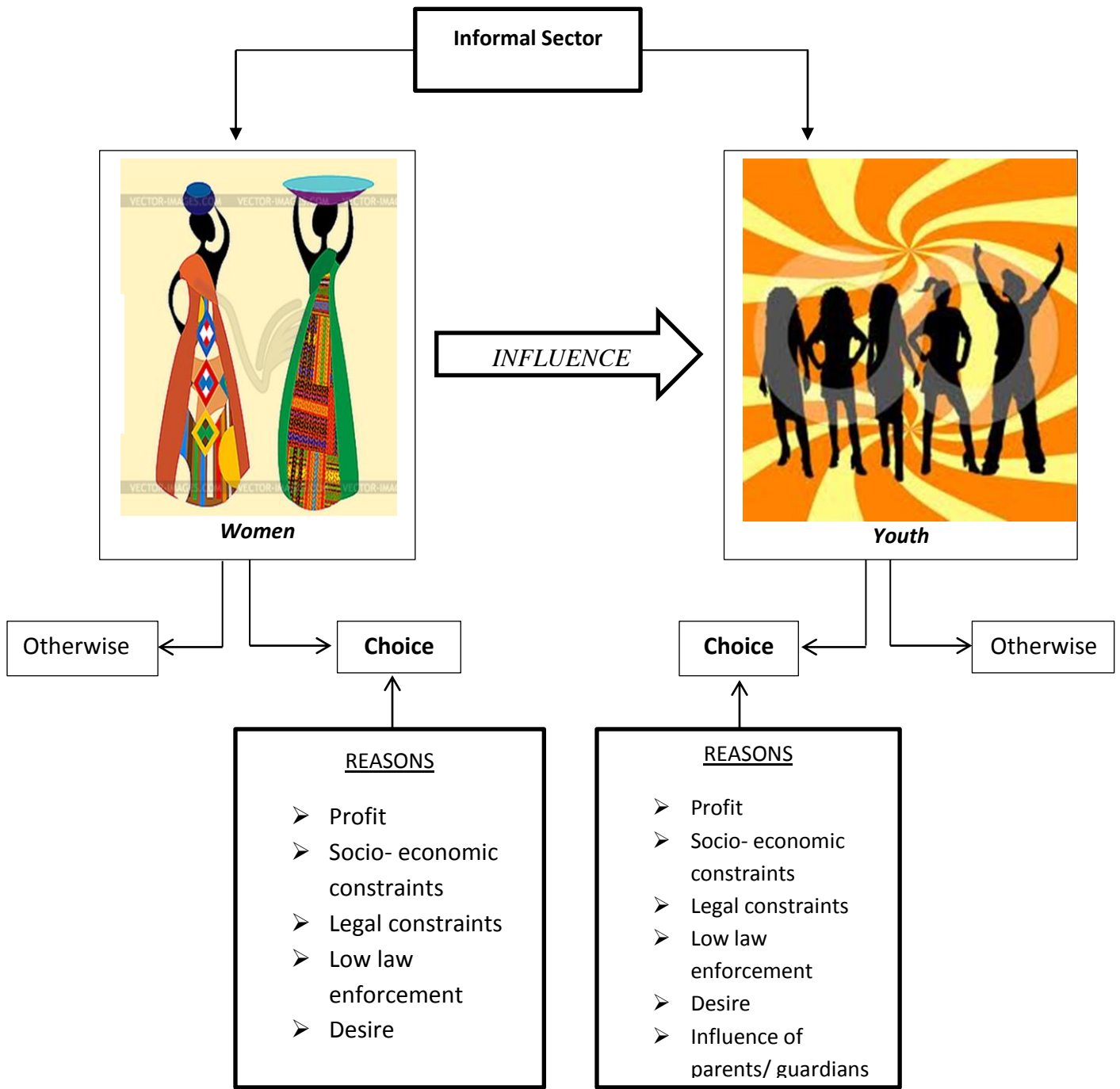
The quantitative data collected using structured questionnaire was edited, coded and processed for use with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The data was analyzed utilizing mean, frequency distribution and cross- tabulations. The qualitative data obtained from the in- depth interview was transcribed from a tape recorder and used during data analysis. The main variables of concern were the choice among respondents to hawk; reasons why some hawkers are stationary and others are mobile; and the hazards they face due to their choice of business. The variables were cross- tabulated to enable the researcher identify the variance and similarities between the two groups (stationary and mobile hawkers) in the study.

Ethical Considerations

It is a general belief that every researcher to some extent has personal values and beliefs that can be infused in his/ her research during the data analysis process. Weber (1946) posits that all research is to some extent tainted with the values of the researcher. However, an attempt was made to base all conclusions and recommendations on the information collected as much as possible. The principle of voluntary participation and informed consent was observed in this study. The objectives and overall purpose of the study was made known to respondents. Confidentiality and anonymity was guaranteed. All references have been duly acknowledged to avoid plagiarism.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Figure 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



Source: By Author

Street hawking, as used in this study, is an informal sector activity. The two are organically related. While street hawking is not the only activity in the informal sector, it is one of the major activities driving the informal economy. This may be due to widespread poverty in the country. It is said by many scholars that about 80% of Ghana's workforce is employed in the informal sector and this sector is characterized by underemployment, bad working conditions, uncertain work relationships and low wages (FES Ghana, Oct. 2001). Street vending happens to be one of the prominent characteristics of the informal sector. Figure 1 is a graphical representation of the informal economy as a broad sector consisting of many women and youth. These people may not per se make the choice to be in the informal sector but they definitely make the choice as to which activity within the informal sector they will engage in. However, certain reasons tend to affect or serve as push and pull factors in swaying them towards the street hawking business.

It is assumed that people make rational choices in every situation in which they find themselves and that people measure the likely costs and benefits of any action before taking a decision. This way of thinking has been referred to as the rational choice theory (Weber, 1920; Parsons, 1937). All social behavior, it is argued, can be seen as emanating from rational decisions, even though some may appear to be irrational or non-rational (Scott, 2000). According to Scott (2000), individuals are seen as motivated by the things they want and their goals that express their 'preferences'. People's behaviour fall within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the situation in which they find themselves. At its simplest, the relationship between preferences and constraints can be seen in terms of the relationship of a means to an end.

The relationship between the choice to hawk and the choice to do something other than hawking but under the same informal sector hinges on various reasons. From the available literature, a number of factors affect the decision of individuals to enter the street hawking business. These factors include socio- economic issues, the profits expected, influence by others, the desire to

make a living for one's self and one's family as well as the individual's migration status. Other factors that may push individuals onto the streets as hawkers are the household living conditions especially of children, spousal desertion, perception towards alternative jobs and legal constraints or low level of law enforcement of city authority bye-laws.

Furthermore, Figure 1 points out some reasons why the women in the sector make the choice of street hawking as profits expected, socio- economic constraints, legal constraints, low level of law enforcement and having the desire to engage in that line of business. The same reasons are outlined for the youth; however, the youth may be subject to influence from parents, guardians or other relatives to participate in the business.

Many of these women and youth, either indigenes or migrants to the municipality are in search of better living conditions and earning enough to cater for themselves and their families due to various hardships they might be facing. These people usually lack strong socio- economic backing to push them toward better jobs and lifestyles. Though information on adult street vendors is not available, one could say that, like the children hawking on the streets, poverty could be the main push factor to the street hawking phenomenon (Obiri, 1996). They often lack the education, training or skills to help facilitate a decent living for themselves and their families. This may stem not from the fact that they are unwilling to attend school or work hard but from the lack of adequate finances, religious beliefs, ethnicity, marital problems, death of breadwinners and gender bias issues. It could also stem from the lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector.

Also, for some people the venture may be attractive due to its profitability and for the fact that it does not require the payment of taxes, fees or levies. In fact, some people are pushed away from

other activities in the informal sector like running a shop because of the legal constraints involved. The procedures involved in acquiring space to place a shop on or even acquiring a permit for the shop may be overly bureaucratic and cumbersome as well as expensive for the poor and uneducated to deal with. They also lack the social networking to help in acquiring some of these things so they try to avoid them by simply selling on the streets.

Again, the lack of rules, taxation, fees and levies that characterize this line of business is desirable and attractive enough to serve as a pull factor to many poor people and unemployed people. The desire to make money on their own without any payment to an authority is comforting to people therefore they engage in it.

There is little legal action taken against offenders of street hawking laws. This gives way for many more people to join the hawking business. According to the hawkers in the Nsawam-Adoagyiri municipality, when they are apprehended the worst form of punishment meted out to culprits is the confiscation of items which is given back when a fine is paid. However, people continue to sell on the streets because the fine is lower than the profits they make. Some hawkers also have friends among the law enforcement officials so they get tipped off before the apprehension begins or they pay meager bribes to get out of the situation.

With the youth, they may be influenced by parents or guardians to participate in the hawking business. They may help their parents or guardians with the hawking business and eventually come to own a similar business for themselves or they may even inherit that of the parent's. Obiri (1996) observes that children (between the ages of 10 - 18) mainly hawk on the streets to supplement the incomes that come into the home from parents or guardians especially those who are poor.

STUDY AREA

The Nsawam - Adoagyiri Municipal Assembly was established under a Legislative Instrument (L.I 2047) in 2012. It was formally a part of the Akuapem South Municipal Assembly. The municipality is located approximately 23 kilometers from Accra, the country's capital. It covers a land area of about 503 square kilometers and lies on the south eastern part of the Eastern region of Ghana between latitude 5.45' N and 5.58' N and longitude 0.07'W and 0.27'W.

Nsawam is a gap town along the main highway, linking the Coastal and Northern parts of the country. This highway is known as the Accra- Kumasi road. As a result, there are many opportunities for commercial activities in the town, especially the making and selling of bread, fried turkey tail (popularly known as kyofi) to drivers and passengers of vehicles passing through the place.

The municipality is estimated to have a population of 87,407 out of which males are 44,617 which form about 51% and females are 42,790 which form about 49% (2010 Population and Housing Census Provisional Report). This suggests that males are more than females in the municipality. Meanwhile, in the 2010 national census for the entire country, females are more than men. The population growth is estimated at 1.6% per annum and a population density of 277 persons per square kilometer. The people of this area are predominantly Akan (Akuapem) and they form about 63% of the population. However, there are about 9% Ewes, 7% Ga Adangbes, 17% other Akans (Ashanti, Akyem, Fanti, Kwahu etc) and a few Northern tribes as well as other tribes which form the remaining 4%. The people here are predominantly Christian.

The major economic activity in the area is agriculture and about 37% of the labour force is engaged in this sector. However, further probing in the area revealed that agriculture is gradually

reducing and giving way to industry and various informal sector activities like street hawking. Commerce is the second highest economic activity in which 28% of the labour force is engaged in. This is followed by service which takes 20% of the labour force and industry which takes 15%. On average, the highest expenditure is on food and clothing: 40.3% and 13.3% respectively (Akuapem South MTDP, 2012). This may be because these two items are necessities in life. Nevertheless, the expenditure on education is very low and stands at a surprising 10%. This could be a reason for the predominance of hawking activities in the area and also the low academic performance of children in the municipality. The frequent lay-over of truck drivers in the town due to the Accra- Kumasi highway and the influx of immigrants due to the abundance of industry has given way to various informal economic activities. These activities such as guest houses, street food and good vending and casual sex workers fetch a lot of money for the town's people. Therefore students prefer to engage in these activities to make money to augment the family's income rather than to go to school and make no money

The municipality however, has 2 Senior High Schools, 5 vocational institutes, 20 Junior High Schools and about 30 primary schools. It is also endowed with a major hospital and a few health centers which cater for the major health burdens of the municipality namely: buruli ulcer, malaria, maternal mortality and HIV/ AIDS in addition to other infirmities.

Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality is one of the peri- urban areas which are privy to various levels of industries. The industrial activities are diversified ranging from pharmaceuticals to fruit processing where high technology and equipment are used. There are also other agro- based and related industries, wood or timber related industries, quarrying and construction industries and technicians and mechanical workshops that use light or low level technology in their production and service processes. Some of the major industries and their projects in the municipality are:

Nsawam Cannery (Beverage and food products), Blue Skies Limited (pineapple, pawpaw, watermelon and mango beverages), Astek Fruit Processing Limited (fruit beverages and mineral water), La Gray Pharmaceuticals Limited (Drugs), Africa Cola (fruit beverages), Sunripe Limited (fruit beverages) and the Nsawam Foam Ghana Limited (bedding and mattress products).

The municipality can boast of tourist sites such as Waterfalls located at Mensama and Boade at Nsakyé, natural rocky formation of varied intricate designs on them, and the Osudom Lake which has crocodiles, alligators and other sacred reptiles in it.

The Municipal Assembly of Nsawam- Adoagyiri is the highest administrative and political authority in the municipality. Section 1 of the Local Government Act 1993 (Act 462) under which it operates, stipulates that the Assembly exercises deliberative, legislative and executive functions in the municipality. The assembly therefore has responsibility for the overall development of the municipality. Among the Assembly's functions is the initiation of policies for the development of basic infrastructure; coordinating, integrating and harmonizing the execution of programmes and projects under approved development plans for the municipality and for development programmes promoted or carried out by ministries, departments, public corporations as well as non- governmental organizations in the municipality, and the formulation and execution of plans, programmes and strategies for the effective mobilization of the municipality's resources.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION and ANALYSIS of DATA

Introduction

The main findings of the research are presented in this chapter. Some in the form of tables, pie and bar charts which summarize the responses from the respondents to whom the questionnaires were administered. The tables, pie and bar charts are followed by analysis of the issues of concern to this study.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

A total of 100 respondents (bread and turkey tail hawkers) were interviewed using structured questionnaire. Out of this, 94 were female and 6 were male. As observed by Adiko and Anoh (2003) in their study of Abidjan that women dominate street and market trade, the results above confirm the domination of women in the hawking of bread and turkey tail in the Nsawam-Adoagyiri municipality.

Table 4.1.1: Ages of Hawkers

Age Ranges	Count	Percentage (%)
10 – 20 years	28	28.00
21 – 30 years	38	38.00
31 – 40 years	17	17.00
41 – 50 years	12	12.00
50 years and above	5	5.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

From the data as shown in Table 4.1.1, the minimum age collected was 13 years while the maximum age was 58 years. Majority (38%) of the hawkers are between 21 and 30 years. This shows that majority of the people involved in the bread and turkey tail business are young, vibrant and able-bodied and can therefore handle the pressure that come with the venture.

Table 4.1.2: Marital Status of Hawkers

Marital Status	Count	Percentage (%)
Single	43	43.00
Married	28	28.00
Co-habiting	15	15.00
Divorced	9	9.00
Separated	4	4.00
Widowed	1	1.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

In Table 4.1.2 above, a large number of the street hawkers were single (43%) followed by the married (28%). This could be because many of them are single mothers and have to find ways to cater for their children. It could also be because majority of them are between the ages of 21 to 30 years. They are still young and therefore have not yet found marriage partners.

Table 4.1.3: Highest Educational Level of Hawkers

Education	Count	Percentage (%)
Never Attended	3	3.00
Primary	36	36.00
Junior High School	52	52.00
Senior High School	9	9.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

In Table 4.1.3 a greater number (52%) of these hawkers have attained just the Junior High School education. This could account for their unemployment and subsequent engagement in the street vending business. It is however essential to note that some of the hawkers, especially those who have had some secondary education asserted that their involvement in the trade is only temporary and that their reasons for engaging in it is to save enough money to continue their education. Some also asserted that they only engaged in it to help their parents cater for the family and will move to other businesses later.

Table 4.1.4: Housing Information

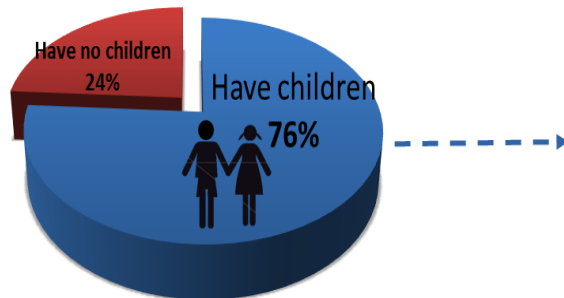
Housing	Count	Percentage (%)
I usually sleep on the street	1	1.00
I live in a kiosk/shop/container	3	3.00
I live in a single room	64	64.00
I live in a room and parlor	11	11.00
I live in a chamber and hall	21	21.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

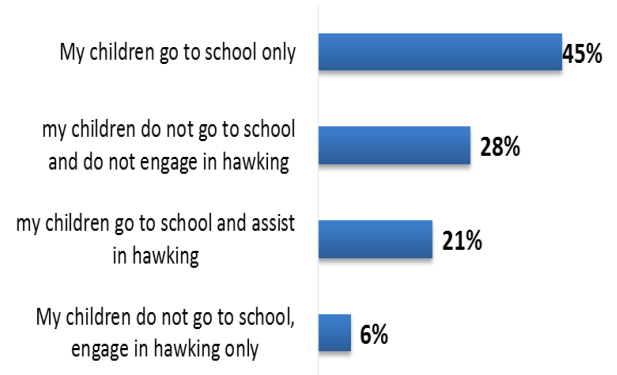
Table 4.1.4 reveals that the most dominant housing system for these hawkers is the single room which, about 64% of them live in. 21% of them live in the chamber and hall housing units while the 15 % remaining live in kiosks or shops (3%), room and parlor (11%) and on the street (1%). This speaks to the socio- economic situation of the hawkers. Since the single room is the cheapest form of decent accommodation in the municipality, the hawkers, some of who have big families opt to live in such housing units.

Figure 2: Children of Hawkers

Percentage of the Hawkers who have children



Characteristics of children of Hawkers



Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Figure 2 shows the percentage of hawkers who have children, which is 76% whilst 24% do not have. Out of the 76%, majority (45%) takes their children to school only and do not engage them in the hawking business. This is a sign that these hawkers want a better life for their children than they had. Since majority of the hawkers are still young; they asserted that their children are too young to help in the hawking business.

TABLE 4.1.5: Number of Children by School Going Activities of Children of Hawkers

No. of Children of Respondents	School Going Activities of Children of Hawkers			
	<i>My children go to school only</i>	<i>My children go to school and assist in hawking</i>	<i>My children do not go to school and do not engage in hawking</i>	<i>My children do not go to school, engage in hawking only</i>
1 child	48%	14%	38%	0%
2 children	40%	27%	20%	13%
3 children	50%	17%	25%	8%
4 children	75%	12%	0%	12%
5 and above	0%	57%	43%	0%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

From the data in Table 4.1.5, out of the hawkers who had one child, 48% of the children attend school only; 14% attend school and assist in the hawking business; and 38% do not attend school and do not engage in the hawking business. For the hawkers who have 2 children, 40% attend school only; 27% attend school and assist in the hawking business; 20% do not go to school and do not engage in hawking business; and 13% do not go to school and engage solely in hawking. For the ones with 3 children, 50% of the children attend school only; while 17% attend school and assist in the hawking business; 25% do not attend school and do not engage in hawking activities; and 8% do not attend school but engage only in hawking. Also, for the ones with 4 children, 75% attend school only; 12% attend school and assist in the hawking business; and 12% do not attend school but engage in hawking activities only. Those who have 5 children and above have 57% of the children going to school and assisting in the hawking business as well and 43% do not go to school and do not engage in hawking activities but engage in other forms of businesses in the informal sector.

Many of those whose children only attend school have children that are not old enough to withstand the harsh realities of the hawking business. Others too have children who are old

enough to attend school and on weekends, holidays and after school hours assist their parents to sell on the streets in order to supplement household income. Others also have children whom they assert engage in other businesses in the informal sector like trading in the market, farming and offering domestic services. The category whose children do not go to school and engage only in hawking activities, which indicates the influence that the parent's lifestyle has had on the children. This points to the fact that those whose children assist in hawking and those whose children engage solely in hawking have had major influence in the work that the children engage in. As posited by Alia et al (2004), children and some youth assist their parents and relatives; whereas in some cases they are entrepreneurs in their own right or learn from their parents and eventually move on to own their own street trade business.

TABLE 4.1.6: Housing situation of Hawkers by their Average Monthly Profit

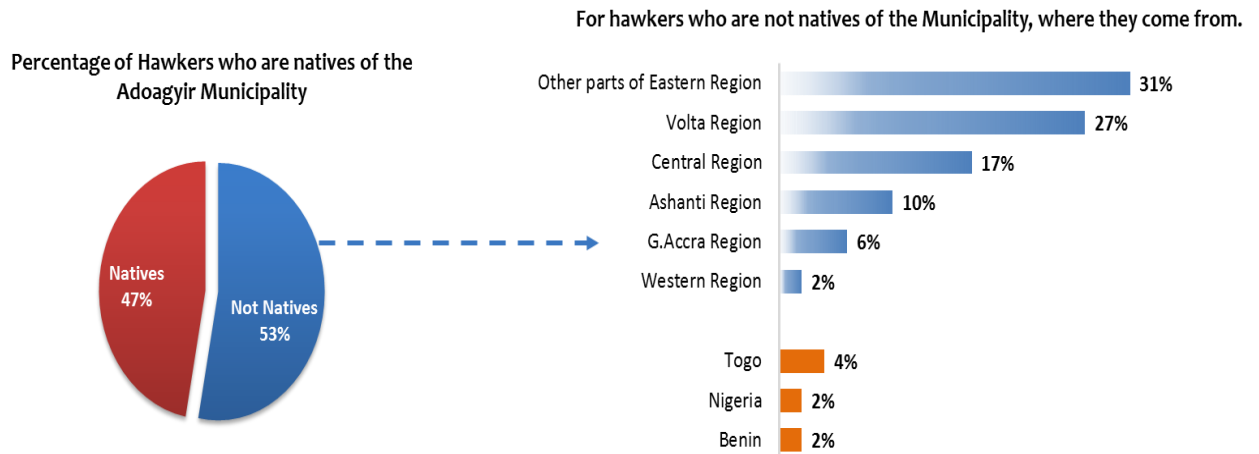
Housing Situation	Average Monthly Profit						
	<i>Less than C50</i>	<i>Between C50 and C100</i>	<i>Between C100 and C150</i>	<i>Between C150 and C200</i>	<i>Between C200 and C300</i>	<i>Between C300 and C400</i>	<i>C400 and above</i>
I usually sleep on the street	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
I live in a Kiosk/Shop/container	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%
I live in a single room	11%	14%	20%	11%	34%	5%	5%
I live in a room or parlor	9%	36%	9%	0%	18%	27%	0%
I live in an chamber and hall	14%	14%	19%	24%	14%	14%	0%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

From the data shown in Table 4.1.6, profit of hawkers per month is mostly from about GHC20 to about GHC400. All the respondents interviewed who indicated that they sleep on the street make an average of between GHC50 and GHC100 monthly. Most respondents who live in kiosks/shops/containers make between GHC200 and GHC300 monthly. It could be asserted that those hawkers who rent chamber and hall, room and parlor and single room housing units make more profit and therefore, can afford to pay for rooms to live in.

Overall, the older hawkers make more profit than the younger ones. Those who make between GHC200 to GHC300 are largely (32%) 20 years and below, while those who make GHC50 and below also largely (55%) fall between the ages of 20 and 30 years. However, 67% of respondents who are 40 years and over make an average monthly profit of GHC400 and above. This can be due to the fact that hawkers who are older invest more in the business than the younger ones. Alternatively it may mean that older hawker have more experience in the business than the younger ones.

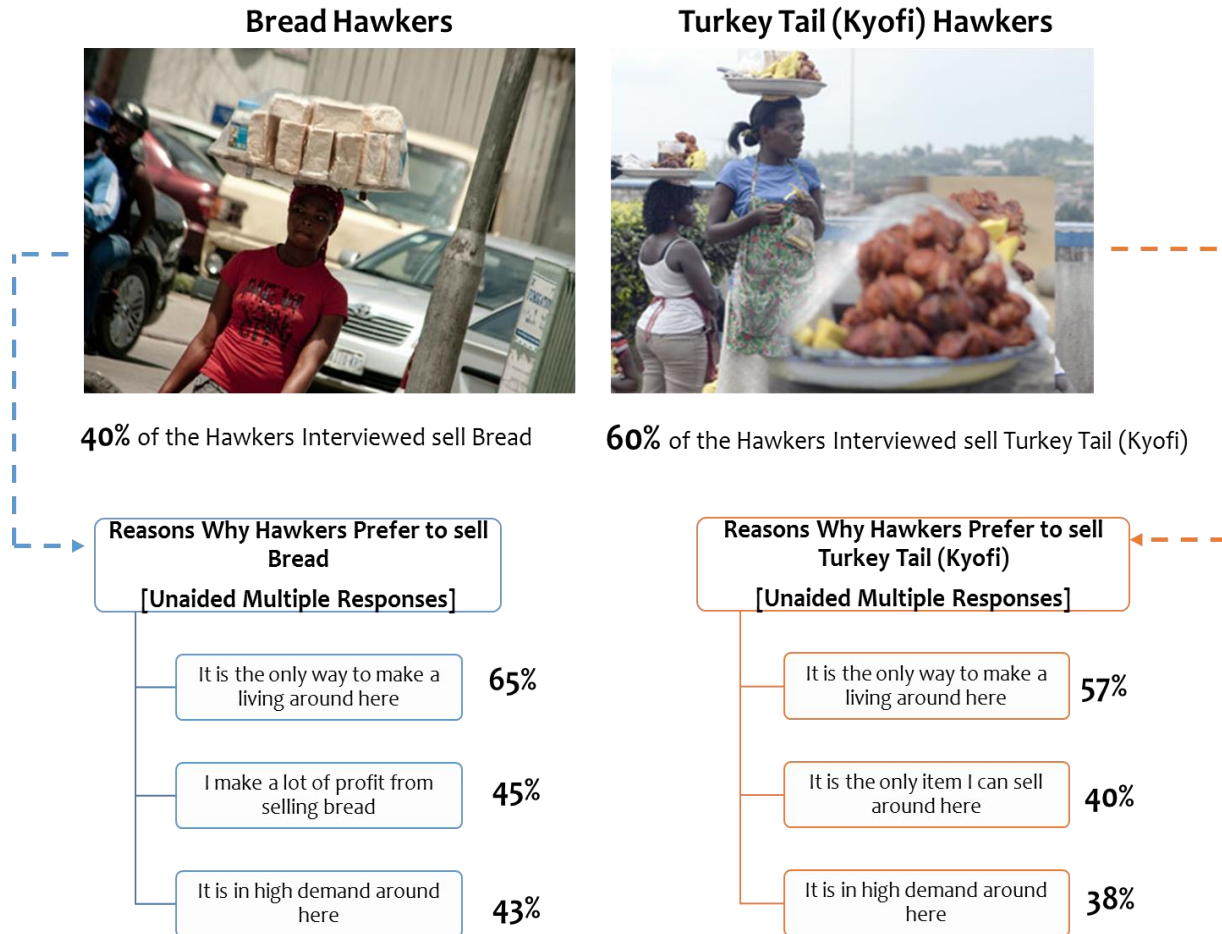
With regard to the position and profit among the mobile hawkers the highest number (31%) of them makes average monthly profits of between GHC200 and GHC300. However, among the stationary hawkers, the largest number (63%) of them makes profits of GHC400 and above every month. Therefore, the stationary hawkers make more than the mobile ones.

Figure 3: Hawkers Origin or Where Hawkers Come From

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Over half (53%) of the hawkers who were interviewed are not natives of the Municipality.

As shown in figure 3, about a third of these hawkers come from other parts of the Eastern region (31%). Also, a little less than a third of these hawkers come from the Volta region (27%) while about a fifth also comes from the Central Region (17%). Less than a tenth also comes from the Ashanti, Greater Accra and the Western Regions respectively. This could be a sign of increasing poverty and hardships in the Ghanaian economy. Interestingly, a number of these hawkers have also migrated from neighboring countries including Togo, Nigeria and Benin to engage in the hawking business in the municipality which tells of widespread poverty in many other African countries.

ITEMS HAWKERS SELL**Figure 4: TYPES OF ITEMS HAWKERS SELL**

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

According to the hawkers, the minimum amount required to start the hawking trade with respect to Bread is GhC40 while Turkey Tail is GhC50. Respondents also indicated that the average profit they make monthly with regards to Bread is GhC140.00 while for Turkey Tail is GhC150.00.

According to figure 4 above, about a sixth of the hawkers interviewed sell Turkey Tail (*Kyofi*) while a fourth sells Bread. Hawker when asked the reasons why they prefer to sell the items, majority of the Bread hawkers indicated that “*It is the only way to make a living in the locality*”. This they explained is because there are no other varying jobs available to them in the locality for people like them who have no money, no form of education and no land to farm on. Therefore they cannot engage in jobs like agriculture, formal employment and services. However, in the end it boils down to the fact that the start-up capital needed for this business is not much so they can easily come up with the amount. Some also indicated that they prefer to sell the items because they make a lot of profit in the trade which is enough to care for themselves and their families.

Majority of the Turkey Tail (*kyofi*) hawkers also indicated that they sell the item because “*It is the only way to make a living in the locality*”. This means that people of their caliber have no other way to care for themselves in the municipality since they sometimes do not need any money at all to start this business. Both the Bread and the Turkey Tail hawkers also indicated that their items are in high demand in the locality. I believe this demand is driven by the location of the municipality on the main trunk road between the two major cities of Accra and Kumasi. Also, the fact that big trucks transit there on long journeys may be a contributing factor.

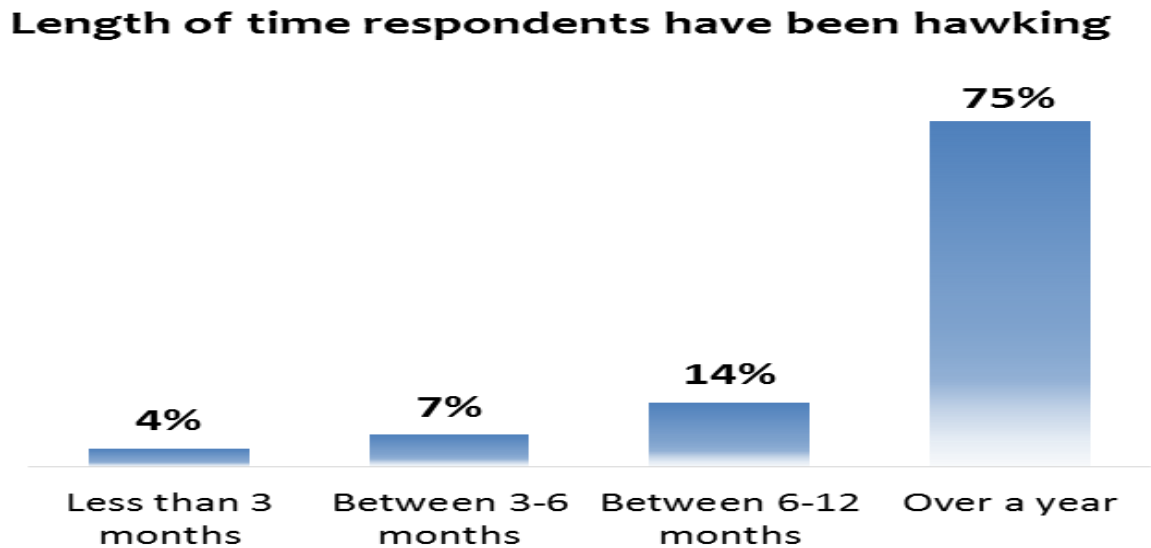
TABLE 4.1.7: Items Hawkers Sell by the Average Monthly Profit

Items	Average Monthly Profit						
	<i>Less than C50</i>	<i>Between C50 and C100</i>	<i>Between C100 and C150</i>	<i>between C150 and C200</i>	<i>Between C200 and C300</i>	<i>Between C300 and C400</i>	<i>C400 and above</i>
Hawkers Sell							
Bread Only	8%	21%	18%	13%	23%	13%	5%
Turkey Tail Only	13%	17%	18%	10%	33%	7%	2%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Over 4 out of 10 of the bread and turkey tail hawkers interviewed indicated that they make from GH¢200 profit and over while about a tenth of the Turkey tail hawkers also indicated they make about GH¢50 profit on the average every month. This is shown in Table 4.1.7 above. Most of the hawkers are however content with the profit they make monthly and so insist that they are not likely to stop the hawking trade while some also pointed out that their involvement in the trade is just temporary and that they are only saving in order to undertake other trades in the future.

LENGTH OF TIME OF HAWKING

Figure 5: How Long Respondents Have Been Hawking

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Over 7 out of 10 of the respondents have been hawking for over a year with some even indicating that they have been hawking for over 20 years. From the data as seen in figure 5, majority (75%) of those who have been hawking for over a year are frequently mobile hawkers and only a few stationary ones have hawked for over a year. The modal year among the hawkers is 4 years. This indicates that many of the hawkers have been selling for 4 years. This could mean that for those who want to save and move on to other businesses, 4 years is a short time to be able to save and move on to better lifestyles in this line of business.

TABLE 4.1.8: Length of Time Hawkers have been Selling Specific Items

Items Hawkers Sell	Length of Time of Hawking on Streets			
	<i>Less than 3 months</i>	<i>between 3 - 6 months</i>	<i>between 6 -12 months</i>	<i>Over a year</i>
Bread Only	0%	10%	5%	85%
Turkey Tail Only	7%	5%	20%	68%
Bread and Turkey Tail only	0%	0%	0%	100%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

With respect to the data obtained in Table 4.1.8, it was observed that over 8 out of 10 of the bread hawkers (85%) indicated that they have been engaged in the trade for over a year while about 7 out of 10 of the Turkey Tail hawkers indicated that they have engaged in the trade for over a year. A fifth (20%) of them also affirms that they have engaged in the trade between 6 and 12 months. Just about a twentieth (5%) of the bread hawkers indicated they have engaged in the trade between 6 and 12 months.

This is an indication that there is continuous growth with regards to the sale of bread and turkey tail in the municipality given the prospect for market for the items. It then becomes clear that despite the ban on turkey tails, it is still being sold and consumed by people in a very public manner which should be checked by authorities. This makes one wonder if the authorities in charge are doing their jobs or are just choosing to ignore the influx of the product into the country.

TABLE 4.1.9: Length of time and average amount of profit made per month

Length of Time		Average Monthly Profit							
		<i>Less than C50</i>	<i>Between C50 and C100</i>	<i>Between C100 and C150</i>	<i>Between C150 and C200</i>	<i>Between C200 and C300</i>	<i>Between C300 and C400</i>	<i>C400 and above</i>	<i>Total</i>
Less than 3 months	<i>Count</i>	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	4
	<i>% within average amount</i>	0.0%	11.1%	5.6%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0
Between 3 – 6 months	<i>Count</i>	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	7
	<i>% within average amount</i>	0.0%	11.1%	5.6%	16.7%	3.4%	11.1%	0.0%	7.0%
Between 6 – 12 months	<i>Count</i>	2	1	3	1	7	0	0	14
	<i>% within average amount</i>	18.2%	5.6%	16.7	8.3	24.1%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%
Over a year	<i>Count</i>	9	13	13	9	20	8	3	75
	<i>% within average amount</i>	81.8%	72.2%	72.2%	75.0%	69.05	88.9%	100%	75%
Total	<i>Count</i>	11	18	18	12	29	9	3	100
	<i>% within average amount</i>	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

From the Table 4.1.9 above, we observe that almost all the hawkers make more profit compared to hawkers who have been in the trade for less than a year. It can be noticed from the table that of the hawkers who make between GHC300 and GHC400, 88.9% of them have been in the trade

for over a year while hawkers who make GHC400 and above, 100% of them have been in the trade for over a year.

However, less than a fifth of the hawkers who have been in the trade between 3- 6 months make average monthly profits between GHC50 and GHC400. Therefore from the test we observe some relationship but it is not significant enough to affirm a dependence between the length of time the hawkers engage in the business and their average monthly profit.

TABLE 4.2.0 **Chi-Square Tests 1**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.114 ^a	6	.661
Likelihood Ratio	5.609	6	.468
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.426	1	.119
N of Valid Cases	18		

a. 11 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .22.

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

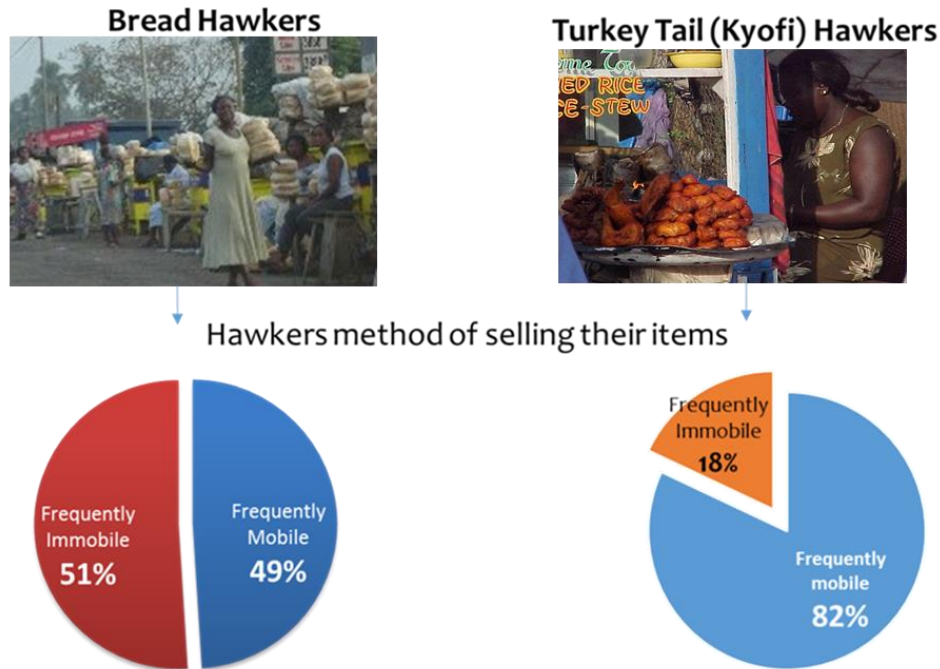
The respondents gave a lot of reasons for engaging in the hawking trade with majority of them claiming that it is a profitable venture in their perspective.

A hypothesis test was therefore conducted (seen in table 4.2.0 above) to ascertain whether there was a relationship between the length of time respondents have engaged in the hawking trade

and the average profit they make. This test was aimed at verifying that the longer a hawker engages in the hawking trade, the more likely he/she will make more profits.

The Null hypothesis for the test was that “there is no association/ relationships between the lengths of time respondents have engaged in the hawking trade and the average profit they make monthly” while the Alternate hypothesis is the converse of the former.

A Pearson Chi-square test of Association was employed for this purpose. In summary it was discovered that there is no relationship between the length of time hawkers have been plying the street and the average profit they make monthly. In conclusion to this test, it was observed that the average profit hawkers make while engaging in their trade is not dependent on the length of time they have been engaging in the trade. Furthermore, this supports the view that hawkers are not mainly on the streets selling because of the profits they reap but because they lack the necessary skills to gain any other employment (ILO, 2006; Obiri, 1996). Also, it supports the assertion that people engage in hawking because of the low start- up capital requirement.

POSITION HAWKERS SELL IN**Figure 6: Positions Hawkers Assume While Selling**

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

While about an equal number of the bread hawkers indicated that they sell their items at a particular point without moving about, a greater number of the turkey tail hawkers (82%) indicated that they move about a lot (see figure 6 above). This they attributed to the emerging competition for customers among the hawkers. However, those who are situated at one place usually move to vehicles to sell their wares as and when the vehicles come to park or passengers request to buy something. This means that more turkey tail (*kyofi*) sellers move around on the streets than bread sellers which could be associated with the fact that bread is bulkier and heavier than turkey tail (*kyofi*).

REASONS FOR REFUSAL TO MOVE**TABLE 4.2.1: Reasons why hawkers have not moved to the Shed provided them**

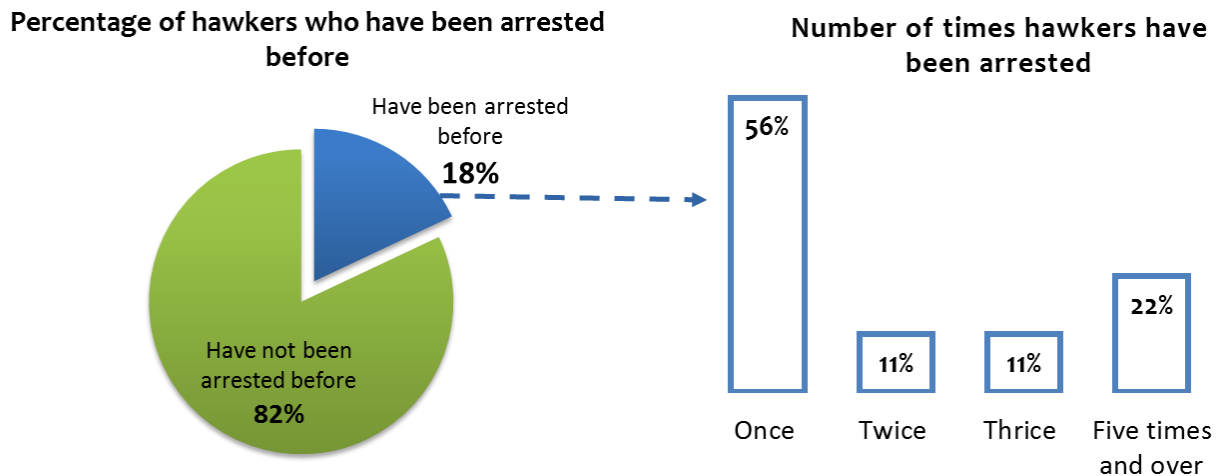
Reasons for not Moving to Shed by Hawkers	Table N %
<i>It is too far</i>	64%
<i>There is little market there</i>	39%
<i>It is unknown to buyers</i>	29%
<i>It is an accident prone area</i>	46%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Upon discussions with the Deputy Municipal Director, it was revealed that with the new road that has been constructed, spaces have been provided for hawkers to sit comfortably and sell their wares. However, many have refused to move there and some deny its existence. For respondents who are aware the Municipal Assembly has provided a shed for their use, over 6 out of 10 have refused to move to the new shed because they claim the Shed is too far from where their target markets are. Some also indicated that there are no people to buy their items in the new location while about half also insisted that the new site given to them is an accident prone area and they therefore did not find it safe and conducive to their health and lives. This is shown in Table 4.2.1 above.

HAWKER ARRESTS

Figure 7: Hawker Arrests



Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

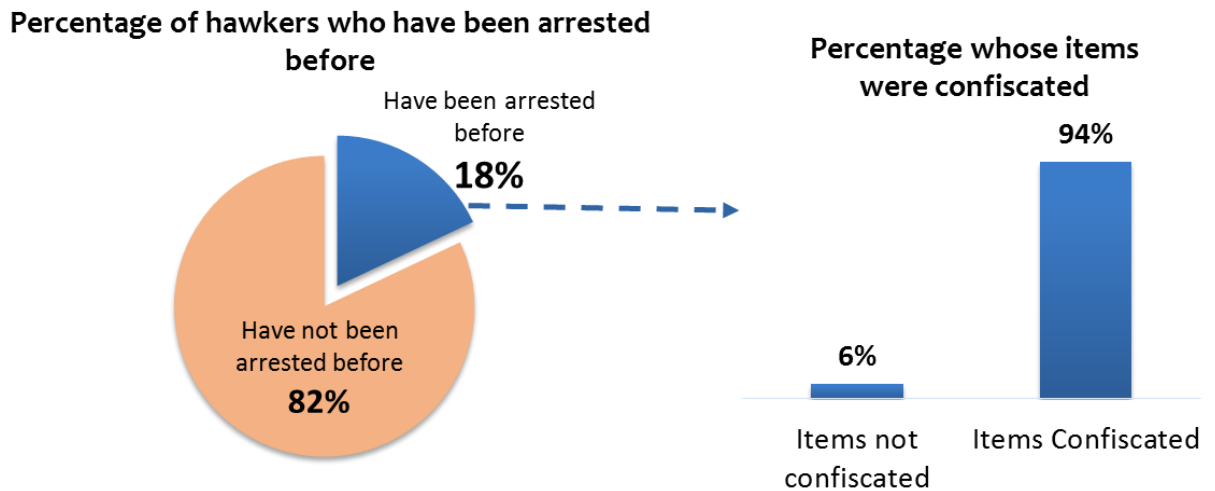
About a fifth of the hawkers indicated that they have been arrested by the Municipal Assembly Task Force. More than half of these have been arrested once while about a tenth claims that they have been arrested twice and thrice respectively. A little more than a fifth also indicated that they have been arrested five times and over (see figure 7 above). However, it is worth noting that these arrests and confiscations were done not because the product being sold has been banned (turkey tail) but because the Assembly wanted hawkers to cover the merchandise and shield it from dust, fumes and sun rays. This seems quite interesting since the good in question is already unhealthy due to excessive fat. If hawkers are being apprehended only because they are expected to cover their merchandise, then this presumes that hawking is accepted or legal in the municipality.

TABLE 4.2.2: Items Hawkers Sell by the Number of Times Arrested

Items Hawkers Sell	Number of Times Arrested				
	<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Thrice</i>	<i>Four times</i>	<i>Five times and over</i>
Bread Only	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
Turkey Tail Only	50%	8%	17%	0%	25%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

In Table 4.2.2, about a quarter of the turkey tail hawkers who have been arrested before indicated that they have been arrested over five times by the Municipal Assembly Task Force while 8 out of 10 of the Bread hawkers also indicated that they have been arrested once. Despite the arrest by the Municipal Task Force, the hawkers said they are not likely to leave because they have no other jobs to do except the hawking trade.

Figure 8: Hawker Arrest and Confiscation of Items

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

With reference to the hawkers who have been arrested before (both bread and turkey tail hawkers), almost all of them indicated that their items were confiscated by the Municipal Assembly Task Force. The hawkers again indicated that they had to pay a minimum and maximum amount of GhC5.00 and GhC50.00 respectively before their items were released to them (Figure 8). Interestingly, hawkers preferred the confiscation game to the other tactics used by the taskforce which they said was brutal because it involved the pouring away or destruction of merchandise and the consumption of merchandise by taskforce members and their colleagues or sometimes even their family members. However, the question that should be asked is whether this fine of GH¢5 to GH¢50 is enough to ward off other people from joining or continuing to engage in the hawking business or rather, it is drawing people to the venture.

Table 4.2.3: Length of time hawking and the number of times arrested

Number of Times Arrested		Length of Time Hawking on Street				Total
		<i>Less than 3 months</i>	<i>Between 3 - 6 months</i>	<i>Between 6- 12 months</i>	<i>Over a year</i>	
Yes	<i>Count</i>	0	2	2	14	18
	<i>% within average monthly amount</i>	0.0%	28.6%	14.3%	18.7%	18.0%
No	<i>Count</i>	4	5	12	61	82
	<i>% within average monthly amount</i>	100.0%	71.4%	85.7%	81.3%	82.0%
Total	<i>Count</i>	4	7	14	75	100
	<i>% within average monthly amount</i>	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

In Table 4.2.3, out of those hawkers who have been arrested before, 2 have worked for 3 to 6 months; 2 have worked for 6 to 12 months; and 14 have worked for over a year.

For those who have never been arrested, 4 of them have been hawking for less than 3 months; 5 of them for 3 to 6 months; 12 for 6 to 12 months; and 61 for over a year. Therefore, all indications point to the fact that majority of hawkers who have worked for over a year has never been arrested. Nevertheless, the assertion is that the longer hawkers stay on the streets, the more arrests they should have.

Table 4.2.4: Chi-Square Tests 2

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.561 ^a	3	.668
Likelihood Ratio	2.217	3	.529
Linear-by-Linear Association	.156	1	.693
N of Valid Cases	100		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .72.

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

About a fifth of the hawkers indicated that they have been arrested before by the Municipal Assembly Task Force. A hypothesis test was therefore conducted to ascertain whether there was a relationship between the length of time respondents have engaged in the hawking trade and the average number of times arrested. This test was aimed at verifying that the longer a hawker engages in the hawking trade, the more likely he/she will be arrested and would stop the trade.

The Null hypothesis for the test was that there is no association/ relationship between the length of time respondents have engaged in the hawking trade and the number of times arrested; while the Alternate hypothesis is the converse of the former.

A Pearson Chi-square test of Association was employed for this purpose (see Table 4.2.4 above). In summary, it was discovered that there is no relationship between the length of time hawkers have been roaming the street and the average number of times arrested. In conclusion to this test,

it was observed that the number of times a hawker is arrested is not linked to the length of time he/she has been on the street. A conclusion can be drawn that authorities are not taking up enough measures to arrest hawkers which in effect has not deterred the hawkers to either stop their trade or moved to the shed provided by the Municipal Assembly.

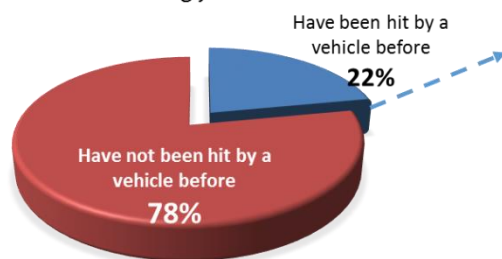
Furthermore, the general assertion is that the longer one has been hawking on the street, the more times he/ she should be arrested. Therefore, if this is not seen, it could be because firstly, some hawkers leave after being released from their arrest. This would then mean that the arrests and confiscations have been effective.

It could also be that those who have been on the streets longer have learned some tactics in avoiding arrests like making friends with the municipal taskforce officials or getting tips on days of taskforce raids. If this is the case then the arrests are not enough deterrence.

HAWKER ACCIDENTS

Figure 9: Hawkers Who Have Been in Accidents

Percentage of hawkers who have ever been hit by a vehicle while selling your items



Bread Hawkers



18% of the bread hawkers indicated that they have been hit by a vehicle before

Turkey Tail (Kyofi) Hawkers



25% of the Turkey Tail hawkers indicated that they have been hit by a vehicle before

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

Overall, about 1 out of 5 of the hawkers indicated that they have been hit by a vehicle while carrying out their trading activities. Of these, one quarter is turkey tail hawkers while less than a fifth is bread hawkers. Turkey tail hawkers are more likely to be engaged in accidents because they are more mobile compared to bread hawkers. This is shown in figure 9.

TABLE 4.2.5: Hawker Accidents by the Position Assumed while Hawking

Position Assumed While Hawking	Hawker Accidents	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Frequent mobile	21%	79%
Frequent Immobile	25%	75%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

A quarter of the hawkers who are frequently immobile when selling their items asserted that they have been hit by a vehicle(s) in the course of their trading activities, while just about a fifth affirmed for frequently mobile hawkers as seen in Table 4.2.5. For hawkers who are frequently immobile, their main reason for that particular style of selling their items is that there is more risk in being mobile. They said this with regards to chasing cars to sell items as compared to being immobile at specific points of sales. Also, since about 50% of hawkers who are mobile fall within the ages of 20 to 30 years, I would presume that the immobile hawkers are not as strong and able-bodied as the younger ones so they cannot withstand the pressure.

START- UP CAPITAL FOR HAWKING**TABLE 4.2.6: Items Hawkers Sell by the Amount of Start-up Capital Needed for Hawking**

Items Hawkers Sell	Amount of Start- up Capital Needed					
	<i>Less than 50 Cedis</i>	<i>Between50- 100 Cedis</i>	<i>Between100- 150 Cedis</i>	<i>Between 200-300 Cedis</i>	<i>Between 300-400 Cedis</i>	<i>400 Cedis and over</i>
Bread Only	38%	13%	5%	26%	3%	15%
Turkey Tail Only	2%	13%	25%	37%	10%	13%

Source: Author's Field Survey, July 2013

For both the Bread and Turkey Tail hawkers, the minimum amount needed to start the business is between 50 Ghana cedis and over. Majority of the bread hawkers however indicated that the average amount they need to start the hawking business is only GHC50 or less because they credit the bread from the bread makers for the day or sometimes for the week. They then go out to sell the bread and after selling they go back to pay for the bread (Table 4.2.6).

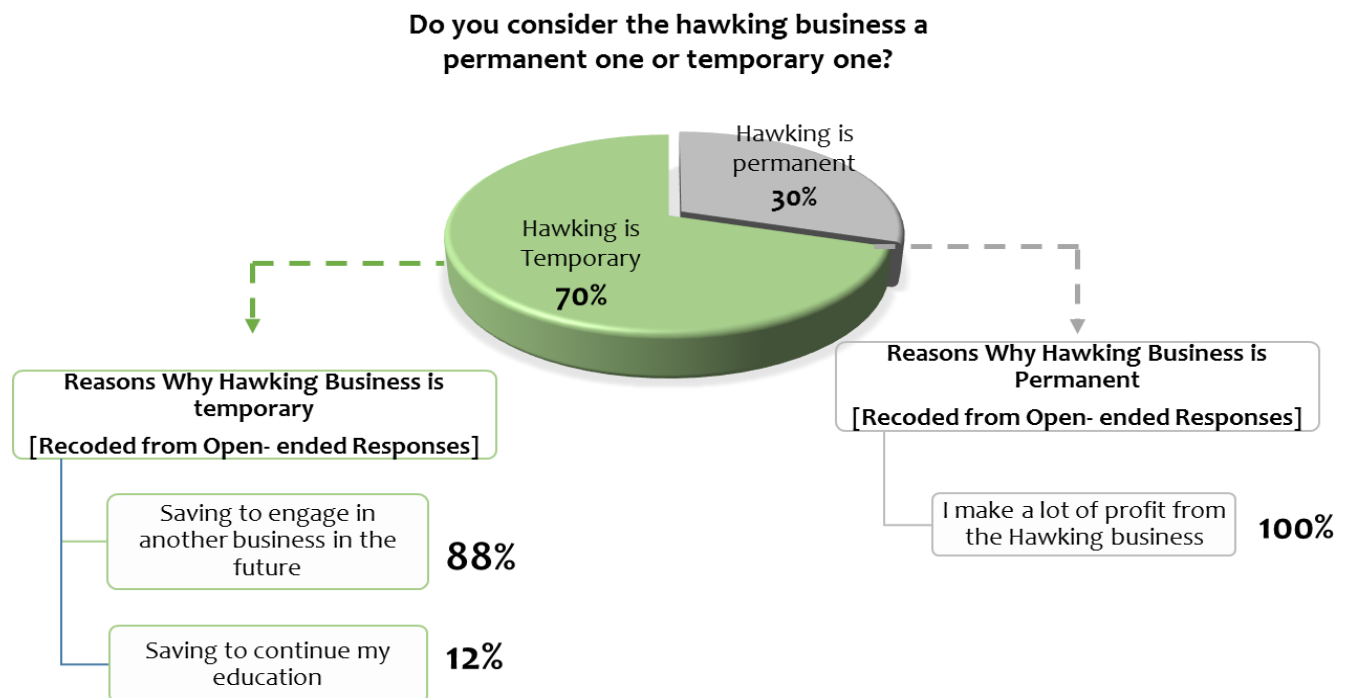
This arrangement however will only be allowed by the bread maker if she has some sort of friendship or business relationship with the hawker. Nevertheless, one can be introduced to the bread maker by another who has that kind of relationship with the bread maker and a cordial business relationship can be built up through that. A similar kind of agreement can be found in the Turkey tail business as well for those who are unable to acquire the fresh turkey tail themselves. There are well to do women in the municipality who have the means to buy or acquire the fresh turkey tails and fry in bulk. They have underlings who are the hawkers we see

on the streets selling turkey tail. These women have their usual customers to whom they credit the fried turkey tail. However, for one to become a customer, the person has to either know the “*kyofi madam*” (as they are referred to) or know someone who knows her and has a good and long relationship with her. These hawkers practice the “*whom you know*” or “*who knows you*” kind of social networking which is very common in Ghana.

The minimal amount of start- up capital as compared to the average profit is believed to be the main attribute leading to the influx of hawkers into the municipality. Due to the little money and resources needed to start and maintain this business, many poor and unqualified people identify with it and seek to make a living for their families and for themselves through it.

HOW TEMPORAL OR PERMANENT HAWKING IS

Figure 10: Is Hawking Temporary or Permanent?



Source: Author’s Field Survey, July 2013

Figure 10 illustrates what hawkers said about whether or not hawking is a permanent business for them. A third of the hawkers asserted that their engagement in the hawking business is permanent. The reason for their decision is that it is the only venture available to them and that they “*They make a lot of profit from the venture*”.

Most of the hawkers who affirmed that the venture is temporary gave the reason that they are only saving to later engage in a different business while about a tenth also said they are engaging in the hawking business to enable them further their education.

The main reasons most indicated that they are working temporarily as hawkers is because generally, they face certain health risks from their day to day hawking activities; which includes inhalation of fumes from vehicles on the road, prolonged standing in the sun which leads to headaches and other body pains and also loss of their goods as a result of falling and most of all motor accidents which is a reality that they face daily.

Some of the female hawkers also pointed out that men harass and abuse them when they are going about their trade especially when it is dark and when they do not have money to pay for what they have taken from the hawkers.

These results from the analysis are summarized in a case study of a hawker who sells *kyofi* in the Nsawam Adoagyiri municipality.

A Case Study on a Typical Street Hawker from the Nsawam- Adoagyiri Municipality

The mid- day sun as hot as it is in this time of year was at its zenith on the Friday I decided to have a discussion with Sister Janet. This was during my data collection on street hawking in the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality. Janet Otcherewaa is a 26 year old Junior High School dropout who sells fried turkey tail (*kyofi*) on the streets of the Nsawam- Adoagyiri Municipality. She is a native of Adoagyiri who speaks Akuapem Twi and strives hard in order to make a living for herself and her family since she is a single mother of three (3). She has many expenses but for her the essential ones are the school fees of her children, the rent for the single room in which she lives in with her children and the food she and her children will eat.

She has no formal qualifications, and so has taken to selling *kyofi* on the streets, an enterprise she has been at since her teenage days when she used to help her mother sell bread and *kyofi* in a small stall on the same street. Luckily, a few of her deceased mother's friends had good working relationships with some of the "*kyofi madams*". The "*kyofi madams*" are people who have the capital to act as wholesalers and buy the fresh turkey tails and fry them to retailers such as Janet. Janet therefore considers herself fortunate enough to have been introduced to a "*kyofi madam*" who has been supplying her with *kyofi* to sell for 8 years now. She takes the *kyofi* from the owner on credit and after she has been able to sell the whole consignment she goes back to pay for it.

Janet's typical days start at about 5:30am in the morning every day. She cooks for her children and prepares them for school before she heads out for work. However, the third child is about 2 and a half years old so she always carries him on her back and takes him along with her to hawk. The other two children find their way to school on their own since the school is a walking distance from home. By 7:00 am she is at the "*kyofi madam's*" house with her son on her back and her tray in hand. She is at her usual spot at the main lorry station which is located by the

municipality's main road. Here, she competes with other able-bodied hawkers, some of who do not have extra load on their backs, and run after buses and big trucks for customers to buy her merchandise. She finds it easier on the days when there is heavy traffic jam because she does not need to run as much; she does a lot more brisk walking on such days. On days when there is no traffic Janet has to run and fight with other colleagues for customers with her child on her back. In months where there is much traffic jam like in December, she makes an average profit of about GHC250 a month and in months where traffic is scarce she makes an average of GHC50 profit.

At about 6:00pm when it is getting dark, she heads home to her children. She feeds them, puts her last born to bed and heads back to continue selling. This time she dresses up in trousers and long sleeves to prevent mosquito bites which prove futile because the mosquitoes still bite her neck and hands. Also, Janet dresses like this to prevent any extreme forms of harassment from some of the bus drivers and conductors at the station and from other male customers. She is careful not to incur the wrath of any of them because she has been witness to a fellow hawker who spoke out about her harassment and was castigated and disgraced by the drivers and conductors association of the station.

Janet complains of extreme tiredness and neck pains when she gets home every day. She usually gets home by 10:00pm. She mentioned that during her 8 years of hawking she has experienced health problems like back ache, headaches, joint pains, common cold and bronchitis.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study sought to investigate why people choose to sell bread and turkey tail along the road despite the many dangers involved and to find out what some of these dangers are. It also sought to explore the lack of enforcement of existing laws on street hawking and to find out who usually sell bread and turkey tail on the street.

Summary of Findings

From the data it can be seen that street hawking in the Nsawam- Adoagyiri Municipal area has become a daily source of livelihood for many people, both natives and immigrants mostly as a stepping-stone for preparing towards relatively better and more permanent jobs in the future. It has also been portrayed as a means to an end for many others. It also shows that hawking is a popular and widespread economic activity and that one does not necessarily have to live in the city center before one can engage in street hawking. The study had three specific objectives, namely:

1. To examine the dangers involved in the choice to sell along the streets as compared to other available choices.
2. To explore the lack of enforcement of existing laws on street hawking and
3. To investigate the characteristics of those who sell on the streets and why.

Concerning the first objective above, it was observed that many hawkers encounter motor accidents while crossing streets or chasing after vehicles in order to sell some of their merchandise. It was also discovered that majority of hawkers endure body aches, neck pains, back ache, spinal injuries, headaches, swollen feet, lung and kidney problems among others due to prolonged standing, inhaling fumes from vehicles, running around and harsh weather conditions. Also, consumers stand the chance of contracting many illnesses from buying the turkey tails because apart from its total fat exceeding 15%, they are usually uncovered and this exposes them to all sort of harmful substances in the air. Furthermore, it was detected that the merchandise is picked up from the ground and put straight back among the clean ones anytime the hawker has to run and the merchandise tumbles to the ground. Hawkers also mishandle the merchandise by arranging and serving the food with their bare hands.

With regard to the second objective, it was revealed that Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality has no existing bye laws on street hawking and therefore one could assume that the venture is condoned or supported by the Municipal Assembly. It is interesting to note that the Municipal Taskforce only comes around to arrest or confiscate hawkers' merchandise only because it has not been covered properly or covered at all and not because they see something wrong with the whole scenario. However, the hawkers claim they do not adhere to the covering rule because when they cover the merchandise:

- Consumers think it is old and therefore do not buy
- It does not look fresh and appetizing
- Potential clients will be lost because they will be unable to make out what is being sold.

From objective 3, it can be concluded that mostly it is females between the ages of 15 and 40 years. They usually do this because they are poor, have low educational status, are single parents, it demands small start- up capital and a manageable amount of profit is gained.

Also, based on the general objective to investigate why people choose to sell bread and turkey tail along the street, the data showed that one does not need much capital in order to start a hawking business and this makes it appealing to the poor; accounting for why many people choose that line of business. The data also shows that some people especially the youth may not necessarily have chosen that profession but were forced to enter that line of business in order to supplement family income. Some also choose to sell so they can save and start a small scale business of their own, further their education or learn some craftsmanship or trade.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings on the bread and turkey tail business in the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality, the following recommendations have been put forward.

Firstly, owing to the fact that the Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality does not have any laws on street hawking, bye- laws should be enacted and effectively enforced to regulate the activities of street hawkers. The municipality should see to it that these bye- laws will be obeyed and carried out to the letter. Its promulgation will ensure a reduction in motor accidents, vehicular traffic, human traffic, health hazards, harassment, rape and many more. It will also go a long way to ensure better sanitation standards in the municipality, reducing the amount of rubbish thrown on and around streets.

Secondly, the government should come out with policies on street hawking that are binding to the nation as a whole, notwithstanding the municipality or metropolitan assembly one lives and trades in. This will prevent the acceptance of street hawking activities in one community and non- acceptance in another because at the moment, some municipalities have bye- laws on street hawking but the majority do not. It could therefore be concluded that the areas that do not have bye- laws on it fully accept their activities and all the dangers it poses to the public and the vendors themselves. However, when a policy or a law is made on it, everyone will be susceptible to that one law under the constitution and would therefore be binding on all no matter the municipality one hails from.

Also, existing laws on the ban on the import of turkey tails into the country should be forcefully enforced by government. Stringent methods should be put in place where law enforcement officers or customs officials who aid and abet the smuggling of the product into the country will be punished severely. Incentives should also be given to law enforcement officers or customs officials who confiscate and report the smugglers or fellow colleagues who condone the smuggling. Awareness programs should be held to educate the public on the dangers of consuming turkey tails especially for those who consume it in large quantities. This is because many people have heard about the ban on the product but continue to consume it. They only know that it is delicious and has been a delicacy for their ancestors and for them since time immemorial. With the hawkers, a majority of them said that they knew about the ban but had not seen the effects of *kyofi* on anyone in their families or on themselves so they do not believe that it is dangerous to one's health.

Fourth, the policy on free compulsory basic education (FCUBE) should be fully and better implemented in order to help educate children since the lowest age among the respondents was

13 years and 18% of the respondents were between 13 years to 17 years. Also, 21% of respondents had their children helping in the hawking business after school to augment family income. This will help curb streetism and its associated hazards. It will also facilitate the country with knowledgeable and capable future leaders who are in the position to make good decisions for the development of the state. It will also aid the reduction of unemployment since everyone will have at least attained basic education level and can therefore find work to feed himself and his family. This will also reduce social vices since there will be few idle hands and fewer people who do not have the means to fend for themselves.

Furthermore, from the findings about 88% out of the total of 70 hawkers said hawking is a temporal job for them and that it was just a stepping stone to other businesses like learning to sew and dressmaking. In light of this, for those who do not wish to continue schooling or who do not have the interest in formal education, technical training schools should be made accessible in order for them to learn artisanal trades like dressmaking, hair making, carpentry, basket weaving, pottery, soap making, plumbing, masonry, blacksmithing and the like. In the same vain, more technical schools should be established to train them in their various areas of interest. A sponsorship scheme could be set up to engage those who are poor but willing and ready to be trained. This will encourage hawkers and boost their pride and self-esteem at being able to create something with their own hands. It will also keep them off the street.

More street markets should be established and well regulated by government so as to provide suitable spaces close to streets and at vantage points for vendors to display their wares. If these street markets are sighted at places which are less risky or accident prone areas and at points where many people can easily stop and buy, it will attract the hawkers. When this happens,

vendors will stop complaints and not resist the allocated places for them to sell. This will help to keep road users and hawkers' safe, as well as keeping the environment clean.

Another way around the hawker problem is to legalize street hawking and taxes collected from the hawkers to develop the areas they work and the country as a whole. This is because hawkers are an important part of the informal sector and the informal sector in turn is an integral part of the economy.

Also, the establishment of an institution solely responsible for the activities of street hawking will be relevant. This institution will be available to coordinate the affairs of street hawkers, listen to their grievances and try to solve them. It would also serve as a mediator between the hawkers and the government. It is also recommended that under this institution, a licensing regime should be introduced so that every street hawker can be licensed but for an affordable price and under truncated bureaucratic institutions. This will aid the tax collection system because there will be available records on hawkers.

It was evident in the study that 88% out of 70 hawkers wished to move on from the hawking business to other ventures. In other words, hawking is just a stepping stone for them to move to other businesses, provided they could come up with enough money to do so. Therefore, both governmental and private financial institutions should set up a scheme to provide street hawkers with financial aid in the form of loans so that they can engage in alternative livelihoods of their choosing.

Finally, governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations and other interested parties should encourage street vendors to form vibrant and productive associations that will fight for their rights and for their welfare. This can be done through the

“bread and kyofi madams” who because of their frequent contact and close relations with the hawkers can help finance the associations and articulate their woes to the Municipal Assembly.

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Copy of Questionnaire Used in Data Collection for this Study

It is acknowledged that some of the information required by this questionnaire may be sensitive to the respondent however, respondents are assured of full confidentiality and anonymity since this work is solely for academic purposes. Please endeavor to answer all questions accurately. Your cooperation is appreciated.

INTERVIEWER PROFILE							
Date of Interview:							
Interview Start Time			AM/PM	Interview End Time			AM / PM
Location:							
Name of Interviewer:							
Interviewer Contact:							

RESPONDENTS DETAILS	
Name of Respondent :	
Exact Location of Respondent:	
Address/Contact Details:	
Age of Respondent	
Gender of Respondent [Single Response]	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Marital Status [Single Response]	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Co-habiting
Highest Educational Level [Single Response]	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Junior High <input type="checkbox"/> Senior High <input type="checkbox"/> Diploma/ Cert. <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational <input type="checkbox"/> Tertiary
Ethnicity [Open ended]	
Contact number of Respondent	Main Contact No. : Other Contact No. :

Q1. Are you a native of Nsawam- Adoagyiri municipality?	
Yes	1..... If Yes..... Skip to Q3
No	2..... Continue to Q2

Q2. If 'No' to Q1, which part of the country do you come from <i>[Interviewer Indicate the Town/ Locality and the Region where respondent hails from]</i>	
Town/ locality	
Region	<input type="checkbox"/> Ashanti <input type="checkbox"/> Brong Ahafo <input type="checkbox"/> Central <input type="checkbox"/> Eastern <input type="checkbox"/> G. Accra <input type="checkbox"/> Northern <input type="checkbox"/> Volta <input type="checkbox"/> Upper East <input type="checkbox"/> Upper West <input type="checkbox"/> Western

Q3. Which of the following best describes your housing situation? <i>[Interviewer, read options out to respondent and select most appropriate]</i>	
I do not have a place to sleep, I usually sleep on the street	1
I live in a Kiosk/ Shop/ Container	2
I live in a single room	3
I live in a room and parlor	4
I live in a chamber and Hall	5
Other (Specify).....	6

Q4. Do you have any children?	
Yes	1..... Continue to Q5
No	2..... Skip to..... to Q7

Q5. How many children do you have? [Single Response]	
<input type="checkbox"/> One <input type="checkbox"/> Two <input type="checkbox"/> Three <input type="checkbox"/> Four <input type="checkbox"/> Five and above	

Q6. Which of the following best describes your children <i>[Interviewer, read out options to respondents and select one of the responses]</i>	
My Children go to school only	1
My children go to school and assist in hawking	2
My children do not go to school and do not engage in hawking	3
My children do not go to school, engage in hawking only	4

Q7. What items do you sell on the street? [Aided Single response]	
Bread Only	1
Turkey tail (Kyofi) only	2
Both bread and Turkey tail	3

Q8. How long have you been selling on the street?	
[Unaided Single response]	
Less than 3 months	1
Between 3 – 6 months	2
Between 6 – 12 months	3
Over a year	4

Q9. Why do you prefer to sell..... <i>[Interviewer mention item selected by respondent in Q7 above]</i>		
[Unaided Multiple Responses]		
(More than one answer can be ticked)	Agree	Disagree
1. It is in high demand		
2. I make a lot of profit when I sell the item		
3. It is the only item I can sell around here		
4. It is the only way to make a living here		
5. Other (Specify).....		

Q10. What position do you assume while selling?	
[Interviewer probe for reasons]	
Frequently mobile	1
Frequently immobile	2
Other (Specify)	3

Q11. Has the Municipal Assembly provided a shed for you to sell your items?	
Yes	1..... Continue to Q12
No	2..... Skip to Q13

Q12. If 'Yes' to Q10, why have you not moved to this shed?	
[Interviewer probe for reasons]	
It is too far	1
There is little market there	2
It is unknown to buyers	3
Other (Specify)	4

Q13. Have you ever been arrested for hawking?	
Yes	1..... Continue to Q14
No	2..... Skip to Q19

For Respondents who select Yes in Q13					
Q14. Who arrested you? <i>[Interviewer select one of the options]</i>					
Q15. Were your items confiscated? <i>[Interviewer: If 'No' skip to Q17]</i>					
Q16. Did you pay a Fine before your items were released? <i>[Interviewer: If 'No' skip to Q17]</i>					
Q17. If 'Yes' to Q15, how much did you pay the last time you were arrested?					
Q18. How many times have you been arrested?					
	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18

				[GhC]	[Tick appropriate]
Municipal Task Force	1	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Once <input type="checkbox"/> Twice <input type="checkbox"/> Thrice <input type="checkbox"/> Four times <input type="checkbox"/> Five times +
The Police	2	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Once <input type="checkbox"/> Twice <input type="checkbox"/> Thrice <input type="checkbox"/> Four times <input type="checkbox"/> Five times +
Other (Specify)	3				

Q19. Have you ever been hit by a vehicle in the process of selling your item(s)?	
Yes	1
No	2

ASK Q20 AND Q21 FOR RESPONDENTS WHO SELL TURKEY TAIL (KYOFI) ONLY

Q20. Did you know that turkey tail (kyofi) has been prohibited in the country since 1999?	
Yes	1
No	2

Q21. Do you eat turkey tail (kyofi)?	
Yes	1
No	2

Q22. How much start- up capital do you need to start this line of business? (please specify)	
<i>[Interviewer quote amount in GhC]</i>	

Q23. On the average, how much profit do you make at the end of the month?	
<i>[Interviewer quote amount in GhC]</i>	

Q24. Do you consider the hawking business a permanent one or as a transition for another job in the near future?	
<i>[Interviewer: If 'Yes' or 'No', Probe for the reason for the response]</i>	
Yes	1

No	2	

Q25. What are some of the problems / risks you face in your day to day street hawking activities

[Open ended]